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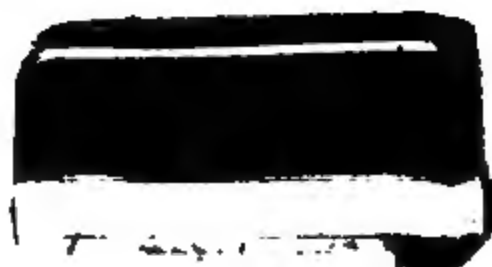
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DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

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The Leading Facts of History Series

THE STUDENT'S
AMERICAN HISTORY

BY

D. H. MONTGOMERY

"
AUTHOR OF "THE LEADING FACTS OF HISTORY" SERIES

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To the Memory
of
A. E. D.

221724

PREFATORY NOTE

This work follows the same general lines as the author's "Leading Facts of American History." It differs, however, from the more elementary manual in many important respects. It is much fuller in its treatment of political and constitutional history, and of the chief events bearing on the development of the nation. It quotes the statements of public men, original documents, and authorities in order that the history of our country may speak for itself on the points of greatest interest to the student and the teacher.

As a help to further research, references are made in footnotes to a limited number of works of acknowledged merit, and a classified list of books on subjects and periods will be found in the Appendix.

The author is particularly indebted to the Trustees and the Librarian of the Boston Athenæum for the privilege of making use of the admirable collection of books under their charge.

CONTENTS

SECTION	PAGE
I. The Discovery and Naming of America (1000-1515)	I
II. Attempts at Exploring and Colonizing America (the Country, the Natives, Effects of the Discovery of America on Europe) (1513-1600)	13
III. Permanent English and French Settlements (the Thirteen Col- onies, French Exploration of the West, Wars with the In- dians and with the French, Colonial Life) (1600-1763) . .	31
IV. The Revolution, the Constitution (1763-1789)	177
V. The Union, National Development (Presidents from Washing- ton to Buchanan, inclusive) (1789-1861)	239
VI. The War of Secession (1861-1865)	443
VII. Reconstruction, the New Nation (1865 to the Present Time) .	512

APPENDIX

1. The Declaration of Independence (with an Introduction) . . .	i
2. The Constitution (with an Introduction and Notes)	vi
3. Table of Admission of States	xix
4. Table of Presidents	xxiii
5. List of Books on American History	xxiv
6. Table of Boundaries of the United States	xxx
7. Tables of Population and Representation	xxxii
8. Index	xxxvii

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Medallion of Washington and Lincoln	<i>Frontispiece</i>
	FACING PAGE
2. Governor Cosby's Proclamation	60
3. Extract from the Massachusetts "Body of Liberties" of 1641	78
4. A Colonial Bank Note	164
5. Advertisement of the "Flying Machine"	166
6. The Pennsylvania <i>Gazette</i> on the Stamp Act	180
7. Franklin's Letter to Strahan	200
8. Signatures to the Declaration of Independence	202
9. Continental and State Paper Money	212
10. George Rogers Clark's Letter demanding Hamilton's Surrender	216
11. Signatures to the Treaty of Peace of 1783	224
12. A Call for Volunteers, 1799	262
13. Abstract of Constitutional Decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States, 1793-1835; with portrait of Chief Justice Marshall	266
14. Fitch's Letter on his Steamboat; Fulton's Steamboat	280
15. Key's "The Star-Spangled Banner"	298
16. The National Road, with map	320
17. The Monroe Doctrine	322
18. A Railway Time-Table of 1843	346
19. Morse's Letter respecting the First Telegram	378
20. Letter of John Brown	432
21. Secession Bulletin	436
22. Letter of Secretary Dix on the Flag	438
23. Advertisements for Volunteers for the War for the Union	450
24. Grant's "Unconditional Surrender" Dispatch	462
25. Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation	474
26. Lincoln's Gettysburg Address	484
27. Admiral Farragut's Letter from Mobile	502
28. Lee's Letter of Surrender	506
29. Vote on the Impeachment Trial of President Johnson	524
30. Diagram and Statistics showing Increase of Manufactures, espe- cially Iron and Steel, with Imports and Exports	582

LIST OF FULL AND DOUBLE PAGE MAPS¹

	PAGE
1. The World about the Time of Columbus	5
2. Early Voyages to America (colored)	19
3. Indian Tribes of the United States (colored)	20
4. Indian Trails	23
5. Physical Features of the United States	29
6. First Settlements made on the Eastern Coast of America	49
7. The French in the West	139
8. The Louisiana Country claimed by La Salle for France	143
9. The King's Proclamation Line, 1763	155
10. Period of the Revolution — New England (colored)	190
11. Period of the Revolution — Middle Colonies (colored)	206
12. Burgoyne's Expedition; Washington's Movement against York- town; Yorktown	209
13. Period of the Revolution — Southern States (colored)	218
14. The United States at the Close of the Revolution (colored) . .	226
15. The Northwest Territory (colored)	228
16. The United States in 1792 (colored)	250
17. Indian Land Cessions in Ohio	254
18. The United States at the Census of 1800	269
19. The War of 1812	296
20. The Mexican War	384
21. The Area of Freedom and of Slavery in 1857	423
22. The Civil War (colored)	456
23. The Defenses of Washington	459
24. The Battle of Gettysburg	481
25. The Siege of Vicksburg	487
26. Possessions of the United States in North America	527
27. Territorial Growth of the United States (colored)	556
28. The United States at the Present Time (colored)	570
29. The United States and Dependent Territories (colored)	590

¹ For list of maps in the text, see Index under "Maps."

THE STUDENT'S AMERICAN HISTORY¹

I

THE DISCOVERY AND NAMING OF AMERICA²

(1000-1515)

*For authorities for this chapter, see footnotes and the classified
list of books in the Appendix, page xxiv*

THE NORTHMEN — COLUMBUS — CABOT — AMERICUS VESPUCIUS

1. The discovery of America by the Northmen ;³ “ Vinland the Good.” The Scandinavians, or Northmen, were the most skillful and daring sailors of the middle ages. For them the Atlantic — “ the Sea of Darkness ” — had no terrors. Before the mariner’s compass had come into use in Europe they made distant voyages in vessels often not so large as modern pleasure yachts. Their only guides on those perilous expeditions were the sun, the stars, and the flight of birds.

In the ninth century the Northmen conquered a large part of England ; they also planted a colony in Iceland. Their sagas or

¹ In using this book the following-named works of reference by Professor William Macdonald, of Brown University, will be constantly found of the greatest value: (1) Select Charters, etc., of American History (1606-1775); (2) Select Documents of United States History (1776-1861); (3) Select Statutes of United States History (1861-1898). For other works of reference, see Appendix, page xxiv.

² See, in general, Winsor’s America, II, ch. i, ii; Fiske’s Discovery of America, I, ch. ii, v, vi; II, ch. vii.

³ See Winsor’s America, I, ch. ii; Bryant and Gay’s United States (revised edition), I, ch. iii; Fiske’s Discovery of America, I, 164-220, 253-255; Fischer’s The Norsemen in America; Thwaites’ Colonies, 21-23.

traditions inform us that, late in the next century (981), Eric the Red set sail from Iceland in search of a strange land which a Norse sailor, blown out of his course, had sighted in the far West. He found it, and, giving it the tempting name of Greenland, lured a band of colonists to those desolate shores. About the year 1000 Leif Ericson, — later known as “Leif the Lucky,” — a son of Eric the Red, set out from Greenland in quest of a land which a storm-driven mariner had seen in the southwest. He discovered a beautiful country which abounded in wild grapes. “From its products Leif gave the land a name, and called it Vinland.” Here the Northmen planted a colony and carried on trade with Greenland. In 1347 the Norse records mention a ship's going to this southern colony after a load of timber. That is the last that we hear of the settlement. The Northmen ceased to make voyages to the west, the colonies they had planted died out, all records of them were forgotten, and we have no evidence that Columbus ever heard of the discovery of Vinland.

2. The locality of “Vinland”; the Northmen and American history. In recent years repeated attempts have been made to determine the locality of Vinland, but without acknowledged success. Many have supposed that Leif Ericson landed on some part of the New England coast. The descriptions of the country given by the records fail to throw any decisive light on this point, and no Norse graves, inscriptions, or ruins have been found on the mainland of America, although the ruins of buildings erected by the Northmen are still standing in Greenland.

The conclusion of most eminent scholars respecting the settlements of the Northmen is that “the soil of the United States has not one vestige of their presence.” Granting that those bold sailors did establish colonies on the mainland of America, as it is certain they did on the coast of Greenland, still their work had no permanent results and no direct connection with American history. It was simply a match struck in the dark, sending out a momentary flash of light, but nothing more.

Isthmus of Suez barred the way. For this reason, the spices, silks, and drugs brought from the far East up the Red Sea had to be unloaded, transported across the desert to the Nile, and reshipped to Alexandria for the Mediterranean. Europe in the interest of trade called for an all-sea route to the Indies.

4. The work of "Prince Henry the Navigator"; Bartholomew Diaz. Prince Henry of Portugal, commonly known as "Prince Henry the Navigator," undertook to find the required route. For forty years (1420-1460) his captains were exploring the seemingly endless western coast of Africa, endeavoring to discover a way around that mysterious continent into the waters of the Indian Ocean. Year after year the Portuguese ships crept down that coast, but found no passage to the East. The problem was unsolved when Henry died, but nearly thirty years later success was practically gained. Bartholomew Diaz (1487) succeeded in doubling the formidable Cape of Storms.

Then it was seen that at last the way to the Indies was almost as good as opened; for that reason the Cape of Storms received the auspicious name of the Cape of Good Hope. But the length of the new route was a serious drawback, since every bale of goods shipped from the East would have to make a voyage of at least twelve thousand miles in order to reach the European market. The question arose, might it not be possible to find a better way?

5. Columbus¹ proposes a new and shorter route to the Indies. Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, was ready to answer that question. He was an experienced mariner, and believed that he could discover a far shorter and more direct all-water route to the much-coveted Indies. The leading geographers of that day regarded the earth as a globe. Columbus held the same idea, but he considered the globe to be much smaller than it actually is. It embraced, as he supposed, but one ocean — the Atlantic — which surrounded the three continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

¹ See Winsor's *America*, II, ch. i, iii, ix; Fiske's *Discovery of America*, I, ch. v, and 515-516.

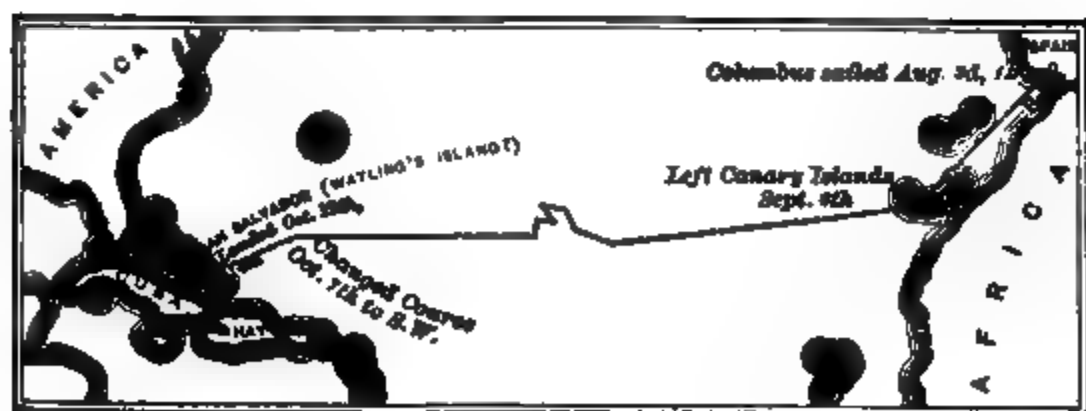
THE WORLD AS KNOWN SHORTLY BEFORE AND SHORTLY AFTER THE SAILING OF COLUMBUS

Light arrows show voyages made up to 1492; (light track, Da Gama's voyage, 1497).

Dark arrows, voyages of Columbus and Cabot.

White crosses, countries of which something was known before 1492.

White area, including western coast of Africa, the world as known shortly before the sailing of Columbus.



These three continents, with their outlying islands, he believed constituted all the land there was. He imagined that the Indies faced Europe at a distance of less than four thousand miles. His plan for reaching the far East was very simple; he would make for the Canaries, and then sail nearly due west until he touched the coast of Asia. Such a route would have an immense advantage over the circuitous and dangerous voyage around Africa, for it would be almost a straight line and would save something like eight thousand miles.

6. Columbus fits out vessels for the voyage; objects of the undertaking. After years of vain solicitation, Columbus succeeded in getting the assistance of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. He fitted out three small vessels for the voyage; of this little fleet he was to be admiral. To guide him on his course he had the compass, an improved astrolabe, or instrument for determining the position of a ship at sea by taking observations of the sun and stars, and his carefully drawn charts. In this great and original undertaking Columbus was not seeking to find new lands, but a new way to reach old lands. His three chief objects were: (1) to open direct trade with the Indies; (2) to carry the Catholic faith to the nations of the far East; (3) to gain for himself fame and fortune.

7. Columbus sails; the voyage; he discovers land and returns to Spain. Columbus sailed from Palos, Spain, August 3, 1492. He made directly for the Canary Islands, which he supposed to be in a line with Japan. The route to those islands was well known. He reached them August 12, and stopped more than three weeks to refit his vessels. On September 6 he set out on his ever-memorable voyage across the "Sea of Darkness." He believed himself, as he said, "an agent chosen by Heaven to accomplish a grand design."

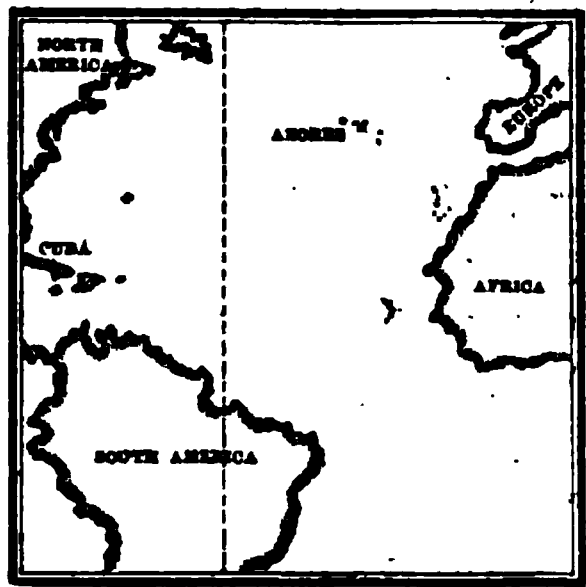
Day after day passed, but no land was sighted, and the sailors, losing heart, cried out to Columbus: "Are there no graves in Spain, that you should bring us here to perish?" They were terrified at the variation of the compass, and still later, becoming

desperate, they threatened to turn the ship back ; but Columbus compelled them to keep on their way, and on October 12 land was sighted. It was the low, sandy shore of a small island. Here he planted the royal standard of Spain, named the island San Salvador, or the Holy Redeemer, and took possession of it for Ferdinand and Isabella.

The naked natives crowded around the Spaniards shouting, "Come and see the men who have come from heaven." Going south Columbus discovered Cuba, which he believed to be a part of the mainland of Asia. Having left a garrison to hold a small fort on the coast of San Domingo or Hayti, he set sail for Spain (January, 1493). He was certain that he had found the Indies, and as he had reached them by sailing west, they received the name of the West Indies. For a like reason he called the natives of these islands Indians.

8. Letter of Columbus ; arrival in Spain ; reception at court ; the pope divides the earth. Forced to put into Lisbon, Columbus there wrote to the royal treasurer of Spain describing his discoveries. In his letter he declared that he had "accomplished a task to which the power of mortal man had never before attained." At Palos all the people, forming a solemn procession, came out to receive him, and when he arrived at the royal court at Barcelona the king and queen stood up to give him welcome.

News of the wonderful discovery was at once sent to the pope. He received the messenger with joy. As "lord of the world" he proceeded to divide the newly discovered heathen lands between Spain and Portugal, the two great exploring powers. Taking a map of the globe, he drew a line from pole to pole a hundred leagues west of the Azores and of the Cape Verde Islands. All



THE POPE'S DIVISION OF
THE WORLD, AS FINALLY
DECIDED IN 1494

lands found west of that line, not belonging to some Christian prince, he granted to Spain ; all similar lands east of it he recognized as belonging to Portugal.¹ Thus by a stroke of the pen through a map of the world the pope gave Spain the entire continent of North America. Ferdinand and Isabella soon began to establish settlements in the West Indies and seized the natives as slaves.

9. What Columbus discovered ; his death ; greatness of his work. In the course of his three subsequent voyages (1493-1504) Columbus discovered the mainland of Central and South America, but never touched any part of what is now the mainland of the United States. He died in 1506 in the unshaken belief that he had found the eastern coast of Asia. He did not dream that by a happy accident he had actually found a fourth continent — a “new world.” It has been well said : Nothing like it was ever done before, and nothing like it can ever be done again, for, save the island-continent of Australia, Columbus left no new worlds for a future explorer to reveal.

The true glory of the Genoese sailor is that he was the first civilized man who dared cross the Atlantic and thus lead the way to this fourth continent. His discovery stands forth the greatest secular event recorded in the history of the world, — one half of which had never suspected the existence of the other half.

10. John and Sebastian Cabot² plan a rival route to the Indies. When Columbus returned to Spain at the termination of his first voyage the news of his discovery created “great talk at the court of Henry VII in England.” John Cabot, an Italian merchant, was then living at the port of Bristol. His son Sebastian says that the report of what Columbus had achieved kindled in his own heart “a great flame of desire to attempt some notable

¹ In 1494 a conference of the Spanish and Portuguese powers moved the line of demarcation two hundred and seventy leagues farther west. This, as will be seen, gave Portugal possession of Brazil.

² See Winsor's *America*, III, ch. i ; Fiske's *Discovery of America*, II, 16.

thing." The "notable thing" developed itself into a project for reaching the Spice Islands of the Indies by sailing westward on an extreme northern course so as to pass round the "backside of Greenland."

John Cabot entered into his son's scheme with much enthusiasm, and hoped "to make London a greater place for spices than Alexandria." Henry VII issued a patent to the elder Cabot and his sons giving them authority to discover and take possession of those heathen lands in the west "which before this time have been unknown to all Christians."

II. First voyage of the Cabots; second voyage; Newfoundland fisheries; results of the first voyage. John Cabot, probably accompanied by Sebastian, sailed from Bristol in 1497. The chief results of the voyage were set forth on a map bearing this inscription: "In the year of our Lord 1497, John Cabot, a Venetian, and his son, Sebastian, . . . discovered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24th of June, about five o'clock in the morning."

This "land" — marked on the map, "Land First Seen" — appears to have been Cape Breton, or some part of the coast not far from it. Here the Cabots went ashore, and, hoisting the English flag, claimed the country for the British crown. The envoy of the Duke of Milan wrote to the duke from London of this claim, saying, "His Majesty (Henry VII) has won a part of Asia without a stroke of the sword."

The next year (1498) the Cabots sailed westward again. They went much farther north in the hope of discovering a short passage to the Indies. At this point the elder Cabot

disappears from history. Sebastian admits that the icebergs which blocked his way chilled his enthusiasm and made him turn southward. He coasted along the American mainland looking for a passage through to the East, until, as he says, he reached a point "almost equal in latitude with the Straits of Gibraltar." He then set his face homeward.

The reports made by the Cabots of the vast quantities of cod-fish seen by them in the vicinity of Newfoundland opened the way to the establishment by the English and French of the largest fisheries in the world. These fisheries had a very marked influence on American colonial history, and have since given rise to important international questions.

But the crowning result of John Cabot's voyage in 1497 was that he was the first European (since the days of the Northmen) who set foot on the continent of North America. He thus, as Burke declares, gave the English their claim to the mainland. This laid the foundation for the North American colonies which Sir Walter Raleigh began in the next century.

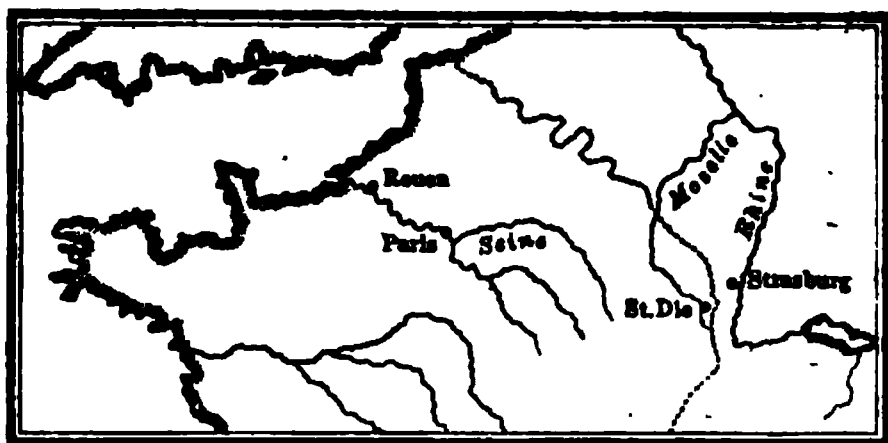
12. The voyages of Americus Vesputius to the "New World." In 1499 (after Columbus had made his third voyage and had discovered the mainland at the mouth of the Orinoco) Americus Vesputius,¹ a Florentine, and a friend of Columbus, sailed with a Spanish expedition which explored part of the same coast. Two years later (1501) he made another voyage and touched Brazil. On his return he suggested that the lands he had visited in the south should be called the "New World." The next year (1503) Vesputius again visited South America and built a fort on the coast of Brazil. On his return he wrote a brief account of his voyages, but the original manuscript has never been found.

13. How America received its name. A copy of the account written by Vesputius chanced to fall into the hands of a German

¹ The question whether Vesputius made an earlier voyage (1497) is still a matter of controversy. See Winsor's *America*, II, 129-179. In case he made the voyage of 1497, he may have discovered the mainland of the western continent a week or two before the Cabots did (§ 11). Scholars differ, too, in regard to their acceptance of his other statements. See Larned's *Literature of American History*, I, 64-65.

named Waldseemüller. He was a teacher of geography in the college of St. Dié — a village of Lorraine now included in eastern France. The college owned a small press on which, in 1507, Waldseemüller printed a thin Latin pamphlet bearing the title "An Introduction to Geography." In it he described the three continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa; he then gave an account of the voyages of Americus Vesputius, and closed by saying, "The fourth part of the world having been discovered by Americus, it may be called . . . the land of Americus, or *America*."

The suggestion met with favor. On a German globe made in 1515 we find America standing out in bold letters on what appears



THE VILLAGE OF ST. DIÉ, EASTERN FRANCE

to be a great southern island in the western Atlantic (see map on page 12). The name was at first confined to South America; later it was applied to both of the western continents.

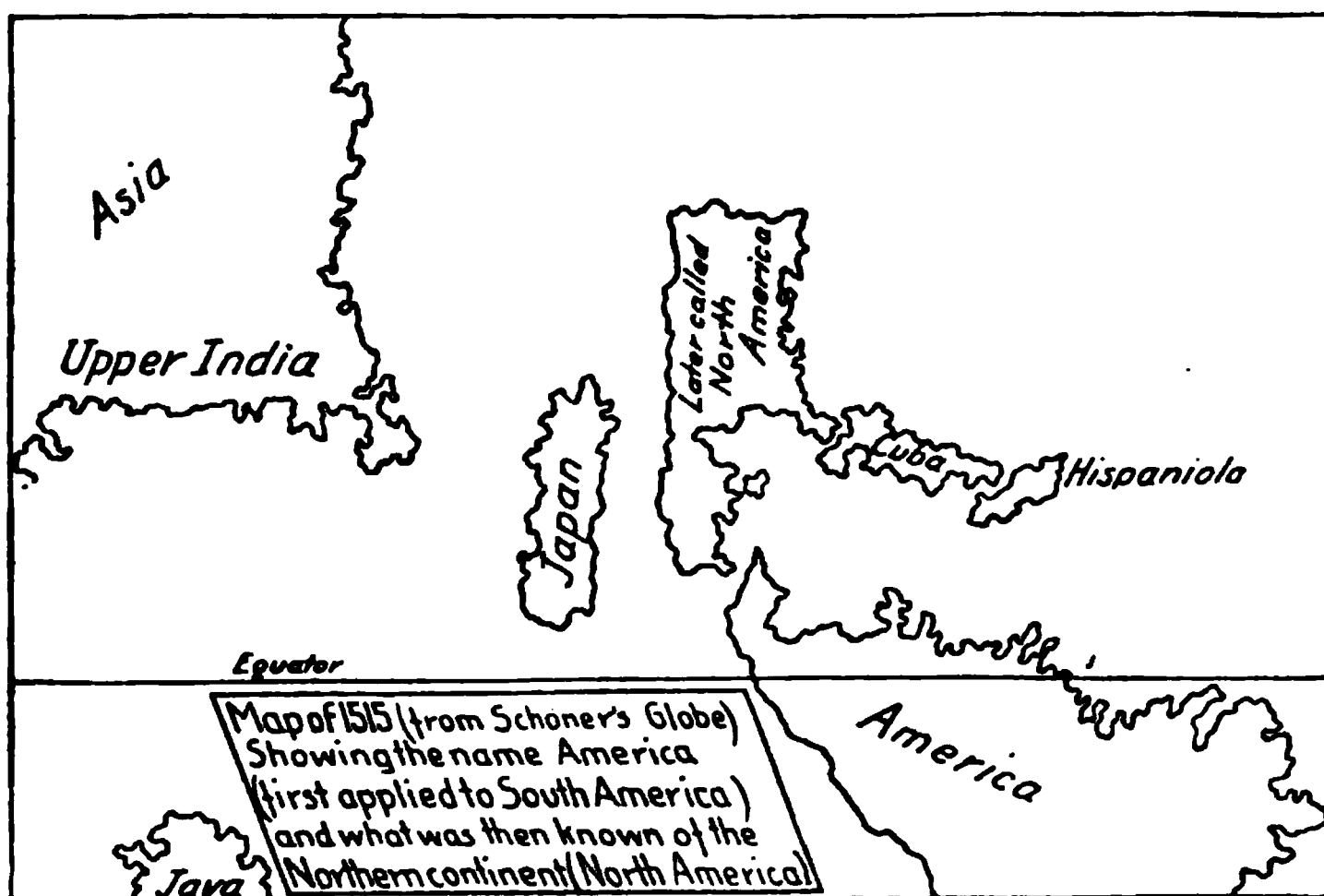
14. How it was discovered that America was a continent; Magellan; Bering. For a long time North America was laid down on the maps of that period as an island. The true continental character of the New World was discovered gradually. Cabot and Vesputius must have suspected it, but it was not until Magellan made his famous voyage around the globe (1519-1521) that the evidence became strong. The Spanish explorers of the Pacific coast, and Sir Francis Drake, in his voyage around the world (1577-1579), confirmed that evidence.

But even then the actual breadth of North America was not clearly recognized, and as late as Henry Hudson's expedition (1609) European navigators thought that they might find a short passage through the northern continent to the Pacific. In the next century Vitus Bering, the Danish explorer (1728), sailed through the straits which have since borne his name and proved

that America was not attached to Asia in that quarter. In 1856 the discovery of the Northwest Passage completed this process and showed that America is absolutely disconnected from Asia.

15. Summary. About the year 1000 Leif Ericson, a Northman, discovered Vinland on the North American coast; but in the course of a few centuries all knowledge of Vinland was lost. In 1492 Columbus in searching for a new route to the Indies discovered the West India Islands. In 1497 John Cabot landed on the North American continent and claimed it for the English crown. England considered that this claim gave her the right to plant colonies in America.

Between 1499 and 1503 Americus Vesputius made three voyages to the South American coast. His description of the New World suggested the name America, which was given to South America, and later extended to the northern continent. The true character of North America was discovered by Magellan, Drake, the Spanish explorers of the Pacific coast, Captain Bering, and his successors.



II

ATTEMPTS AT EXPLORING AND COLONIZING AMERICA¹

(1513-1600)

*For authorities for this chapter, see footnotes and the classified
list of books in the Appendix, page xxiv*

THE COUNTRY—THE NATIVES—EFFECTS OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA ON EUROPE

16. The miraculous spring; Ponce de Leon discovers Florida. Early in the sixteenth century a Portuguese historian wrote to the pope, "There is an island about three hundred and fifty leagues from Hispaniola (Hayti) . . . on which is a never-failing spring of such marvelous efficacy that when the water is drunk, perhaps with some attention to diet, it makes old people young again."

Ponce de Leon, a Spanish cavalier, who was, as his epitaph declared, "a lion by name and still more by nature," resolved to set out in search of this marvelous spring. He hoped thereby to find new lands and new life at the same time. It was a compliment to America that men believed it could give all things, not only gold and fame but even one's lost youth.

De Leon sailed (1513) from Porto Rico with a picked crew in search of the miraculous fountain. On Easter Day — in Spanish called Pascua Florida, or "Flowery Easter" — they discovered land. De Leon and his men went ashore a few miles north of where the Spaniards later founded St. Augustine. He called the

¹ See, in general, Winsor's *America*, II, ch. iii, iv; III, ch. iv; Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World*, ch. vii-ix; Fiske's *Discovery of America*, II, 500-522; Thwaites' *Colonies*, 27-32, 33-34.

land Florida from the name of the day on which he had discovered it. Later (1521) he returned to colonize Florida. The Indians resisted his attempt to seize their country, and in the fight the stout-hearted old cavalier received his death wound.

17. Balboa discovers a new ocean ; Magellan names it ; Spanish exploration of the Pacific coast. Meanwhile Balboa, the Spanish governor of a colony on the Isthmus of Darien, set out (1513) to discover a sea said to exist in the southwest. After an exhausting march of nearly three weeks, over rocky hills and through vine-tangled forests, the expedition reached the foot of a mountain, where he called a halt. Climbing to the top of this height, the Spaniard looked down upon the shining waters of the "South Sea."

No white man had ever before beheld that greatest of the oceans of the globe ; next after Columbus, Balboa had made the most remarkable geographical discovery recorded in history. A few days later, wading into the waters of that sea, he drew his sword and declared that the kings of Spain would hold possession of the South Sea and of its coasts and islands "while the earth revolves, and until the universal judgment of mankind."

Seven years later (1520) Magellan entered that ocean on his voyage around the globe. He found its waters so calm that he named it the Pacific.

Cortez had begun the conquest of Mexico, and in the course of a little more than twenty years (1520-1543) Spain had explored the Pacific coast of North America as far as Oregon.

18. Narvaez attempts to conquer Florida ; the adventures of Cabeza de Vaca. While Cortez was plundering Mexico, Narvaez started from Spain (1528) to conquer Florida, but lost his life in the undertaking. Cabeza de Vaca and three survivors of the expedition were wrecked on the coast of Texas.

He and his companions managed to escape from a long captivity among the Indians, and set out to cross the country to the Spanish settlements on the Pacific coast. After two years of wandering they arrived (1538) at the city of Mexico.

Cabeza carried to the Spaniards of the Pacific coast reports of the existence of the wonderful stone and adobe cities of the Indians of New Mexico and Arizona. This led to the great exploring expedition undertaken (1540) by Coronado.

19. De Soto's expedition; the Indians. When Cabeza returned to Spain he reported that Florida was "the richest country in the world." Ferdinand de Soto, who had been with Pizarro in South America, heard this report with savage delight. He liked the "sport of killing Indians," and hoped to strip the Florida chiefs of their gold as Pizarro had stripped the unfortunate ruler of Peru.

In 1539 De Soto landed with an army of six hundred men at Tampa Bay, Florida. The Indians fought heroically against the invaders, but their arrows were no match for the arms carried by these white "warriors of fire."

The Spaniards chained a number of natives in gangs, forced them to serve as guides through the forest, and made them carry their baggage and pound their corn.

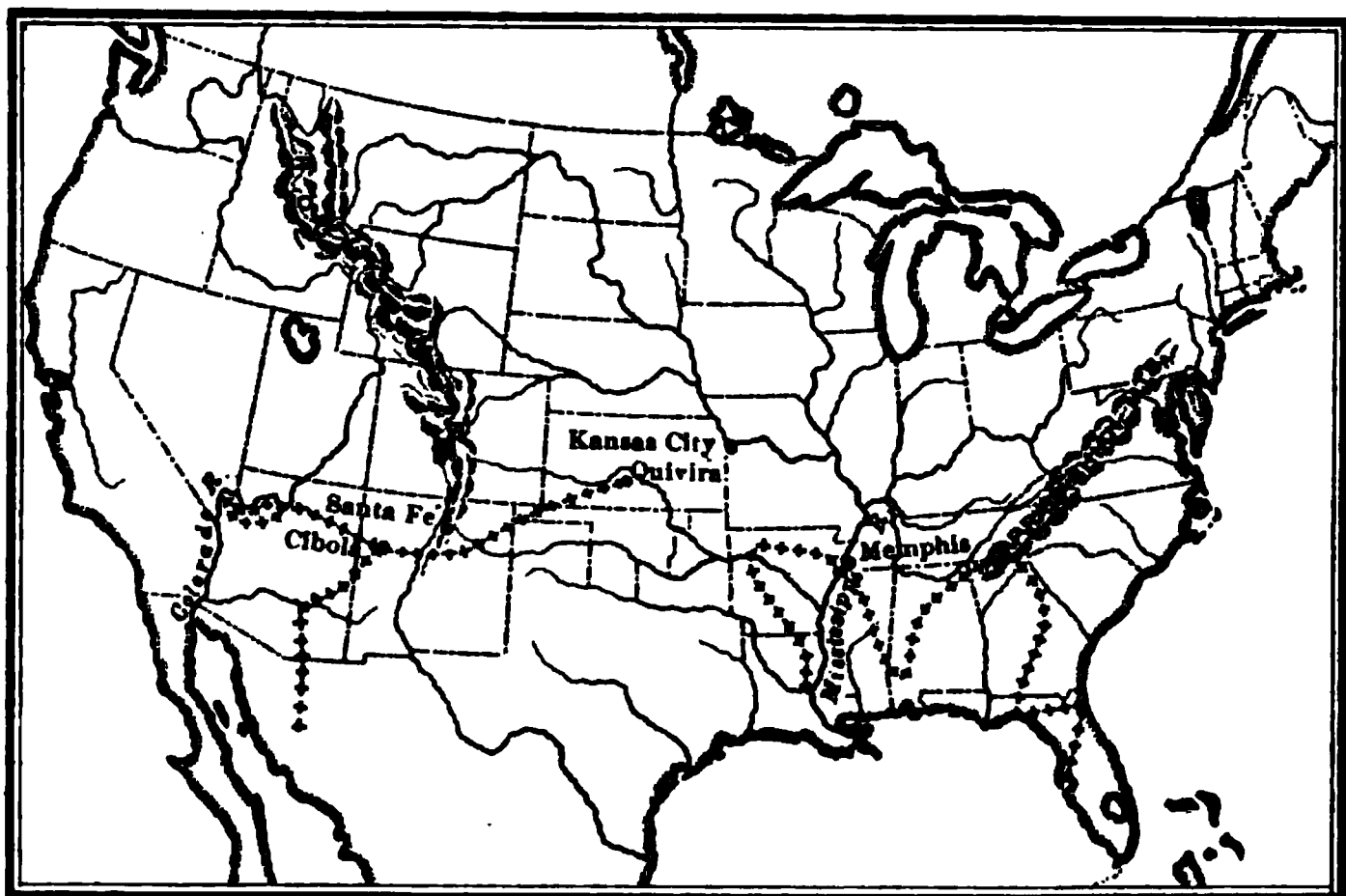
20. De Soto discovers the "Great River" of the West; his death. In the spring (1541) the Spaniards came to the banks of the "Great River" of the West. At the point where they first saw it, the river "was about half a league broad," of "great depth," with "a strong current," "the water was always muddy, and timber and trees were continually floating down." Such is the first description by Europeans of the Mississippi.

De Soto and his party crossed this mighty stream probably not far below the present city of Memphis, and pushed on to the vicinity of the Hot Springs of Arkansas. In the spring, utterly discouraged, they set out to reach the Gulf of Mexico. They got as far as the point where the Red River unites with the Mississippi. There (1542) De Soto died, and was secretly buried at midnight in the turbid waters of the "Great River" which he had discovered (see map on page 16). His followers built boats, and dropping down the stream succeeded at length in reaching Mexico.

21. The seven wonderful cities; Coronado's expedition; Onate's expedition. But the effect of Cabeza de Vaca's reports did not

end with De Soto's disastrous expedition. Some Indians had told the Spaniards in Mexico that there were seven wonderful cities full of gold, silver, and precious stones about forty days' journey northward in a region called Cibola. Cabeza, then in Mexico, said that he too had heard of these remarkable cities. The cupidity of the Spaniards was excited to fever point. A negro who had been one of Cabeza's former companions was sent out as guide to a monk who was directed to bring back an account of Cibola.

They penetrated Arizona and New Mexico, and came in sight of one of the marvelous cities. The next year (1540) Coronado,



EXPLORING EXPEDITIONS OF DE SOTO AND CORONADO

the Spanish governor of a Mexican province, set out with an army to conquer Cibola. After a terrible march over mountains of rock and through suffocating deserts, Coronado reached one of the cities — the pueblo of Zuni, it is supposed — and took it by assault, but found no gold or precious stones.

From this point he sent out an exploring party in search of a strange river. They discovered the Cañon of the Colorado — the deepest gorge known to exist in the earth's crust. Led on

by stories of gold to be found farther north, Coronado pushed forward until, according to his own computation, he reached the fortieth parallel of latitude. Here, first of white men, he hunted buffalo — perhaps on the plains of Kansas. The next year (1541) he reached the banks of a branch of the Mississippi and set up a cross bearing the inscription: "Thus far came the general Francisco Vasquez de Coronado." Had the bold explorer kept on eastward from New Mexico he might have met his countryman De Soto, who had crossed the Mississippi and was moving westward.

More than half a century later Onate, a Spanish military leader, founded Santa Fé (1605), the second oldest town in the United States; his name, cut on the smooth white sandstone of "Inscription Rock," between Santa Fé and Zuni, is still distinctly legible.

These men cared nothing for America itself, but only for what they could get out of it. Cortez summed up their motives in a single sentence when he told the Mexicans: "We Spaniards are troubled with a disease of the heart for which we find gold, and gold only, a specific remedy."

22. French explorations; Huguenot colonies planted at the South. But a party of Frenchmen dared to dispute the claims of Spain to the exclusive possession of the North American continent. Cartier had already discovered and explored the St. Lawrence (1535), and had named a lofty hill on an island in that river Montreal. Not quite thirty years later (1562) Admiral Coligny, the champion of the French Protestants, sent out a number of Huguenot emigrants to plant a colony at the South. Their object was to build up a Protestant commonwealth at Port Royal, on the coast of what is now South Carolina. The attempt failed. Two years later a new Huguenot colony settled near the mouth of the St. John's River, Florida, and built Fort Caroline. Here they were joined by Jean Ribaut with reënforcements.

23. Philip II sends Menendez to exterminate the Huguenot colonists; St. Augustine; the massacre; De Gourgues' revenge. Philip II of Spain was startled by hearing of these trespassers on

his American dominions. French pirates had (1555) burned the Spanish settlement of Havana and butchered all of the inhabitants. Philip was eager for revenge; he was resolved to show no mercy to men who in his eyes were not only intruders, but "heretics." Pedro Menendez was sent over with a fleet to deal summarily with the Huguenots.

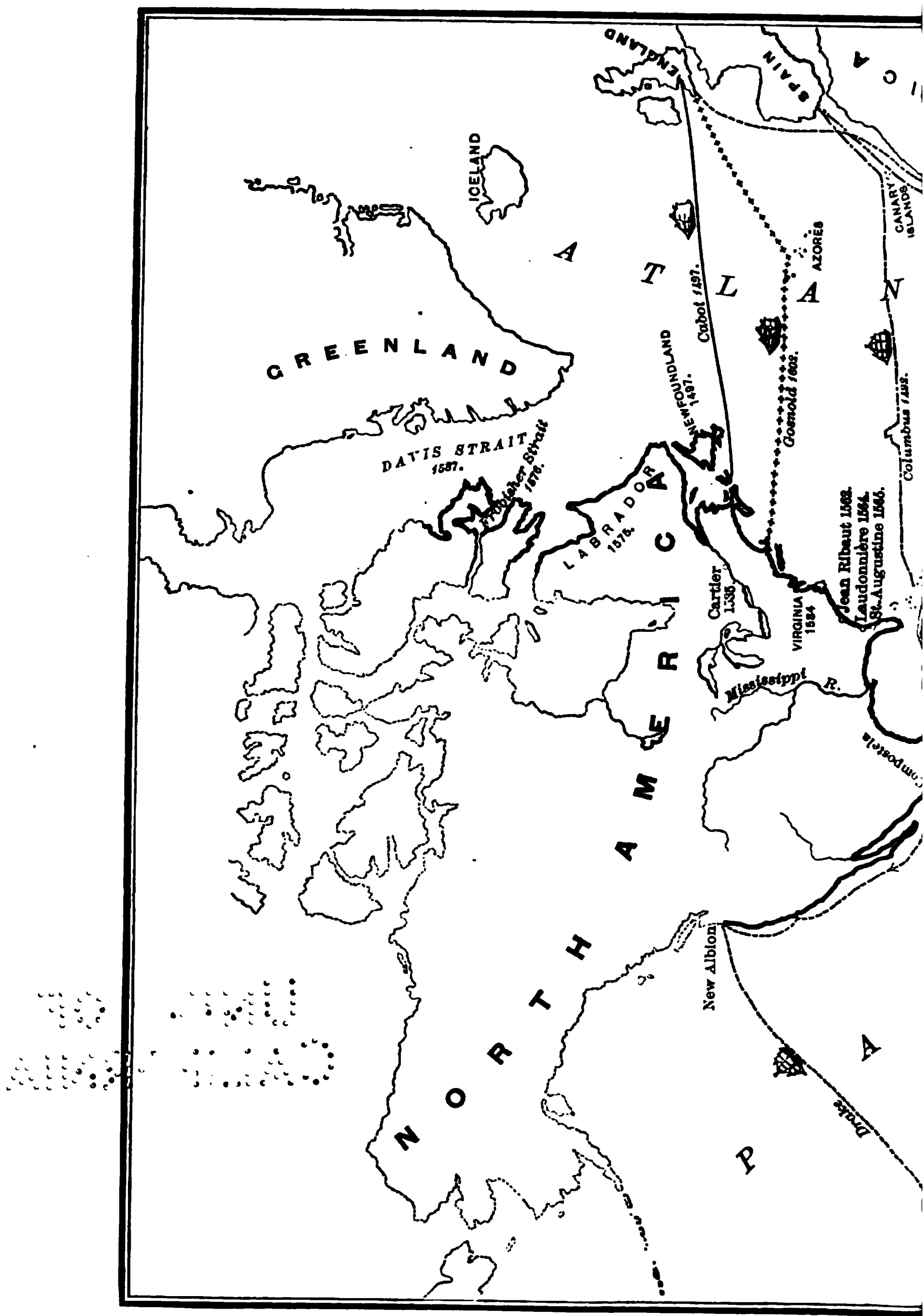
Menendez arrived in time to catch sight of Ribaut's vessels, but could not overtake them. He then dropped down to a point about forty miles south, where he erected a fort (1565), and thus laid the foundations of St. Augustine, the oldest city built by white men on the North American continent.

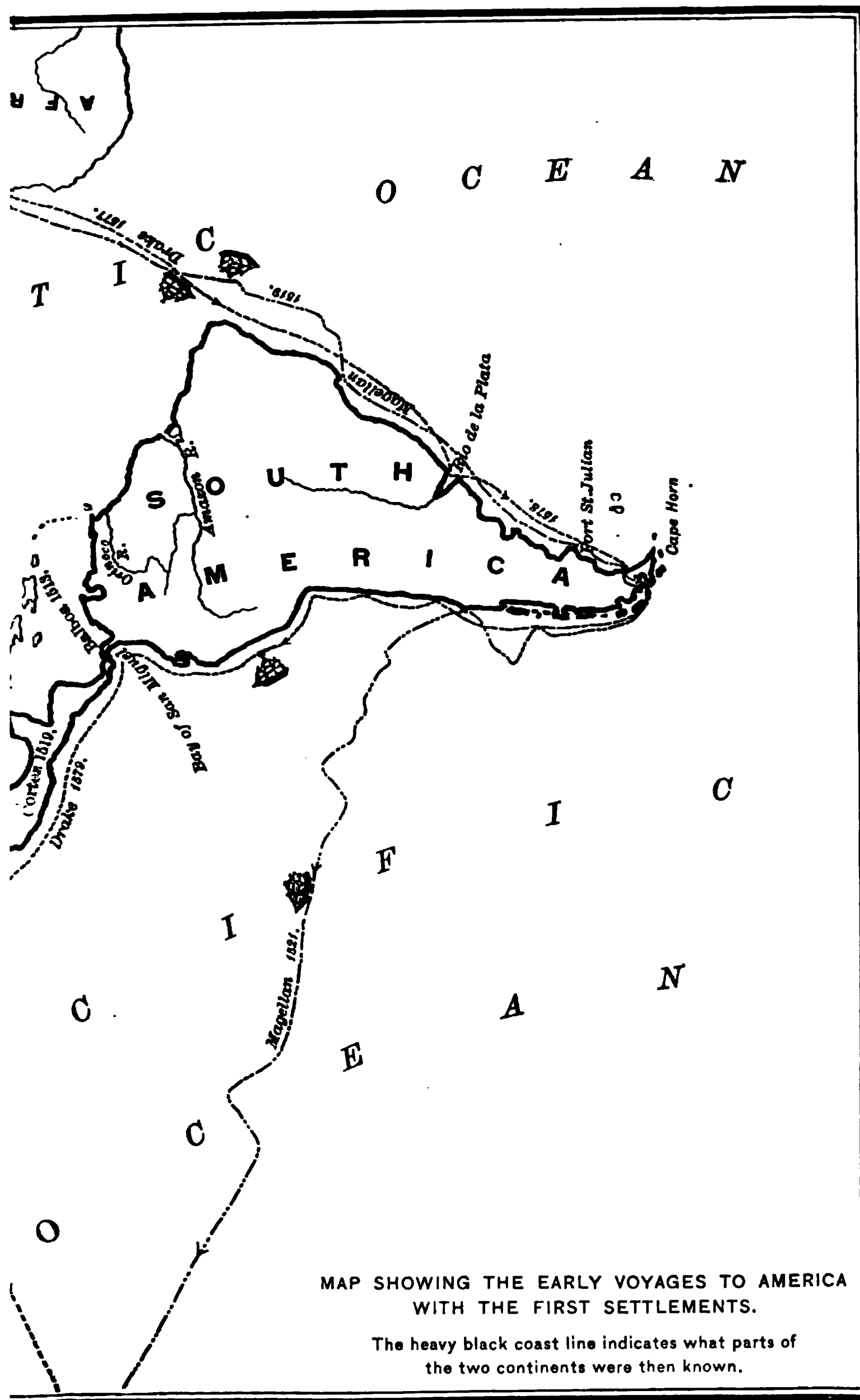
Ribaut, leaving a small garrison to hold Fort Caroline, sailed to attack the Spaniards, but his fleet was wrecked on the coast. Menendez heard of the disaster, marched rapidly across the country, surprised Fort Caroline, and killed most of the French in their beds. The women and children were spared. The story of this massacre reached France; it was reported that Menendez had hanged a number of the garrison, and had written above their swinging corpses: "I do this not as to Frenchmen but as to Lutherans."

On his return from Fort Caroline Menendez fell in with some of Ribaut's shipwrecked men. Trusting to the Spaniard's mercy, they surrendered; their hands were tied behind their backs, they were marched to St. Augustine, and all, except a few sailors who professed to be Catholics, were put to death. A little later Ribaut himself, with some of his soldiers, was discovered. Part of them, including the captain, surrendered. They were told that they must die. "We are of the earth," said Ribaut, "and to earth we shall return — twenty years more or less matters little." All were stabbed to the heart. Afterward some of the French who had evaded pursuit were captured. Their lives were spared, but they were sent to the galleys, a fate more cruel than death itself.

France made no attempt to retaliate, but two years later (1567) Captain De Gourgues, said to have been a French

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MAP SHOWING THE EARLY VOYAGES TO AMERICA
WITH THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS.

The heavy black coast line indicates what parts of
the two continents were then known.

Catholic, sailed from France and captured the Spanish fort on the St. John's. He hanged his prisoners on the same tree which it was said Menendez had used for executing his French captives. Over their bodies he placed this inscription: "I do this not as to Spaniards, but as to traitors, robbers, and murderers." Not daring to attack St. Augustine, De Gourgues returned to France leaving Spain supreme in America.

24. **The English search for a northwest passage to India; Drake's voyage; Gilbert; Raleigh.** But soon a more formidable rival than the French appeared on the scene to contest the Spanish monopoly of North America. Frobisher, the English navigator (1576-1578), made great efforts to discover a north-western passage to Asia. A little later (1579) Sir Francis Drake, in his voyage around the world, landed on the northern Pacific coast. He took possession of the country for Queen Elizabeth and named it New Albion. The English, however, made no attempt to plant a colony on the western coast, but a few years afterward (1583) Sir Humphrey Gilbert claimed Newfoundland for the British crown. His intention was to colonize the country, but he was lost at sea.

The year following (1584), Walter Raleigh, a half brother of Sir Humphrey, obtained a charter from Elizabeth giving him the right to lay claim to any land in the west "not actually possessed by any Christian prince." Raleigh's charter guaranteed to all subjects of the queen who should settle under it the same rights and privileges which they enjoyed at home. Burke says of Raleigh: "He was the first man in England who had a right conception of settlements abroad." His object was to found an English colonial empire in America, and to put "a bridle on the king of Spain," — England's most formidable enemy.

25. **Raleigh and Virginia; products of Virginia; the lost colony; the results.** Raleigh sent out an exploring expedition (1584). The men landed on Roanoke Island and brought back such glowing accounts of the "good land" that Elizabeth called it Virginia and rewarded Raleigh with knighthood. By 1606 the name

Virginia was given to the entire coast from 34° to 45° ,—in other words, from the mouth of the Cape Fear River to the Bay of Fundy. The next year (1585) Raleigh sent out a body of colonists, but they soon came back. They had, however, discovered an Indian herb which the poet Spenser called "divine tobacco." They had also found certain round "roots" which "being boiled are very good food."

Sir Walter planted the Indian herb and the round "roots" in his garden at Youghal near Cork, Ireland. By his efforts the potato, the most valuable vegetable known to man, and tobacco, denounced by King James as "the vilest of weeds," were introduced into use in the British Isles.

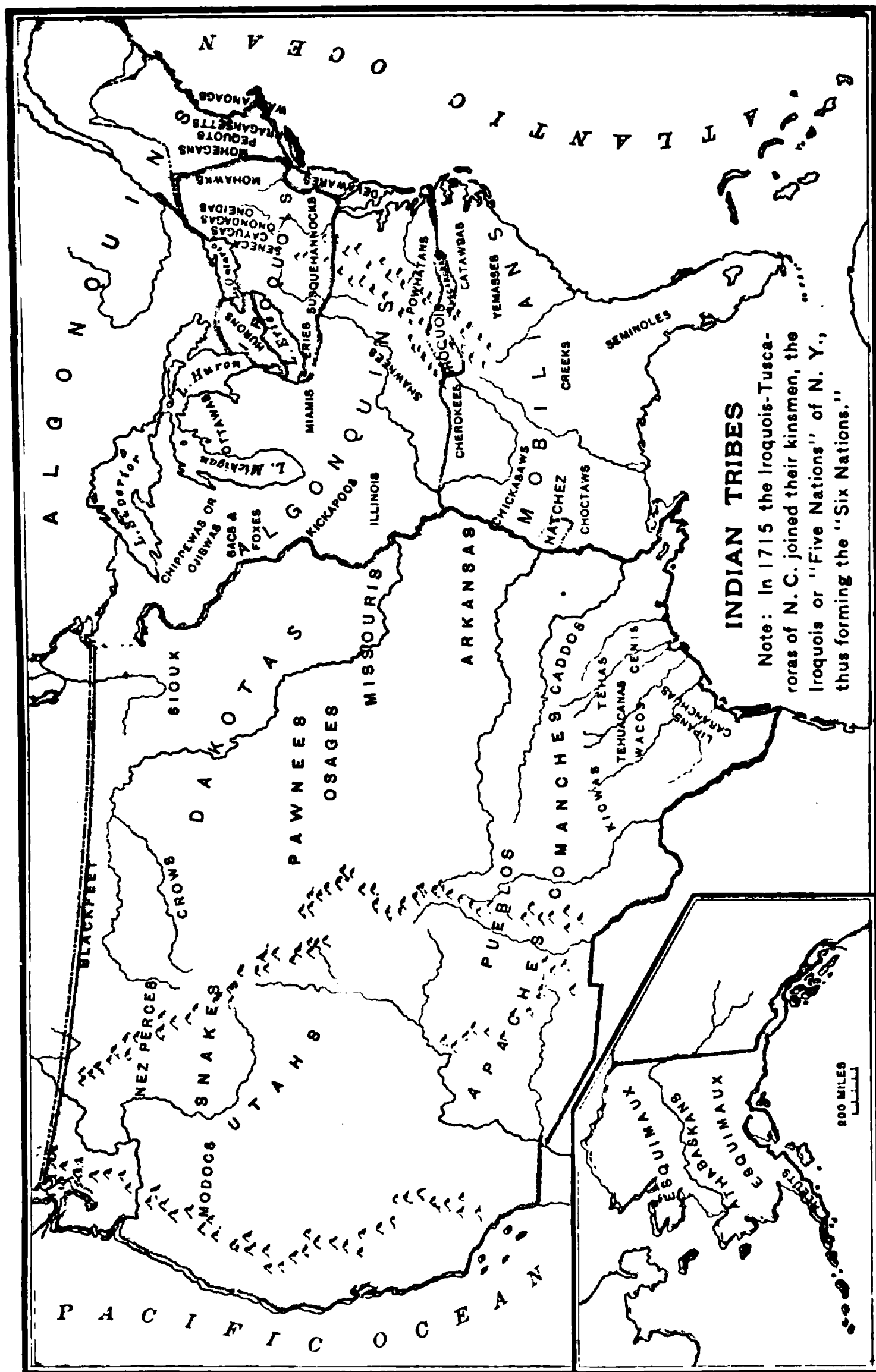
Not disheartened by the failure of his first attempt to establish a settlement in Virginia, Sir Walter sent out emigrants (1587) to form another. This colony mysteriously disappeared and no trace of it was ever found, save the name, Croatoan, which the colonists had cut on the bark of a tree when they left their settlement never to return.

Though Sir Walter's enterprise failed, the idea survived, and was successfully carried out later by a company of London merchants. Raleigh believed that he should live to see an "English nation" founded in the New World. He was not disappointed. His memorial window in the church of St. Margaret near Westminster Abbey commemorates the fact that he "laid the corner stone of the American Republic."

26. The American Indians ;¹ their character ; their numbers. Before proceeding to the work of Raleigh's successors, let us consider the subject of the Indians and their influence on the history of our country.

The Indians that Columbus met in the West Indies were usually gentle, timid, and easily enslaved by Europeans. But no colonist ever accused the northern Indians of excessive meekness of spirit. In bloodthirsty ferocity and bulldog tenacity an Algonquin —

¹ See Winsor's *America*, I, ch. v ; Parkman's *Pontiac*, I, ch. i ; Morgan's *League of the Iroquois* ; Ellis' *The Red Man and the White Man* ; Thwaites' *Colonies*, 7-19.



or, still better, an Iroquois — was a match for the most brutal Spaniard that ever set foot on the shores of the New World.

The entire Indian population east of the Mississippi probably fell short of two hundred thousand. The same area to-day supports a white population of over fifty millions.

Like the wild beasts of the forest, the red men possessed the country without occupying it. They required vast solitudes in which to seek their game. This was the more necessary because the dog was their only domestic animal.

The Indians cultivated some small patches of corn and tobacco. But this area of cultivation remained nearly stationary, since the size of the cornfield which a squaw could work over with her clam-shell hoe could never be very great when measured by the vigorous appetites of a healthy Indian family.

27. Influence of the character of the Indians on the early settlers. It was perhaps fortunate for the future of America that the Indians of the North rejected civilization. Had they accepted it, the whites and Indians might have intermarried to some extent as they did in Mexico. That would have given us a population made up in a measure of shiftless half-breeds.

It was fortunate, too, that the Indians whom the English colonists encountered were generally warlike. Had they been peaceful and submissive, the white settlers would probably have reduced them to slavery, — as they did in the West Indies. That would have struck a serious blow at the habits of personal industry and of self-help acquired by the colonists.

The fact that the red man was intractable, independent, and fond of fighting prevented the great body of settlers from spreading rapidly over the country. It compelled them to live in a tolerably compact line along the coast, made them vigilant, exercised them in the art of war, and made union for self-defense a necessity. When later the English settlers had to fight the Canadian French, this training in arms, forced upon them by conflicts with the Indians, came into effective play and had decisive results on the future of America.

28. The indebtedness of the colonists to the Indians for food and clothing. The relations in which the aborigines stood to the colonists as friends or enemies had important economic results. The first and greatest need of the colonists was an abundant supply of food. The chief American cereal was Indian corn. It did not grow in Europe, and no Englishman ever saw a field of it before coming to this country. The red men taught the Virginia settlers how to raise corn in an uncleared forest by simply girdling the trees and so letting in the sunlight. In Plymouth the Indians showed the Pilgrims how to make their corn grow by putting a fish, as a fertilizer, in every hill. They showed them, too, how to make maple sugar, and how to spear fish through the ice in winter and pack them in snow till wanted; that was the Indian's "cold storage" system.

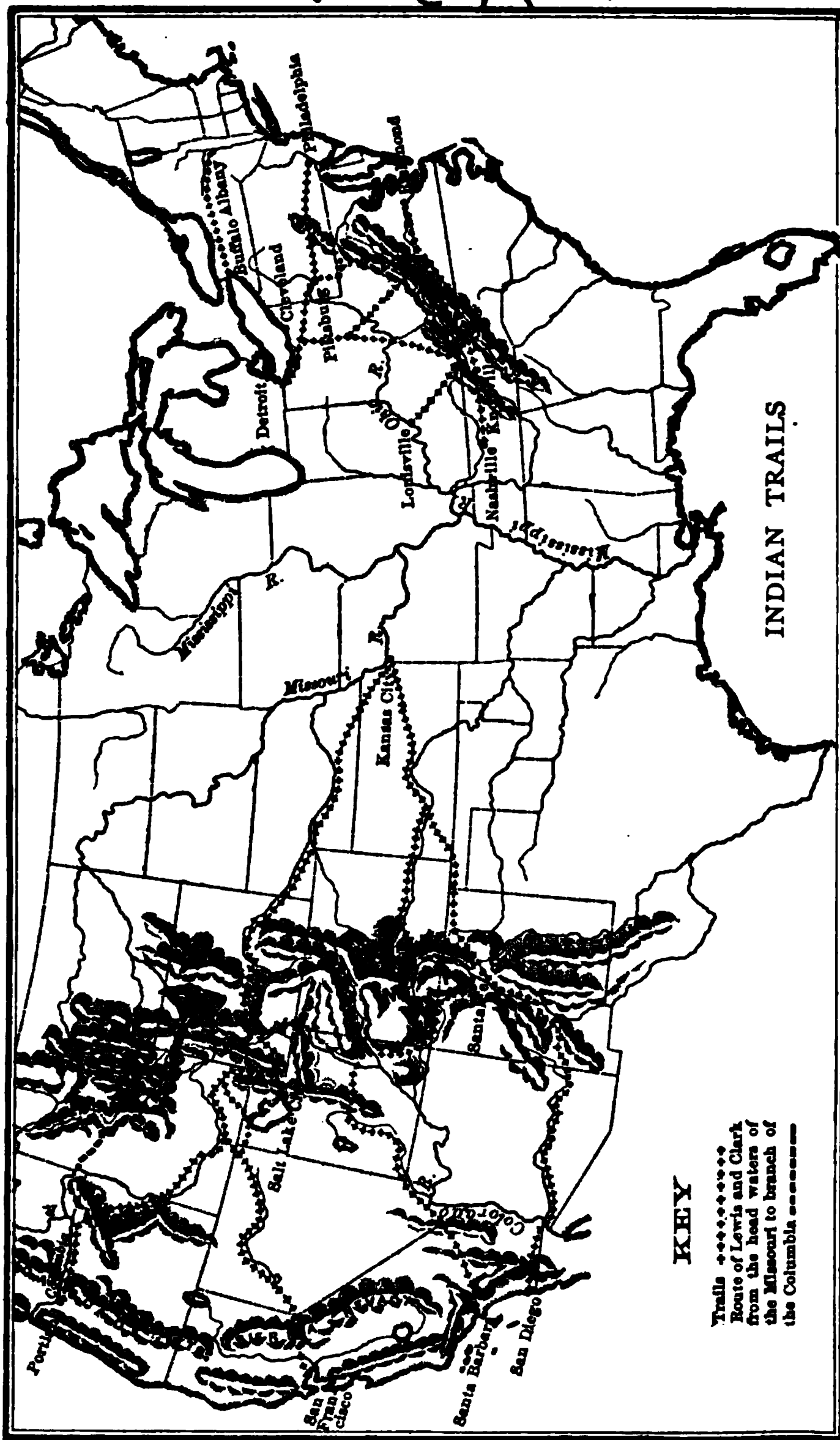
From them the settlers learned to tan deerskins for clothing, to make moccasins, snowshoes, and birch-bark canoes, — all articles of indispensable use in the American wilderness.

29. Value of wampum; Indian labor; trade with the Indians. Next to food and clothing one of the greatest wants felt by the colonists was some medium of exchange for carrying on trade with the natives. The Indians themselves met this want by their wampum or shell money. For many years this currency was practically well-nigh the only one in use in certain parts of the English settlements. It proved a most important factor in trading with the natives. The settlers also used it among themselves. They bought merchandise, hired labor, and sometimes paid the salaries of their schoolmasters and ministers or their tax bills with clam-shell money.

Again, it was the Indians who first enabled the whites to open commerce with the mother country. Fish and furs were always in demand in England; the red men were experts in trapping beaver, catching codfish, and in whaling; on this account the colonists found it profitable to hire their services.

On the other hand, the Indians were excellent customers for the hoes, knives, hatchets, blankets, muskets, ammunition, and

INDIAN STATES



The western trails are from Semple's American History and its Geographic Conditions, by permission of the author; the eastern trails are from Hulbert's Red Men's Roads, by permission of the Arthur H. Clark Company

rum which the colonists offered for sale. With iron hoes the natives could raise a much greater quantity of corn, and Governor Bradford states that the Narragansetts offered for sale from five hundred to a thousand bushels at a time.

30. Indian trails and waterways;¹ fur-trading posts. When the colonists had grown so strong that they had begun to develop an inland commerce, the Indian proved helpful in a different direction. In the course of centuries of travel the red man's feet had worn trails through the forests. The settlers took the hint and often laid out their roads on the line of these trails. In the state of New York the turnpike, the Erie Canal, and the New York Central Railway, running nearly side by side from Albany to Buffalo, follow the great Iroquois Trail extending from the Hudson to Lake Erie. In America the Indian was the first road surveyor (see map facing page 22).

The waterways and portages or carrying places of the Indians were as valuable to the colonists as their trails. By means of their light birch canoes the natives could pass from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic on the one hand and to the Gulf of Mexico on the other. They transported immense quantities of furs from the interior to the seacoast for shipment to Europe. Merchandise and household goods were carried inland in the same way. Over this great network of waterways the Indians were our first pilots. The fur-trading posts in the West marked the sites of what became important settlements. Detroit, Milwaukee, Chicago, St. Louis, and other western cities began in this way.

31. The Indians claim the continent; Indian wars. The red men claimed the American continent as their own. They held their lands not by private ownership, but by tribal tenure. If they disposed of a tract, they seem to have considered in many cases that they still retained some kind of interest in it. This naturally caused disputes. The English colonists got their lands of the Indians by purchase, force, or fraud. Often the settlers

¹ See Semple's *American History and its Geographic Conditions*, and Hulbert's *The Red Men's Roads*.

bought the soil at a fair price. In other cases they deliberately drove the natives from their homes and hunting grounds, or shamefully cheated them out of their possessions by some cunning trick, such as the "Walking Purchase" swindle in 1737 (§ 144).

The result of unfair treatment was war, and war accompanied by all the hideous acts of cruelty in which the Indians took delight. But the increase of the white settlers made conflict with the Indians well-nigh inevitable. The interests of the two races were to a certain extent antagonistic. The white man wanted to clear the land, — in fact, had to clear it in order to live; the Indian wanted to retain the primeval wilderness as a game preserve. Every tree which the settler's ax felled was a sign to the red man that he must sooner or later move farther west or starve. Hence it is that, down to a comparatively late period, Indian wars occupy a prominent place in our history.

32. Our alliances with the Indians; the Iroquois, or "Five Nations." Our alliances with the Indians were often as important as our wars with them. It was largely through the help of the Iroquois that the English prevented the Canadian French from getting possession of New York.

Again, the English, through the Indians of New York, obtained "their first real treaty-land" on the rich country west of the Alleghenies, between the Ohio and the Great Lakes. Those Indians claimed that region by reason of their conquests over other tribes. By a treaty made at Lancaster, Pennsylvania (1744), the Iroquois ceded all their western lands to the king of England.

When the French claimed that vast and fertile region by right of discovery and exploration, England replied, in behalf of her American colonies, that the territory was already hers by virtue of the Lancaster Indian treaty. Whether the Iroquois cession was valid or not, it was believed to be so, and it helped to open the way for the future growth of the English colonies in the West.

33. Summary of our relations with the Indians. We may summarize our relations with the Indians as economic and political,

Under the first head we find that: (1) the Indians taught the settlers how to grow corn and thus supply themselves with an inexhaustible quantity of food; (2) they helped them to open up a highly profitable European trade in furs and fish; (3) they furnished the first currency for obtaining supplies to carry on that trade; (4) the Indian trails and waterways became permanent means of communication to the settlers, and the fur-trading posts often grew into thriving cities.

Under the second head we find that: (1) the necessity of defense against hostile tribes induced the colonists to keep together, and trained them in war; (2) alliances formed with the powerful Iroquois confederacy of New York served as a barrier against the designs of the Canadian French, and thus favored the unity and continued growth of the English colonies; (3) through a treaty made with the Iroquois at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the English obtained a formal title to the lands beyond the Alleghenies; thus they secured room for expansion and laid the foundation of our hold on the West.

34. Effects of the discovery of America on Europe. 1. The success of Columbus gave rise to voyages of exploration and opened new fields for commerce. Spain rapidly rose, through the supply of precious metals she obtained in Mexico and Peru, to be the most powerful nation in Europe. The large amount of gold and silver thus brought into circulation in the Old World stimulated rival nations to send out expeditions to conquer and colonize empires in America.

In England and on the continent the increase of the precious metals frequently enabled the peasantry, who paid a fixed money rent, to become owners of the lands they cultivated. Many emigrants of the best class who came to this country from England sprang from that thrifty and industrious peasantry.

2. The Spaniards who settled the West Indies at first enslaved the Indians; but finding that negroes were far more profitable as laborers, they gradually introduced African slavery into those

islands. After the English planted colonies on the mainland, much of their commerce was with the West Indies. Interference with this trade by the British government was one cause of the American Revolution.

3. North America gave Europe new food products of inestimable value. Chief among them stand the potato and Indian corn. Besides these the cod fisheries of Newfoundland furnished the poorer classes with inexhaustible supplies of that cheap and well-known fish. America also in time supplied Europe with such luxuries as cocoa and tobacco. Columbus found cotton in the West Indies, and carried back with him cloth manufactured from it by the natives. Sugar, rice, and cotton had long been produced in the East Indies, but their high price in Europe made them the luxuries of the rich. Now they were discovered growing wild in America. Eventually their cultivation in the southern states made them so cheap that they came into general use throughout the civilized world.

4. But the crowning result of the discovery of America was that it widened the intellectual horizon more than any event had ever done before. Men found that they were living in a grander world than they had imagined. New possibilities, new opportunities were opened to them. Hope was awakened, enterprise stimulated. "If," says Freeman, the eminent English historian, "the New World owes its being to the Old World, the Old owes to the New the revival and expansion of its being."

At best the Old World was limited; men knew its bounds and its resources. There progress was beset with difficulty; but no one dared to fix the limits of America or say what marvels it contained. Here certainly was room for all, and food for all. If in many of its physical aspects — its soil and climate — it was Europe repeated, still it was repeated on a colossal scale, with vaster forests, wider prairies, loftier mountain ranges, grander lakes, and nobler rivers. Unlike Europe, America fronts on two oceans; it naturally commands the trade of Europe and Africa on the one side, and of Asia and the Indies on the other.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

See, in general, Winsor's America, IV, pp. i-xxx; Shaler's United States; Shaler's Our Continent; Semple's American History and its Geographic Conditions; Brigham's Geographic Influences in American History.

The physical geography of the United States has had and must continue to have a powerful influence, not only on the health and industry, but on the character and progress of the American people.

I. The English colonies were planted on rivers or harbors which invited settlement and favored their commercial intercourse with the mother-country, with the West Indies, and with each other (see §§ 39 et seq., and 173, 177, 178).

II. The Appalachian range barred the West against the colonists and confined them to a long, narrow strip bordering on the sea. This limitation of soil had important effects on the occupations and the exports of the settlers, while it encouraged the development of union, political strength, and independence (see §§ 173, 196).

III. The Canadian French, on the other hand, having control of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, soon got temporary possession of the Mississippi Valley. This led to a war which ended by giving the West to the English colonists (see § 172).

IV. The first English-speaking settlements made west of the Alleghenies were planted on the Ohio and other streams flowing into the Mississippi, — a river system 35,000 miles in extent, watering the great central valley of the continent. Later the steamboat made that vast region accessible in all directions (see §§ 137, 258).

V. After the colonies secured their independence, the boundaries of the American Republic were fixed by successive treaties. These boundaries were determined, to a great extent, by: (1) coast lines; (2) rivers and lakes; (3) watersheds; (4) mountain ranges. In 1783 our possessions were limited by the Atlantic and the Mississippi; in 1803 they touched the Gulf of Mexico and the Rocky Mountains; in 1846 they reached the Pacific (see Table of Boundaries;).

VI. The most pressing question with every rapidly growing people is that of food supply. Some nations of Europe — notably Great Britain — can only feed themselves by importing provisions. America is so fortunate in soil, climate, and extent of territory, that the people produce not only all the breadstuffs and meats they require, but they have an immense surplus for exportation (see §§ 421, 564).

VII. Next in importance to grain and meats are cotton, wool, timber, coal, petroleum, iron, copper, and the precious metals. These products are powerful factors in the development of modern civilization, and it is believed that no continent is richer in them than our own (see §§ 143, 406, 437, 564).

VIII. While cotton fastened slavery on the South, the abundant water power of New England gave the first impulse to American cotton manufacturing. On the other hand, the western prairies stimulated agriculture and immigration, and encouraged the building of railroads, which in twenty years did more to open up the country than two centuries had done before. Again, physical geography has influenced legislation respecting labor, the tariff, trade, currency, and the building of roads, railways, and canals; furthermore, it determined decisive military movements in the Revolution (see Washington's retreat across the Delaware, § 212, and Greene's retreat, § 230) and in the Civil War (see §§ 467, 468, 485-487).

IX. Experience proves that the physical conditions of the United States favor health, vigor, and longevity. Statistics show that in size and weight the American people are fully equal, if not, indeed, superior, to Europeans, while their average length of life appears to be somewhat greater (see Rhodes' United States, III, 73, 74).

X. The conclusion of eminent scientists is that no part of the globe is better suited to the requirements of one of the master races of the world than the United States, and such statesmen as Lincoln and Gladstone have declared their belief that this country has a natural base for the greatest continuous empire ever established by man (see § 34).

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PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE UNITED STATES

Such marked geographical features necessarily made themselves felt in the future economical and political history of the country. These influences are considered on pages 28-29 (see map with text).

Possessed of these physical advantages, America seemed to invite all classes of men to her hospitable shores. She seemed to say: Come here and be free, for here is a virgin field in which to try not only all experiments in the development of material resources, but in government and in the organization of society; here, in short, is a *New World*; you shall make of it what you will.

35. Summary. 1. In 1492 Columbus, while seeking a direct, all-water route to the Indies, discovered the West India Islands and opened them to Spanish occupation. The voyages of Americus Vesputius suggested the name America for the New World. By the beginning of the seventeenth century the Spaniards had discovered Florida, the Mississippi, and the Pacific, explored parts of the South and West, made a settlement at St. Augustine, Florida, and taken possession of Mexico and New Mexico.

2. Meanwhile the French had explored the St. Lawrence and made an attempt to get a foothold in the South, but had been driven out by the Spaniards.

3. In 1497 John Cabot first discovered the *continent* of North America and claimed possession of it for England. In the next century Sir Walter Raleigh planted English settlements in Virginia, but they were soon abandoned.

4. The close of the sixteenth century left the Spaniards the sole possessors of North America. So far as could then be seen, Spain, and Spain alone, was destined to control the future of the territory which is now the United States.

III

PERMANENT ENGLISH AND FRENCH SETTLEMENTS

(1600-1763)

For authorities for this chapter, see footnotes and the classified list of books in the Appendix, page xxiv

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES¹—FRENCH EXPLORATION OF THE WEST— WARS WITH THE INDIANS AND WITH THE FRENCH—GENERAL VIEW OF THE COLONIES

36. English trading expeditions; the fisheries; Virginia colonies planned. Although Raleigh's attempt to plant a colony in Virginia failed (§ 25), yet the English continued to send out occasional fishing and fur-trading expeditions to America. By 1600 the British Newfoundland fisheries employed not less than ten thousand men and boys.

Gosnold (1602) and Weymouth (1605) made voyages to that part of northern Virginia which was later named New England, and carried back favorable accounts. Two commercial companies, known as the London and the Plymouth Companies, were formed in England to plant permanent colonies in Virginia, — a territory then extending from Cape Fear to Halifax.

Several reasons prompted this undertaking: 1. The Companies hoped to discover mines of precious metals in Virginia or to find a passage to the Pacific and the Indies.

2. It was believed that if colonies were planted in Virginia they would draw off a restless class of disbanded soldiers and of young

¹ On the thirteen colonies, in general, see Winsor's *America*, III-V; Hildreth's *United States*, I-II; Thwaites' *Colonies*; Doyle's *English in America*, 3 vols.; Lodge's *Colonies*; Eggleston's *Beginners of a Nation*; Macdonald's *Select Charters*.

men out of work, — then numerous in England ; that they would employ many idle vessels in carrying out emigrants and freight ; that they would open new markets for English goods ; and, finally, that England would be able to get a cheap and abundant supply of ship-timber, tar, and rosin from her American colonies.

3. Some of the promoters of the enterprise had broader views ; they looked beyond material gains, and resolved to plant great and growing colonies in Virginia which should secure to England a mighty empire in America.

But the plans of the Companies had opponents. Hume says that even in 1606 there were Englishmen who thought it bad policy to plant colonies in Virginia, because such settlements “after draining the mother-country of inhabitants would soon shake off her yoke and *erect an independent government.*”

I. VIRGINIA (1607)¹

37. The Virginia Charter (1606); appeal to that charter. The charter² empowered the London Company to establish settlements in southern Virginia anywhere between the 34th and 38th degrees of north latitude (that is, between Cape Fear and the Potomac). To the Plymouth Company the king by the same charter granted the territory in northern Virginia between the 41st and 45th degrees of north latitude (that is, between the eastern end of Long Island and the middle of Nova Scotia). The intervening country (38th to 41st degrees), embracing what is now Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, and a small corner of New York, was open to colonization by either company, but neither was to make a settlement within one hundred miles of the other.

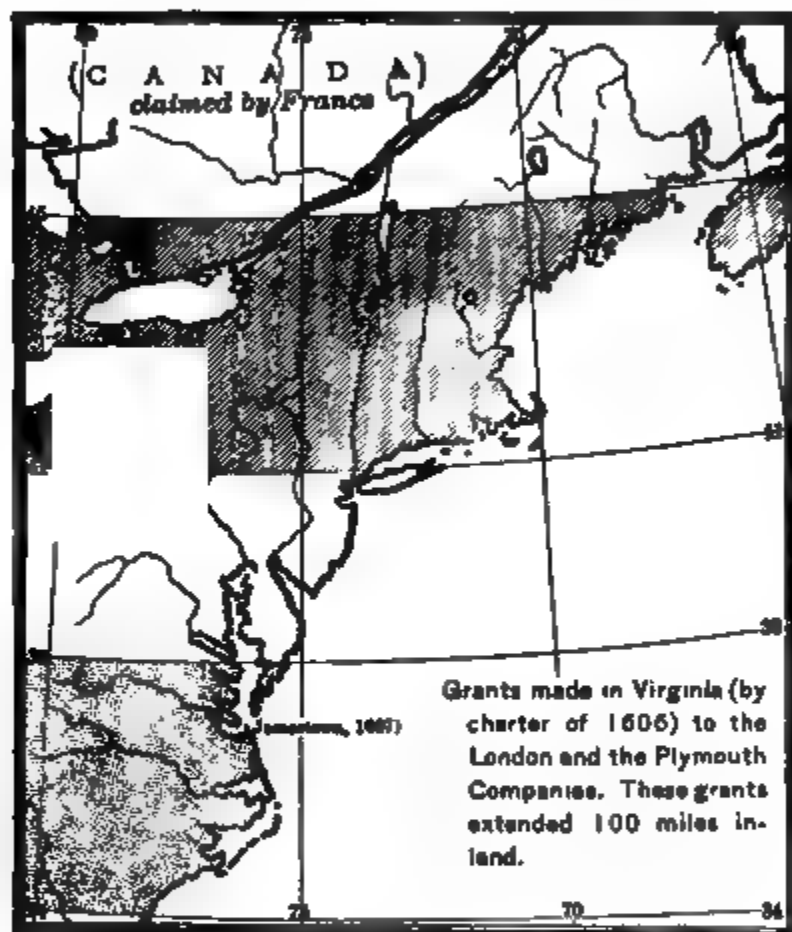
¹ See Winsor's *America*, III, ch. v, and V, ch. iv ; Thwaites' *Colonies*, ch. iv ; Brown's *Genesis of the United States* ; and the *First Republic in America* ; Eggleston's *Beginners of a Nation* ; Bruce's *Economic History of Virginia* ; Fiske's *Old Virginia* ; Cooke's *Virginia*.

² See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 1.

The charter provided: (1) that each grant should extend one hundred miles inland; (2) that the territory should be held on the most favorable terms. It was to be free of all military service, and of all taxation by the king, save a certain reservation (from a fifth to a fifteenth) of any valuable metals which might be found; (3) the king guaranteed to the colonists and their descend-

ants the same rights and privileges "as if they had been abiding and born within this our realm of *England*."

This last important concession did not go into effect until the establishment of the Virginia Assembly (1619); later it had an unforeseen result. On the eve of the Revolution (1765), the



Virginians, in justifying their resistance to the Stamp Act, appealed to this clause of the original charter. They declared that the first settlers "brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, all the privileges . . . that have at any time been held . . . by the people of Great Britain."

38. Government of the colony; trial by jury; religious worship; community of goods. The colony was to be governed by a resident council, under the direction of a higher council in England, controlled by the king.

Royal instructions,¹ following the charter, granted trial by jury in capital cases, and established religious worship according to the usage of the Church of England. For the first five years the colonists were to deposit "all the fruits of their labor" in the Company's storehouse; but the Company was to supply the settlers with food, clothing, and other necessities.

39. Settlement of Jamestown (1607); Captain John Smith. In 1607 the London Company sent out one hundred and five emigrants to Virginia. No women or children went. Like the California pioneers of '49, their object was to find fortunes in the soil of the New World. They took out pickaxes to dig for gold. The emigrants had particular orders to search for mines of precious metals, and to seek for a passage to the Pacific.

The colonists landed on the banks of a river which they named the James in honor of the king. For a like reason they named their settlement Jamestown (1607). Perhaps the ablest man in the party was Captain John Smith. He became one of the governors of the colony and wrote its history.

Most of the settlers belonged to a class in England who were unused to manual labor, and hence wholly unfit to struggle with the hardships of an American wilderness. Sickness carried off many, and at one time they came so near starving that it was with the greatest difficulty that the breath of life was kept in the colony. A shipload of glittering earth which they sent back to London, and which turned out to be not gold but simply yellow dirt, completed the disgust of the settlers.

When Smith became governor, he laid down the scriptural rule that those who would not work should not eat. He explored and mapped the country bordering on Chesapeake Bay, urged the cultivation of corn, and endeavored by every possible means to put the settlement on a self-supporting and paying basis. Whether Pocahontas saved Captain Smith's life or not, he certainly seems to have saved Virginia.

¹ See Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, I, 67, 69; Hildreth's *United States*, I, 96.

40. Provisions of the new charter (1609). Two years after the settlement of Jamestown the king granted the London Company (1609) a new charter.¹ It provided:

1. That the government of the colony should be placed entirely in the hands of the council in England, who were to send out a governor having almost absolute power.

2. Virginia was now made to extend two hundred miles north and the same distance south of Point Comfort; "west and north-west" it ran "from sea to sea," that is, to the Pacific.² Eventually

Virginia made the "sea-to-sea" clause the basis for her claim to the greater part of that vast region which, after the Revolution, came to be called the "Northwest Territory" (§ 237).

3. The new charter forbade any emigrant's settling in Virginia unless he took the Oath of Supremacy by which he denied the supreme authority of the pope. This, of course, shut out Catholics.

¹ See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 2. ² Virginia claimed the oblique line, shown on the map, as her northwest boundary. In 1763 England, by the Treaty of Paris, gave up her claim to territory west of the Mississippi (§ 172); this restricted the western land claims of colonies to the country east of that river (§ 236).

At that time each of the leading nations of Europe maintained its own form of religion. In southern Europe the established church was Catholic, in northern Europe it was Protestant. When Spain planted her colonies in America she naturally excluded Protestants; when England planted hers, she just as naturally excluded Catholics (§ 23).

41. The colonists abandon Jamestown; Lord Delaware; Sir Thomas Dale; the third charter (1612). After Smith's return to England (1609) the colonists became so disheartened that they abandoned Jamestown and set out for their native land. At that moment, Lord Delaware, the newly appointed governor, arrived and compelled the settlers to remain.

Lord Delaware was succeeded (1611) by Sir Thomas Dale, a stern disciplinarian, but a man of sound sense. He allotted three acres of land to each colonist, on condition that he should deliver a certain quantity of corn annually to the keeper of the common storehouse. This arrangement had a most happy effect: it secured to each man a little estate of his own, stimulated industry, and provided a reserve supply of food for the colony.

A year later (1612) the king granted to the Company a third and final charter.¹ It differed from the preceding ones in putting the management of the colony into the hands not of a council, but of the body of stockholders in England.

42. John Rolfe begins the cultivation of tobacco; results. Not long after Governor Dale's administration began, John Rolfe, who married Pocahontas, planted a field with tobacco (1612), which he sold at a handsome profit in England. That experiment decided the industrial and commercial success of the colony. Henceforth every man that could turn planter did so, and began raising tobacco for the English market. The soil and climate of Virginia favored the new culture, and the navigable streams emptying into Chesapeake Bay made it easy for the planters to ship their crop almost from their own doors direct to London.

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 3.

Notwithstanding a heavy tax imposed on this product by the king, the demand for it constantly increased. In 1619 the Virginians exported 20,000 pounds of tobacco, and eight years later 500,000. Long before the close of the century the quantity sent abroad had risen (1670) to nearly 12,000,000 pounds (\$ 48). Charles II thought that the use of the weed would be of short duration, and declared that the prosperity of Virginia was "wholly built upon smoke"; but from that "smoke" England derived, and still derives, a goodly part of her revenue.

In Virginia tobacco became (1620) the legal currency, and planters paid their tavern bills and their taxes in rolls or hogsheads of it. Later the Legislature enacted laws stinting the quantity of the plant which a farmer might raise, and compelling him to devote a certain number of acres to corn. These laws were necessary to prevent over-production in the one case, and to provide food in the other.

Economically, politically, and socially the cultivation of tobacco had results of the highest importance.

1. It encouraged the immigration of a class of thrifty and industrious colonists who saw in Virginia a gold mine which they could work with a hoe.

2. It induced the exportation from England of thousands of "indented apprentices," who were bound to the planters for a number of years. Part of them came voluntarily; part were kidnapped in English ports and shipped to Virginia against their will. In some instances, convicts known as "jail birds" were sent over by order of the king. By a later act of Parliament convicts might be sent to any of the American colonies, though the greater part seem to have been transported to the West Indies. Most of these apprentices and their descendants became what were known as "poor whites," or "scrubs." Occasionally a remarkable man sprang from these people. In modern times "Stonewall" Jackson was one, and Abraham Lincoln says that he was another.

3. The demand for cheap and permanent laborers for raising tobacco led directly to the introduction (1619) of negro slavery.

4. The plantations, by scattering the population over large areas, checked the growth of towns and of public schools; but they were highly favorable to the creation of a well-to-do and high-spirited rural aristocracy, who lived on their estates much after the fashion of the county aristocracy of England.

5. Finally, although tobacco exhausted the soil, and in time compelled the planters to abandon their old farms and take new ones, yet this staple first placed Virginia on a solid financial basis, and ensured the success of the colony.

43. Establishment of the Virginia Assembly; Virginia loses her charter; suffrage; power of the Assembly (1619); local government. A majority of the Virginia Company in England were members of the Liberal party of that day. In their sympathy for popular liberty they resolved to give the colonists the power to enact laws so "that they might have a hand in governing themselves."

Acting under orders from the Company, Governor Yeardley called on the inhabitants of the eleven boroughs or towns of Virginia to elect two representatives from each borough to meet with him and his council. In accordance with that summons the first American Legislature assembled in the church at Jamestown in the summer of 1619. That body had full power to make all needful "general laws," but no law was to be in force unless approved by the governor and "solemnly ratified" by the Virginia Company in England. The meeting of that House of Burgesses, or Assembly, marks the beginning of local self-government on the American continent.

At first all free men had the right to vote for members of the Assembly, but later (1670) it was enacted that in accordance with English law and custom none but householders and owners of real estate should have "a voice in the election of any burgesses in this country."

In 1621 the Company gave the colonists an ordinance and constitution,¹ confirming their right to a legislative assembly. A

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 6.

little later the burgesses enacted (1623) that the governor should not "lay any taxes . . . upon the colony . . . other than by the authority of the General Assembly." This enactment had the effect of making the Assembly the real ruling power.

The stockholders of the Virginia Company fell into disputes, and the king took advantage of the fact to annul the charter (1624) and make the colony a royal province; but this change did not affect the Assembly. The local government of the province was carried on by parish committees, who taxed the people for the support of the Episcopal Church and for the poor. The counties were governed by officers appointed by the royal governor. These officers levied taxes to build highways and for other purposes. The general expenses of the province were met by taxes levied by the Assembly.

In time local government throughout the South came to resemble that of Virginia, — especially in the county system.

44. The beginning of African slavery in Virginia (1619); indented servants. Not long after the meeting of the first American legislature an event occurred which John Rolfe, the tobacco planter, thus records: "About the last of August (1619) came in a Dutch man-of-war that sold us twenty Negars." The purchase of that score of kidnapped Africans fastened slavery on Virginia and on the United States.

No one then thought it any more harm to buy a negro than to buy a horse. The laws of Moses were believed to sanction traffic in human beings, and the attorney-general of England declared that "negroes being pagans might justly be bought and sold." The English sovereigns shared in the profits of the trade and encouraged the Virginians to buy as many black men as they could pay for. Before the American Revolution every one of the thirteen colonies held more or less slaves.

But the increase of negroes in Virginia was very slow, since planters of small means found it far cheaper to employ the labor of indented white servants or of convicts; for both classes came over from England in large numbers. Later a statute (1662) made slavery hereditary, not only for negroes, but for mulattoes,

by providing that all children born in this country should be held bond or free, "according to the condition of the mother."¹

45. Attempts to check the importation of slaves ; growth of slavery. Eventually the Virginians became alarmed at the rapid increase of slaves and endeavored to check their importation, but the English Parliament refused to allow any restriction on so lucrative a trade. George Mason of Virginia declared in the Federal Congress that "this infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants," and Jefferson, in his first draft of the Declaration of Independence, made the king's encouragement of the slave trade one of the reasons which justified the colonies in separating from the mother-country.

But although Jefferson, Washington, and other leading Virginians (who were themselves slaveholders) advocated gradual emancipation, yet the majority of the planters opposed it. The Federal Constitution expressly protected property in slaves (see Appendix, pages x (§ 9), xiv (§ 2)), and the invention of the cotton gin made the cultivation of cotton enormously profitable (§ 259). Slavery thereby gained a commercial and political importance which made it for more than two generations the "central problem of American history."

46. Importation of women ; results ; Plymouth Colony ; the situation. But though Virginia was becoming prosperous, the colony still lacked one element without which no colony could hope to thrive. Very few women had emigrated to Jamestown. The Virginia Company resolved to remedy the deficiency and sent (1619) ninety "young, handsome, and honestly educated maids . . . to be disposed in marriage to the most honest and industrious planters who are to defray . . . the charges of their passages."² The charge was from 120 to 150 pounds of the best leaf tobacco. Never was that plant put to better use.

When the women came, homes began in this part of the New World. Husband, wife, children, — these threefold bonds made the little Virginian commonwealth sure of its future.

¹ See Hildreth's *United States*, I, 518.

² See Neill's *Virginia Company*, 262 ; Channing's *United States*, I, 209.

Five hundred miles to the northeast a band of Pilgrims had recently (1620) planted a second English colony. They brought their families with them, — they too had homes. The children born in these two settlements, at Plymouth Rock and on the James River, would call this country, and not England, their native land; in that way America would come to be a sacred name, and mean what it had never meant before.

Here then was the situation in 1621: in Florida a few hundred Spaniards held a fort (St. Augustine) on the coast; at Quebec a small number of French Catholics, who had gone there in 1608, held another fort; on the Hudson River a thrifty colony of Dutch traders had established themselves since 1614.

In New England and Virginia there were two little settlements of English people. Of these four rival colonies the English homes alone were the abodes of men who made their own local laws and levied their own internal taxes (§§ 43, 82). In that fact may be seen the germ of American independence.

47. Virginia loses part of her territory; civil war in England; Cavaliers; loyalty of Virginia. After Virginia lost her charter (§ 43) she also lost part of her territory through the king's grant (1632) of Maryland on the north and (1663) of the Carolinas on the south.

Shortly after Charles I appointed Sir William Berkeley governor of Virginia (1642) civil war broke out in England; the Puritan party suppressed the established Church of England for a time and set up a short-lived republic.

Though the people of Virginia were divided in their political and religious opinions, yet the ruling element staunchly upheld the church and the crown. The Assembly enacted (1643) that "all non-conformists (that is, persons who would not attend the service of the Episcopal Church) should, when notified, be compelled to depart out of the colony." Again, when Charles I was beheaded (1649), the Assembly declared his executioners traitors and threatened death to those who should defend them.¹

¹ See Cooke's Virginia, 193.

But in the end Virginia found it policy to submit to the authority of the English republic. Governor Berkeley retired from office, but gave princely receptions to the Cavaliers or "king's men" who had fought for Charles I and who now fled to Virginia. Among those who came were the ancestors of the illustrious families of the Washingtons and the Lees.

Great was the rejoicing in the "Old Dominion" when (1660) monarchy was restored in England, and "the king came back to his own again." Governor Berkeley again put on his silk robe of office, and the Assembly begged the pardon of Charles II for having yielded for a time to the "execrable power that so bloodily massacred the late King Charles the First of blessed and glorious memory."

48. The Navigation Acts versus privileges granted to the colonists. Under Cromwell the English Parliament enacted a Navigation Act which forbade the importation into England of any products or goods not brought in British or colonial vessels. The object of this law was to strike a blow at the Dutch, who had the control of the carrying trade of the world, and to secure a large part of the commerce to English shipowners. Charles II (1660) signed a bill which made the Navigation Acts¹ far more stringent. In their revised form they forbade the Virginians exporting certain "enumerated articles," of which tobacco was the most important,² to any country except Great Britain or her dependencies. A few years later (1663) a new statute prohibited the colonists from loading vessels with any European commodity or manufactured goods except those which came from Great Britain and were imported in "English-built shipping." Finally, to prevent illicit trade in tobacco, this restrictive legislation reached its climax in the enactment of a third law (1672)

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., Nos. 22, 23, 25, 28, 34, 43; or Hart's American History Leaflets, No. 19; Winsor's America, VI, 6-10; Thwaites' Colonies, 104-106.

² The "enumerated articles" were sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo, ginger, fustic, or other dyewoods grown or produced in any of the English colonies. Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 114.

which prohibited the colonies from exporting any of the "enumerated articles" to each other unless they paid duties on such exports.

These laws were chiefly intended to protect the interests of the mother-country. They made it possible to a considerable degree for English merchants to fix the price at which the Virginia and other colonial planters must sell their produce, and secondly to determine the price which the colonists must pay for whatever they imported.

On the other hand, Parliament granted the colonists certain very important privileges: (1) it gave them the absolute monopoly of the English tobacco market; (2) it gave them a drawback on duties on goods imported from Europe by way of England. This often made such goods actually cheaper in America than in England; (3) it permitted the colonists to export all nonenumerated articles such as grain, salted provisions, rum, furs, and rice, in all of which products there was a large and lucrative trade; (4) it encouraged the exportation to England of tar, pitch, turpentine, and ship-timber by the payment of liberal bounties.¹ Finally, the Navigation Acts were never enforced to any great extent until after the accession of George III in 1760, and the Virginians found means to smuggle their tobacco over to Holland in Dutch vessels (§ 62) and to smuggle back goods in return.²

~~49.~~ Charles II grants Virginia to two of his favorites. We have seen (§ 47) that the English sovereigns had carved huge slices out of Virginia, both on the north and the south. The people were dismayed at the loss, but congratulated themselves that the king had not taken all, when by a sudden act (1673) Charles did take all. That monarch had two rapacious favorites, the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpepper; both wished to fill their pockets at the expense of the New World. Charles took pity on

¹ See Lecky's History of England, III, 326-328.

² Lecky's History of England, III, 328, 329, 335; or Lecky's American Revolution, edited by Professor Woodburn.

them and granted them "that entire tract of land and water commonly called Virginia" to have and to hold for thirty-one years. He empowered these two noblemen to collect all land rents and receive all revenues; and though they could not actually dispossess any settler who held his estate by a clear title, they could compel him to prove his title. These powers made Arlington and Culpepper the owners and masters, for the time, of the whole territory of Virginia.

50. The "Perpetual Legislature"; the parish committees; taxes; war with the Indians. To add to the miseries of the colonists, no general election had been held since Governor Berkeley's restoration to office—a period of thirteen years. Such a state of things virtually deprived the colonists of representation in the Assembly. Furthermore, the vestries or church committees, which had the control of the affairs of each parish, had gradually become self-elective bodies or close corporations. This change deprived the majority of the parishioners of any voice in the management of local interests. Meanwhile the "Perpetual Legislature," as it might well be named, demanded heavy taxes to keep up the forts, and called on the planters for large levies of tobacco in order to raise a fund to buy out the claims of Arlington and Culpepper.

Just at this critical period (1675) the Indians on the frontier rose against the settlers. King Philip's War was raging in Massachusetts, and the planters had good reason to fear that the hideous atrocities committed by the savages in New England would soon be repeated in Virginia. Governor Berkeley took no decided measures to protect the colonists, and it was whispered that the profits he derived from trade with the Indians made him unwilling to act.

51. Bacon and the Indians; the "Bacon Rebellion." At this juncture Nathaniel Bacon, a wealthy young planter, and a member of the governor's council, asked for a commission to raise volunteers to defend the colony. The governor refused his request. Bacon, whose plantation had been attacked by the Indians, raised

a body of men on his own responsibility and marched against the savages. Berkeley denounced him as a traitor. The settlers in the lower counties sympathized with the young planter's energetic action. They rose in arms and compelled the election (1676) of a new Assembly,—the first that had been chosen for sixteen years. Bacon was chosen as a member. This Assembly broke up the close parish committees (§ 50), regranted to the freemen of each parish the right to manage its affairs, and repealed the law (§ 43) which limited the right of suffrage to freeholders and householders.

- Governor Berkeley, yielding to the pressure brought by the people, not only pardoned Bacon, but promised him a commission to raise volunteers. The governor did not keep his word, and Bacon, suspecting treachery, secretly left Jamestown and soon afterward reappeared at the head of five hundred men. Berkeley then gave him the commission he demanded, but shortly after proclaimed him a rebel. This brought on civil war. Jamestown was besieged, the governor fled, and the town was burned to the ground. A crumbling heap of ruins shows where the first permanent English colony in America built its first settlement; the capital of Virginia was removed (1690) to Williamsburg.

The leader of the rebellion suddenly died, the movement collapsed, and the reforms with it. The "Bacon Laws," including freedom of suffrage, were repealed, and soon everything was back in the old ruts. Berkeley showed so little mercy in dealing with the Bacon party that even Charles II said in disgust: "That old fool has hanged more men in that naked country than I did (in England) for the murder of my father."

But Bacon's movement of reform perished only in appearance. From Berkeley's time onward we mark a rising spirit of resistance to arbitrary rule. When Governor Spotswood (1710-1722) insisted on settling clergymen for life over the parishes, the people refused to settle a minister for more than a year. They claimed that since they were taxed to pay for preaching they had the right to choose the preacher. In the end the people

gained the day, and the lordly Spotswood retired discomfited from the field.

Governor Dinwiddie (1752-1758) found the people just as stubborn on another point. He asked for contributions to fight the French and Indians on the western frontier, but the Assembly refused to vote them unless he would give up the exaction of illegal land fees. Worn out with the long contest, the governor wrote to a friend that the Virginians were "too much in a republican way of thinking." Naturally the aristocratic planters of the "Old Dominion" stood squarely by church and king, but none the less they were fully resolved to contest to the death any serious infringement of their rights. Edmund Burke believed that the ownership of slaves made the Virginians "proud and jealous of their liberty." In his famous speech on "Conciliation" (1775) he said: "In such a people the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible."

52. The spirit of independence in Virginia; the warrior preacher; the Continental Congress. But this spirit of freedom was not confined in any way to one class or section of Virginia. Late in the colonial period an industrious and thrifty population of Germans, Swedes, and Scotch-Irish — or emigrants of Scottish origin who came from the north of Ireland — settled in the beautiful Shenandoah Valley. They were a God-fearing and liberty-loving people, too poor to own slaves, and so earning their daily bread by the sweat of their brows. From them sprang a class of men who made their influence felt in the Revolution and in the Civil War.

The Reverend John Muhlenberg, a clergyman of that section, voiced the feelings of the hardy patriots of the stirring days of 1775. At the close of a fervent discourse he said: "Brethren, there is a time for all things — a time to preach and a time to pray; but there is also a time to fight, and that time has now come!" Then throwing off his gown, he stood before his congregation a girded warrior, and coming down from the pulpit

commanded the drummers at the church door to beat for recruits.¹ Nearly three hundred of the congregation entered the ranks. It was the spirit of the "Bacon Rebellion" revived and intensified. This time it was not to be quelled.

The next year — just a hundred years to a day from the time the Bacon Assembly had met at Jamestown — another assembly, the Continental Congress, met at Philadelphia. On motion by a delegate from Virginia they voted the adoption of the Declaration of Independence which Jefferson wrote and which Washington drew his sword to defend.

53. Summary. Jamestown, Virginia (1607), was the first permanent English settlement made in the New World. There (1619), the first American Legislature was convened; the same year saw the introduction of negro slaves. Tobacco was the great staple which built up the commerce of the colony, though that commerce was hampered (1660) by the English navigation laws. Virginia was strongly Royalist, but it was also determined to resist oppression. There was a period of bad government, and Bacon (1676) began a movement of reform which was temporarily successful. Later (1775), the spirit of independence made the "Old Dominion" a leading colony in the Revolution.

II. NEW NETHERLAND OR NEW YORK (1614)²

54. New Netherland or New York (1614); Henry Hudson's search for a passage to the Indies; the "River of the Mountains." In 1609 the Dutch East India Company — England's great commercial rival — sent out Captain Henry Hudson to discover a passage through America to the Indies. While examining the coast he entered that noble stream originally called the "River

¹ Bishop Meade's *Old Churches of Virginia*, II, 314.

² See Winsor's *America*, IV, ch. viii; III, ch. x; V, ch. iii; Thwaites' *Colonies*, ch. ix; Brodhead's *New York (1609-1691)*; Fiske's *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*; Roberts' *New York*; Lamb's *City of New York*; Wilson's *Memorial History of the City of New York*.

of the Mountains," but which to-day bears the name of its English explorer.¹ Sailing up the river, Hudson passed the Highlands and the Catskills, and reached the point where Albany now stands. Shallow water forced him to turn back. He was delighted with the country. "It is as beautiful a land," said he, "as the foot of man ever trod upon." After a short stay he returned to Europe.

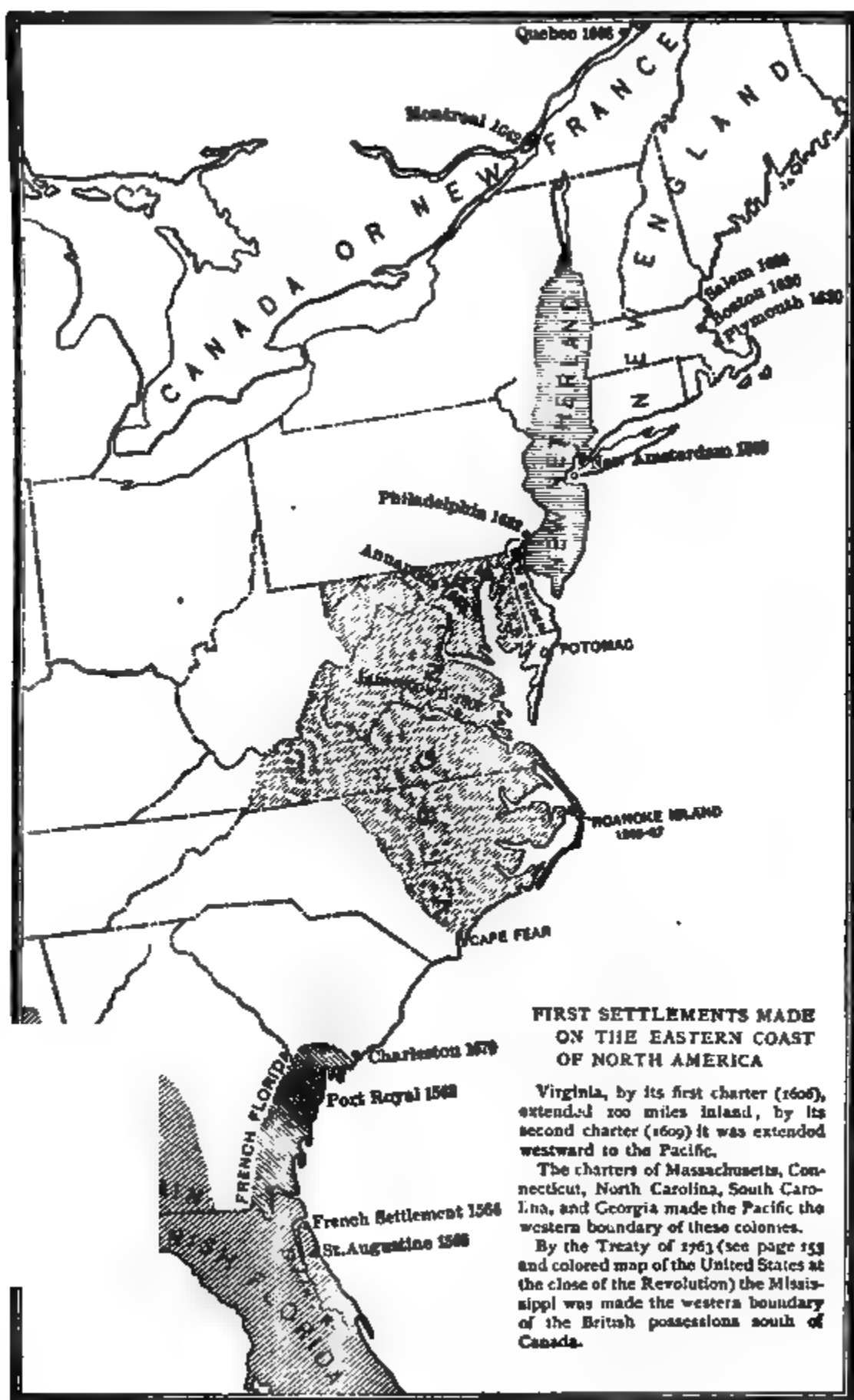
55. The Dutch build fur-trading stations (1614) on the Hudson River. The Dutch at once (1610) sent out an expedition to open fur traffic with the Indians. Soon afterward (1614) they built a few log cabins on the southern portion of Manhattan Island, and erected Fort Nassau just below the present site of Albany.

Fort Nassau was practically at the head of ship navigation on the Hudson. It also stood at the eastern terminus of the great central Indian trail running to Lake Erie (§ 30). Such a station was admirably located for carrying on the fur trade with the Iroquois. On the other hand, the post on Manhattan Island would control the entrance to the river and thus give the Dutch a monopoly of one of the most important waterways on the eastern coast of America.

56. A trading company formed; colonization; purchase of Manhattan Island (1626). In the autumn of the same year (1614) the Dutch Republic of the United Netherlands granted a charter to a commercial corporation giving it the exclusive right to trade with the country called New Netherland. The territory nominally embraced not only the valley of the Hudson but the entire region between Virginia and Canada as far east as Cape Cod. Practically, however, New Netherland was confined to a narrow strip between the source of the Hudson and Delaware Bay.

The object of the Company was not to plant colonies but to engage in traffic with the natives. But some years later (1621), a new corporation, the Dutch West India Company, obtained a

¹ In 1524 Verrazano may have entered what is now the harbor of New York, but there seems to be no satisfactory evidence that he went up the Hudson. See Winsor's America, IV, 7.



FIRST SETTLEMENTS MADE ON THE EASTERN COAST OF NORTH AMERICA

Virginia, by its first charter (1606), extended 100 miles inland, by its second charter (1609) it was extended westward to the Pacific.

The charters of Massachusetts, Connecticut, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia made the Pacific the western boundary of these colonies.

By the Treaty of 1763 (see page 153 and colored map of the United States at the close of the Revolution) the Mississippi was made the western boundary of the British possessions south of Canada.

charter giving them all the rights originally possessed by the first Company and the privilege of sending over colonists besides. They soon (1623) shipped a number of Walloons, or Belgian Protestants, to New Netherland. Part of the emigrants landed on Manhattan Island, but most of them went up the river and helped to build Fort Orange — now Albany.

In 1626 the Company sent out Peter Minuit as governor; he purchased the Island of Manhattan from the Indians (1626) for "the value of sixty guilders," or about \$24. The town of thirty houses on the island now received the name of New Amsterdam.

57. Establishment of the patroon system. A few years later (1629), the Company established the patroon system in the hope of thereby promoting the rapid settlement of the colony. The patroon stood in the place of the old feudal lord; under him the colonist played the part of serf or semi-slave.

The following were the privileges of the master: (1) every member of the Company who bound himself to take or send over at least fifty emigrants over fifteen years of age was to receive the honorary title of "Patroon [or Patron] of New Netherland"; (2) he was entitled to hold an estate having sixteen miles frontage on "one side of a navigable river, or eight miles on each side," and extending as far into the country "as the situations of the occupiers will permit"; (3) as lord of the manor, he was empowered to hold civil and criminal courts on his estate, and from his decisions as judge there was practically no appeal; (4) he had the right to appoint officers and magistrates in all cities and towns founded on his lands. This, of course, gave him almost entire control of such places, since the inhabitants had no voice in the elections; (5) he held his estate "as a perpetual inheritance," and by handing it down in the line of the eldest son could continue to keep his vast property undivided in his family.¹

On the other hand, all emigrants taken or sent out to New Netherland by a patroon were held as follows: (1) they bound themselves to serve him for a term of years (like the indented

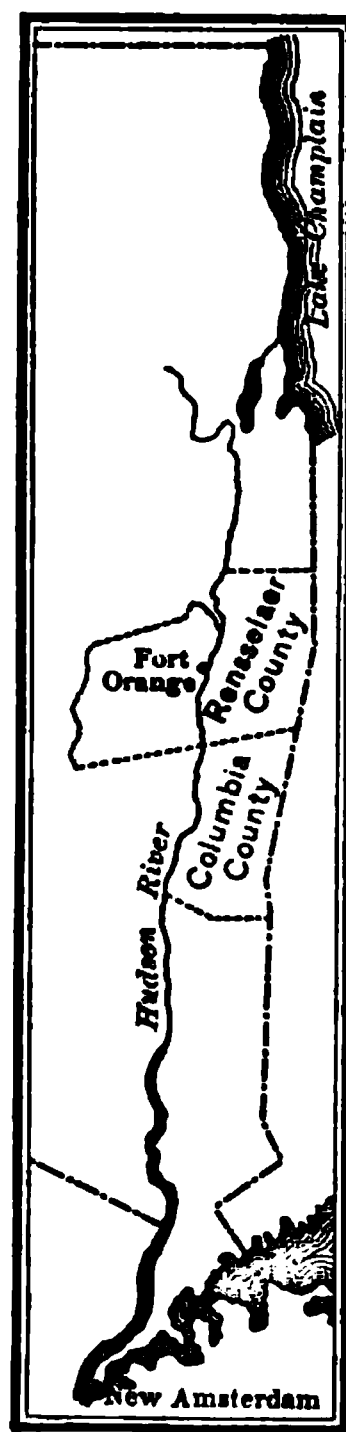
¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 9.

servants of Virginia planters, § 42); (2) they agreed to grind their grain in his mill and to pay for the grinding; (3) they were not to hunt or fish without their master's permission; (4) they pledged themselves not to weave any cloth for themselves or others, but to buy it from the Company.

The master and his laborers were to "find means for supporting a minister and a school-master and a comforter of the sick." No patroon was permitted by the Company to engage in the fur trade except at certain designated trading posts; he was also to pay an export duty on all skins sent out of the colony.

58. The Van Rensselaer and other estates; how the patroons lived. The Company gave up granting these very exceptional privileges in 1638-1640 and opened the country to free emigration. But the patroons continued to enjoy the monopolies they had obtained. They had already taken possession of some of the most important points on the Delaware and the Hudson (Manhattan Island excepted). The most noted of the patroons was Kiliaen Van Rensselaer. He obtained a grant which embraced the greater part of what are now Albany, Van Rensselaer, and Columbia counties, on the Hudson. This princely estate covered more than a thousand square miles, and extended for twenty-four miles along the river.

He and his brother capitalists on the Hudson lived in the midst of their tenants like the feudal barons in their castles on the Rhine. They collected their rents, held their courts, and at one time levied tolls on all vessels passing their estates. The Van Rensselaers, Van Cortlandts, Livingstons, Schuylers, and other wealthy families built elegant mansions on Manhattan Island or vicinity. In the summer they



LAND HELD BY
KILIAEN VAN
RENSSELAER

went to their country places, in winter they returned to their homes on the island. Like the Virginia planters, they had their retinue of black servants in livery (for negro slavery was permitted in New Netherland). With the Virginians, these wealthy Dutch proprietors constituted the chief landed aristocracy of America.

59. The Dutch on the Connecticut ; New Amsterdam in 1643 ; free trade and cheap lands. Not satisfied with holding the Delaware and the Hudson, the Dutch endeavored to establish settlements on the Connecticut. They first explored that noble river and opened trade with the Indians on its banks ; and on land which they purchased of the Pequots they built a small fort (1633) where the city of Hartford now stands.

Ten years later (1643), a French Jesuit priest visited New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island. He describes the town as having a population of four or five hundred persons composed "of different sects and nations." This fact shows that the germ of the great city which now stands at the mouth of the Hudson was even then assuming that many-sided, cosmopolitan character which it has ever since retained. The West India Company had been mindful of the demands of education and had established (1633) a good school in New Amsterdam. It still flourishes under the name of the "School of the Collegiate Reformed Church," and is the oldest institution of learning in the United States (§ 93).

But the colony did not grow. The patroon system kept the better class of emigrants away, and there was no freedom of trade. Most of the early governors were rapacious or inefficient, and cared nothing for the best interests of New Netherland. At length the government in Holland resolved to throw open the trade of the colony and to grant lands on easy terms to all comers. These measures had the desired effect, and emigration to the Dutch colony on the Hudson began in earnest.

60. Peter Stuyvesant ; the people demand a share in the government ; the "Nine Men" ; attempted reforms. A few years later (1647), Peter Stuyvesant, the last of the Dutch governors, came

into power. He found no small political discontent among the colonists. Most of them had come from the Dutch Republic of Holland only to find less liberty in the New World than they had enjoyed in the Old. While the English colonists east and south of them made their own local laws, the settlers on the Hudson were under the control of a commercial company whose prime object was to pay large dividends to its stockholders. Governor Stuyvesant had no faith in democracy, but he could not resist the demands of the colonists for a share in the government. The people were accordingly permitted (1647) to elect eighteen counselors, from whom the governor chose "Nine Men" to assist him.

The "Nine Men" did excellent work. They protested against the heavy taxes and the enormous export duties imposed by the West India Company. They also called attention to the fact that the port charges were so exorbitant that trade was kept away. Stuyvesant answered that it was no fault of his if he had to serve greedy and tyrannical masters. Then the "Nine Men" petitioned the home government to take the management of the colony out of the Company's hands, to take off all restrictions on trade, to send over emigrants free, to clearly define the boundaries of New Netherland so as to avoid disputes with the English colonists, and finally to grant to the Dutch settlers a representative assembly such as their countrymen enjoyed in Holland.

To prevent trouble the West India Company grudgingly granted a larger measure of political liberty than the colonists had yet possessed. The better class of citizens in New Amsterdam were permitted to elect a body of magistrates "as much as possible according to the customs" of the city of Amsterdam in Holland. But when the day of election arrived the imperious Stuyvesant quietly appointed all the officers himself.

61. Religious intolerance; treatment of Quakers. In matters of religion Stuyvesant was as arbitrary as he was in politics. He refused to permit any congregations to worship openly except those of the Dutch Reformed Church — the established Protestant Church of Holland. He ordered (1656) that any one preaching

without a license should be condemned to pay a fine of one hundred pounds, while each hearer was to pay a fine of twenty-five. The Company felt that this was pushing matters too far, since private dissenting worship was tolerated in Holland. They rebuked the governor and ordered him to grant all citizens "the free exercise of their religion within their own homes."

The next year (1657) one of that Society of Friends which the Massachusetts authorities called the "cursed sect of heretics" (§ 96) came to New Amsterdam. The governor was furious. After repeated scourgings and solitary imprisonment in the dungeon of the fort, the Quaker was finally driven out of the province. Later, the governor issued a proclamation prohibiting the public exercise of any religion but that of the Dutch Reformed Church "in houses, barns, woods, ships, or fields." For a third offense against this law the offender was to be flogged.

The Company again rebuked Stuyvesant's misdirected zeal. This time the hot-headed governor obeyed orders, and persecution ceased.

62. England claims New Netherland, takes it (1664), and re-names it New York. But the end of Stuyvesant's administration and of Dutch rule in New Netherland was at hand. England claimed the colony by virtue of Cabot's discovery (§ 11). The English had three powerful reasons for insisting on this claim. In the first place, a considerable number of English had settled in New Netherland; next, the British government lost about £10,000 a year in customs duties through the Dutch smugglers who secretly carried Virginia tobacco to Holland (§ 48). But the third, and perhaps the chief reason why England was determined to possess New Netherland was that the king had resolved to have a strong, united, and compact line of colonies on the Atlantic coast. This was impossible so long as the Dutch held the Hudson, since a glance at the map shows that New Netherland was a geographical wedge separating New England from the English colonies on the south.

Although England and Holland were then at peace, Charles II, assuming that the country on the Hudson was rightfully his,

quietly made over the whole of it to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany. James at once sent over a fleet under Colonel Nicolls to seize the prize. Nicolls (1664) demanded the surrender of New Amsterdam. Stuyvesant replied, "I would rather be carried out dead than give up the fort." But the people were weary of the rule of the West India Company and were willing to accept the liberal terms promised by the English. The high-spirited governor could not help himself, and so sorrowfully surrendered. The Dutch flag was hauled down and the red cross of England rose triumphantly in its place. In honor of its ducal owner, New Netherland was now christened New York, Fort Orange became Albany, and New Amsterdam took the title of New York City.

63. The "Duke's Laws" ; the duke grants a Charter of Liberties (1683) ; repeals it (1685). Colonel Nicolls prepared a code (1665) known as the "Duke's Laws," which established : (1) equal taxation ; (2) trial by jury ; (3) the obligation of military duty ; (4) freedom of religion to all Christians.¹

Later (1683), Colonel Thomas Dongan, an Irish Catholic, who was then governor of New York, wrote to the Duke of York ; "The people generally cry out for an assembly." The duke reluctantly granted the colony (1683) a Charter of Liberties. This provided : (1) that every freeholder should have the right to vote for representatives to an assembly, whose laws (made by the governor's council and assembly jointly) should be subject to the duke's approval ; (2) no taxes were to be levied except by consent of the assembly ; (3) entire freedom of religion was guaranteed to all peaceable persons who should profess any recognized form of Christian faith.²

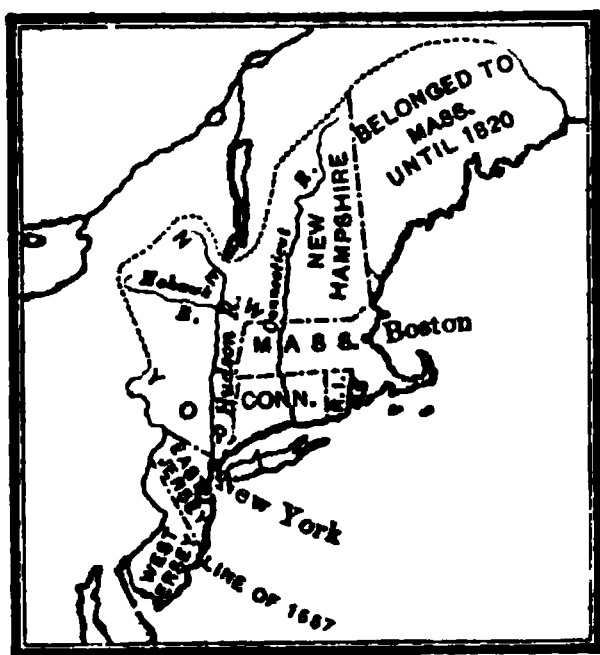
Two years later (1685), the duke became king of England with the title James II. It was at the time when his friend and ally, Louis XIV of France, was creating "a world-wide religious panic" by driving all Protestants out of France. Thousands of distressed and destitute Huguenots fled to England and to the

¹ See Brodhead's New York, II, 70. ² Ibid., 383.

English colonies in America. Wherever they settled they roused the fear and hatred of the colonists against the French monarch.

James detested free institutions; as for legislatures, he said he "could see no use for them." He at once wrote to Governor Dongan, "Our will and pleasure is that the charter be forthwith repealed." Thus early in its career the New York Assembly found the truth of the psalmist's advice, "Put not your trust in princes." The king's mandate suppressed the Assembly and reduced the colony to the condition of a conquered province. To prevent the open expression of discontent the people were forbidden to have a printing press. On the other hand, James II, as a Catholic, keenly felt the severity of the English laws against members of that Church, and he now granted entire liberty throughout the colony "to all persons of what religion soever."

64. Dongan's treaty with the Iroquois; Sir Edmund Andros. Governor Dongan saw that the Iroquois (§ 32), or "Five Nations," formed the real bulwark of New York against the hostile designs of the French in Canada. He succeeded in securing the friendship of the most important tribes. The Iroquois chiefs said to him, "We will fight the French as long as we have a man left."



THE DOMINION OF NEW
ENGLAND

Most of the Mohawks kept their word, but Louis XIV entrapped the rest of the "Five Nations" into a treaty of neutrality. Governor Dongan never grew slack in his defense of the colony; after he retired from office he mortgaged his farm to raise money to equip the expedition sent (1690) against Canada.

In 1686 James consolidated the provinces of New York, New Jersey, and New England under the name of the Dominion of New England, and made Sir Edmund Andros governor general of the province, with his headquarters at

English Series

Boston. The consolidation brought these colonies more directly under the king's control and by putting Andros in command made it easier to repel the designs of the French. Speaking of the new province, James said, "I will make it a tower of iron."

65. Revolution in England; Louis XIV declares war against England and her colonies; excitement in Boston. But the reign of James was near its close. It was quite generally believed in England that the king intended to overthrow the Protestant religion and the constitutional rights of the nation by force of arms. William, Prince of Orange, James' son-in-law and head of the Dutch Republic, was invited by a number of leading men of both political parties to come with an army to the defense of English liberty. He did so, and James fled to France (1688). Louis XIV then declared war against England and her American colonies. When the news reached Boston the citizens rose and threw Andros, James' representative, into prison.

In the city of New York a story was started that Nicholson, the deputy governor, was plotting to burn the town and massacre all Protestants. What made this report more absurd was the fact that there were hardly any Catholics at that time in New York, while the Dutch and English Protestant population numbered about three thousand.

66. Frontenac prepares to attack New York; Jacob Leisler seizes the fort and is chosen governor. The danger of invasion from Canada was imminent. Frontenac, the French governor of Quebec, was preparing to attack the colony both by land and sea. Louis XIV had sent him secret orders to seize New York and either drive the people into the wilderness to starve, or imprison them at hard labor. This order did not except Catholics even, unless they would submit, and swear allegiance to the king of France.

The "glorious Revolution" of 1688 made William of Orange king of England,¹ but as Governor Nicholson of New York had not received official notification of the fact, he still considered James II as the true sovereign and declined to proclaim William

¹ See the Leading Facts of English History in this series.

as his successor. For this reason Jacob Leisler, captain of a company of New York militia, denounced the governor as a "papist." The captain had seen something of the sufferings of the fugitive Huguenots, and hated the name of Catholic as bitterly and blindly as Louis XIV hated that of Protestant. Suddenly the report came that a French fleet was on its way up the harbor. The city was thrown into a panic, and Leisler, heading a band of citizens, seized the fort, declaring that he would hold it until King William should send a Protestant to demand it.

Shortly after this Nicholson sailed for England, and an assembly, partially representing the colony, created Leisler governor. The property holders and conservative citizens were opposed to him, but the masses gave him their hearty support. For nearly two years (1689-1691) he ruled New York as absolutely as Louis XIV ruled France.

67. The French Canadians burn Schenectady ; Leisler calls the first American Congress ; execution of Leisler. Frontenac now (1690) secretly sent a force of French and Indians from Canada to attack Albany. They did not dare assault that place, but burned Schenectady, then the most western town in New York, and massacred most of the inhabitants. In this emergency Leisler took prompt action. He called a Colonial Congress to meet (1690) in the city of New York. To this Congress, the first in America, Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut sent delegates to confer with those of New York. It was resolved to raise an army to invade Canada.

King William had appointed Colonel Sloughter governor of New York. In the autumn of 1690 an English captain arrived who claimed to represent him, and demanded the keys of the fort. As the captain failed to produce any authority for making the demand, Leisler refused to give up the keys. Fighting ensued and several persons were killed on each side. The next spring the new governor came, and the fort was promptly given up to him. Sloughter at once arrested Leisler and his son-in-law Milbourne on a charge of murder and high treason. They were

convicted ; then Governor Sloughter, while drunk, signed Leisler's death warrant and he was hanged. For many years afterward New York was divided into two intensely bitter factions, — the Leislerites and the Anti-Leislerites. The former represented the mass of the people, the latter the wealthier and more influential citizens. The Leislerites looked upon their dead leader as a martyr in the cause of liberty ; their opponents denounced him as a demagogue, a fanatic, and a usurper.¹

68. Severe treatment of Catholics. Governor Sloughter, acting under instructions from King William (1689), restored the Assembly (§ 63) and granted liberty of conscience to all persons except Catholics. Some years later (1696) a plot was hatched in France for assassinating King William and restoring James II to the English throne. The news of this conspiracy excited great alarm in the province of New York. The colonists believed that the Canadian French were again preparing to attack the settlements on the Hudson River, and that the Catholics of New York would take sides with the French, since they both held the same faith.

In consequence of this alarm the governor of New York commanded that all persons not Protestants should be disarmed. The Assembly (1700) ordered priests to leave the colony under penalty of imprisonment for life. The next year (1701) the Assembly deprived Catholic laymen of the right to vote.² Meanwhile William had restored the Charter of Liberties (§ 63), but with the omission of the toleration clause which had granted freedom of worship ; hence the new form of charter virtually confirmed the action of the Assembly against the Catholics. Six years later, William annulled the Charter of Liberties on the ground that it gave too much power to the people ; he also greatly extended the authority of the royal governor.

69. The Zenger case ; freedom of the press established. In 1732 a case came before the Supreme Court of New York which had a

¹ See Sparks' *Leisler*, 236 ; Brodhead's *New York*, II, 649.

² See Lodge's *Colonies*, 320 ; Winsor's *America*, V, 191 ; De Courcy and Shea's *Catholic Church*, 331.

most important bearing on the question of popular rights. Governor Cosby, an avaricious and unscrupulous ruler, brought a suit in that court to obtain a sum of money; the court decided the case against him. In his rage the governor removed the chief justice and appointed a new judge.

The colonists believed that if a judge could be removed at pleasure it would be impossible to get justice from the courts. But the people protested in vain, for the Assembly, which was wholly under Royalist influence, defended Cosby, and the only newspaper then printed in the colony did the same.

At this juncture Peter Zenger, a German printer, came out boldly (1733) with the first number of an opposition paper—the *New York Weekly Journal*—devoted to the defense of the rights of the people. The *Journal* did not hesitate to attack the governor in the most high-handed way. It not only fired broadsides of editorials at his administration but assailed him personally with showers of stinging jibes and satirical ballads.

The sheriff seized the offending paper and burned it. Shortly afterward the publisher of it was arrested, thrown into prison, and accused of “false, malicious, seditious, and scandalous libel.” When the case came up for trial the venerable Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia—the foremost lawyer of his day—volunteered to defend Zenger. Hamilton offered to prove the truth of the charges which his client had made. The judge refused to hear him on the ground that the English law declared “the greater the truth the greater the libel.”

Hamilton then devoted his whole attention to the jury. He insisted that they should decide both the fact and the law of the case. His eloquent defense of the freedom of the press, and the wit, sarcasm, and skill with which he attacked the governor completely won over the jury. They brought in a verdict of “Not guilty.” The verdict was hailed with shouts of applause; the fact that the letter of the law was really against Zenger only made his friends shout the louder.¹

¹ See Hart's American History by Contemporaries, II, No. 72.

By his Excellency

*William Cosby, Captain General and Governour in Chief
of the Provinces of New-York, New-Jersey, and Territories thereon
depending in America, Vice-Admiral of the same, and Colonel in His Majesty's
Army.*

A PROCLAMATION.

WHereas Ill-minded and Disaffected Persons have lately dispersed in the City of New-York, and divers other Places, several Scandalous and Seditious Libels, but more particularly two Printed Scandalous Songs or Ballads, highly defaming the Administration of His Majesty's Government in this Province, tending greatly to inflame the Minds of His Majesty's good Subjects, and to disturb the Publick Peace. And Whereas the Grand Jury for the City and County of New-York did lately, by their Address to me, complain of these Pernicious Practices, and request me to issue a Proclamation for the Discovery of the Offenders, that they might, by Law, receive a Punishment adequate to their Guilt and Crime. I Have therefore thought fit, by and with the Advice of his Majesty's Council, to issue this Proclamation, hereby Promising *Twenty Pounds* as a Reward, to such Person or Persons who shall discover the Author or Authors of the two Scandalous Songs or Ballads aforesaid, to be paid to the Person or Persons discovering the same, as soon as such Author or Authors shall be Convicted of having been the Author or Authors thereof.

*GIVEN under My Hand and Seal at Fort-George in New-York this Sixth Day
of November, in the Eighth year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord GEORGE
the Second, by the Grace of GOD of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, KING,
Defender of the Faith, &c. and in the year of Our LORD, 1734*

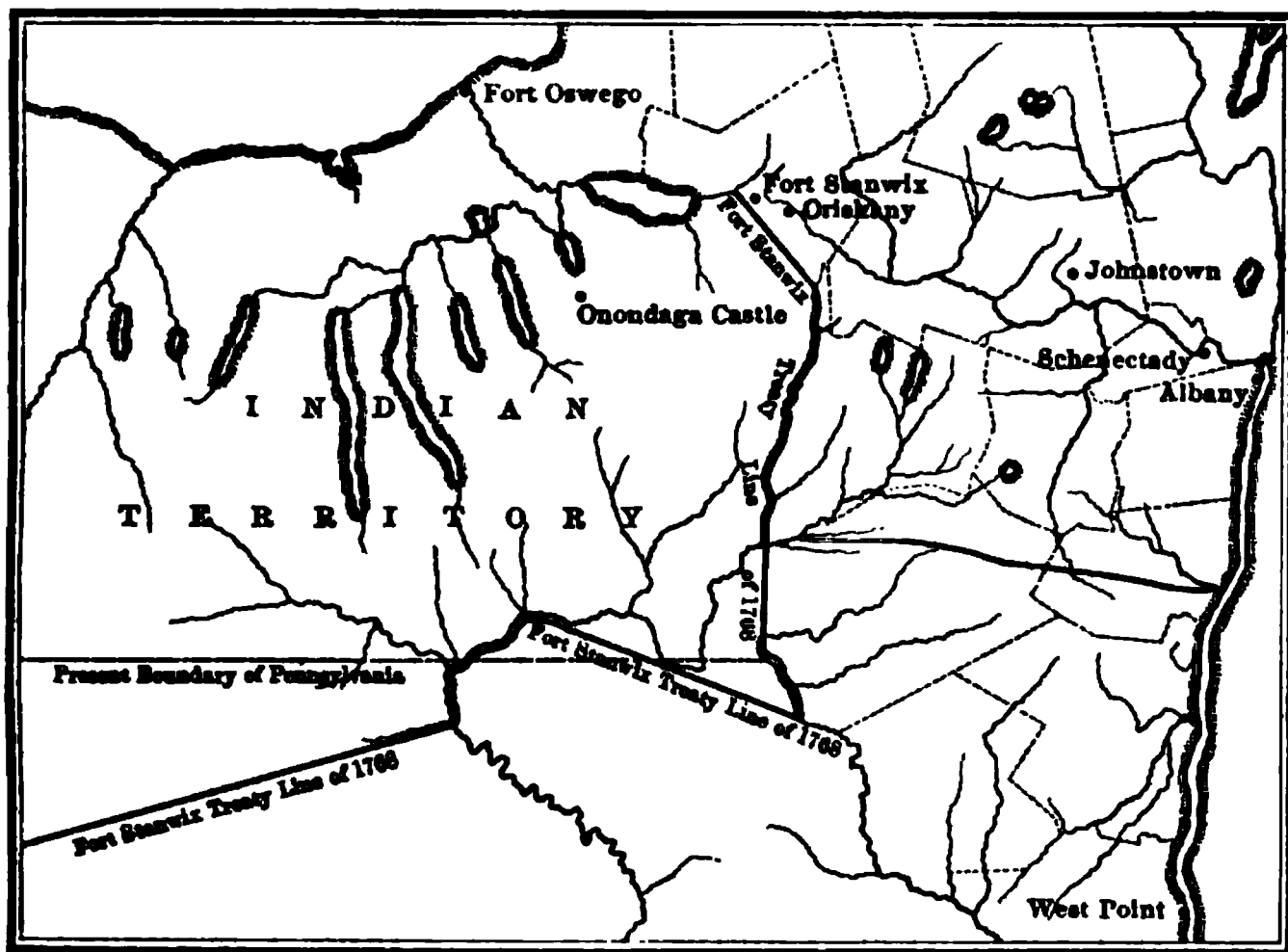
*By his Excellency's Command,
Fred. Morris, D. Cl. Cont.*

W. COSBY.

GOD Save the KING

The decision of this case established the liberty of the press in New York to criticise the acts of the government, and it encouraged other colonies to maintain the same liberty. That freedom, though liable to gross abuse, has nevertheless in many cases proved itself a safeguard of the rights of the people against the encroachments of arbitrary power.

70. **The Governor versus the Assembly ; the Assembly limits its money appropriations ; the Fort Stanwix Treaty Line.** The joy shown at Zenger's acquittal revealed the determined spirit of



FORT STANWIX TREATY LINE

Made 1768 by the English colonists of New York and the Iroquois Indians

resistance which existed against the oppressive use of authority. That spirit soon manifested itself in another form. The governor of New York regarded the Assembly mainly as a valuable labor-saving machine for collecting taxes, of which he pocketed a goodly share as salary for his services. Virtually he said to the representatives of the people : " Your business is to raise whatever money I demand ; mine is to spend it as I see fit."

The Assembly resented this attitude and (1736) refused to grant more money annually than should be required to meet the necessary expenses of the year. Later (1739), they voted to limit all appropriations to specified purposes. They were determined to know just how the governor spent every shilling. Naturally he resented this action. The result was that from this time an almost incessant battle was waged between the titled representatives of royalty on the one hand and the taxpayers on the other. The contest was not confined to New York, but was carried on in all the colonies in which the governors were not chosen by the people. It grew more and more bitter and became in considerable measure one of the causes of the Revolution.

Up to 1768 the colony of New York had no definite western boundary. But in that year a treaty was made with the Iroquois Indians, or Five Nations, by which the territory was divided. This treaty gave the Indians the western part of the country. It remained in their possession until the close of the Revolution, when it was thrown open to settlement.

71. Summary. In 1609 Henry Hudson discovered the river which now bears his name. The Dutch took possession of the country, named it New Netherland, founded the city of New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island, and established the patroon system of colonization. In 1664 the English, under the Duke of York, seized New Netherland and named it New York. The people were given representation, and for a time religious liberty prevailed, but, later, fear of French invasion led to the enactment of severe laws against the Catholics. Jacob Leisler seized the fort of New York in order to defend the colony against the French; he was convicted of treason and executed. Later, Peter Zenger came forward as the successful champion of freedom of the press. The constant disputes between the people and the royal governors over money appropriations became one cause of the Revolution. The western part of New York was not opened to settlement until after the close of the war.

III. NEW JERSEY (1617)¹

72. New Jersey (1617); the Dutch claim the country between the Hudson and the Delaware; the English king grants the land to the Duke of York; the name New Jersey. The Dutch, after opening the fur trade with the Indians on the Hudson, crossed over from Manhattan Island and built a fort at Bergen (1617) on the west bank of the river. Later (1623), they built a fort on the Delaware nearly opposite the present site of Philadelphia, and claimed the territory between these two forts as part of their province of New Netherland.

The English denied the validity of the Dutch claims and insisted that the discovery of the North American continent by Cabot gave them the right to the mainland as far south as the Spanish settlements in Florida. In accordance with this theory Charles II included this region in a grant which he made (1664) to his brother James, Duke of York.



The duke sold (1664) the portion between the Hudson and the Delaware to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret.

Carteret had been governor of the island of Jersey, and during the English Civil War had made a most determined stand for King Charles I, the Duke of York's father. In honor of his loyalty the duke gave the colony the name of New Jersey. It was the first English province, except Maryland, which had a definite, natural, western boundary — namely, the Delaware River.

73. Elizabethtown founded (1665); grant of a liberal constitution; dispute about land rents. Philip Carteret, a nephew of Sir George, went out as governor to New Jersey (1664) with a

¹ See Winsor's *America*, III, ch. xi; V, ch. iii; Thwaites' *Colonies*, ch. ix; Fiske's *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*; Bancroft's *United States* (last revised edition); Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc.; Fisher's *Colonial Era*; Lodge's *Colonies*.

company of emigrants. They named their place of settlement (1665) Elizabethtown, out of regard for Lady Elizabeth, wife of Sir George Carteret.

The proprietors of New Jersey granted the colonists a constitution¹ which conferred the power of taxation and of law-making on a Legislature of which the Assembly, or lower house, was chosen directly by the people. Liberty of conscience was granted to all peaceable persons.

Berkeley and Carteret later (1670) demanded a land rent of a half penny per acre. The settlers refused to pay it on the ground that they had purchased their land from the Indians, who were the original and sole owners of it.

74. The Quakers purchase West Jersey (1674); William Penn; government of the colony; religion. Disappointed in his plans of colonization, Berkeley sold his share of the territory (1674) to two English Quakers. Shortly after this transaction the colony was divided (1676) into the equal portions of East and West Jersey. Carteret held the eastern and the Quaker proprietors the western half of the province.

William Penn's name now first appears in American history. He, with several other English Quakers, obtained (1676) possession of West Jersey. Their object was to provide a refuge in the New World for their persecuted religious brethren. A settlement named Salem (1676) was made on the Delaware, and the next year (1677) Burlington was founded. Penn, with his fellow proprietors, wrote to the settlers in the true spirit of the Golden Rule, saying, "We cannot suffer if you prosper, nor prosper while you are injured." In their instructions to the commissioners of West Jersey the proprietors declared, "We put the power in the people."

In accordance with this principle the new proprietors granted the colonists a charter (1676). It was very liberal in its provisions. It gave the people a direct voice in making their own local laws and in levying their own taxes.² Unfortunately the

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 31.

² Ibid., No. 37.

charter vested the executive power of the colony in a body of ten commissioners appointed by the Legislature, and in practice it was found that these commissioners generally made themselves masters of the commonwealth.

Entire liberty of worship was established; for the charter declared that no one "on earth hath power to rule over men's consciences in religious matters." But somewhat more than twenty years later (1699), after the two colonies had been united, the people of New Jersey — following the example set by England, or perhaps in obedience to a mandate of the king — refused to tolerate the Catholic faith. That law remained on the statute books of the state for nearly a century and a half, or until 1844, but it had long been a dead letter.

75. The Quakers and the Indians; the Quakers buy East Jersey; thrift and independence. The Quakers completely gained the confidence of the Indians by their fair dealing. The red men declared that if they found an Englishman sleeping in their path they would not molest him, but would say: "He is an Englishman; he is asleep; let him alone."

When Carteret died, Penn and his associates purchased (1682) the whole of East Jersey for £3400, a sum which would not now buy a first-class business lot in Jersey City. The colonists prospered and the governor reported (1683), "There is not a poor body in all the province."

Their spirit of independence was equal to their thrift. When the Duke of York endeavored to collect toll on vessels going up the Delaware, the people refused to pay it. The king of England himself, said they, cannot take his subjects' goods without their consent; still less can his brother, the Duke of York. In the decided stand the Quakers then took, those men of peace anticipated the utterances of the Revolution.

76. Andros; New Jersey becomes a royal province; President Witherspoon. In 1688 New Jersey was united with New York and New England under the government of Sir Edmund Andros. After he was forced to give up his office (§ 65) a period of great

confusion ensued. New Jersey was claimed by New York, by the Quakers, and by the heirs of Carteret. So hot was the dispute that the people in despair declared that there was "no shadow of law or government left," but in the towns good order still prevailed. For the sake of peace the province was surrendered (1702) to the crown.

When (1765) England finally resolved to tax the American colonists without their consent, John Witherspoon, a descendant of that stern old Scotch covenanter, John Knox, led the great movement of revolt in New Jersey. Later, after he had accepted the presidency of Princeton College, he won the reputation of being "as high 'a Son of Liberty' as any in America." He helped to overthrow the Tory, William Franklin, son of Benjamin Franklin, and the last royal governor of the province.

Governor Franklin declared that if the colonists were right in saying that the British ministry had gone mad, the people of New Jersey were in the same predicament. But the Americans had this advantage: they at least had method — the method of independence — in their madness, and President Witherspoon¹ with other eminent patriots, including Governor Franklin's own father, stood ready to risk their fortunes and their lives to maintain that independence.

77. Summary. In 1664 the Duke of York wrested the country between the Hudson and the Delaware from the Dutch and sold it to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The colony received the name of New Jersey, and the first settlement was made at Elizabethtown (1665). The colonists received a constitution which granted them liberty of conscience in matters of religion and gave them a voice in making the laws and levying the taxes of the colony. About ten years later William Penn and other Quakers purchased the western half of New Jersey and subsequently the remaining half. Their object was to provide a refuge in America for persecuted people of their own faith. In 1702 the colony became a royal province. When (1765) England resolved

¹ See *American Historical Review*, I, 671.

to tax the colonists without their consent, President Witherspoon of Princeton College headed the movement of revolt which culminated in the war for independence.

IV. MASSACHUSETTS (PLYMOUTH COLONY, 1620)¹

78. Religious revolution in England; the Puritans and the Separatists. When, under Henry VII, John Cabot (1497) claimed the continent of North America for England (§ 11), that kingdom, like all Europe, maintained the Catholic religion as the only true faith. Had Henry planted colonies in America, he would have established Catholicism here and would have forbidden any other form of worship.

Under Henry VIII a revolution took place. He repudiated the authority of the pope in England and established a new and independent national Church, which was compelled to acknowledge the king as its supreme head. Under Elizabeth this new national Church became definitively Protestant, although a considerable part of the population continued to keep up the Catholic form of worship in private.

When James I came to the throne he found England divided between the Catholics, the Anglicans (or regular members of the established Episcopal Church), the Puritans, and the Separatists (or Independents). The Puritans were members of the Established Church who regarded the Protestant revolution in England as incomplete. They urged that the English worship should be "*purified*" (as they said) from what Calvin called "Popish dregs." They desired the Episcopal clergy to give up wearing the surplice, making the sign of the cross in baptism, and using the ring in the marriage service.

¹ See Winsor's *America*, III, ch. viii; V, ch. ii; Thwaites' *Colonies*, ch. vi; Arber's *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, as told by Themselves, Their Friends, and Their Enemies; Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*; Goodwin's *Pilgrim Republic*; Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc.

The Separatists were a branch of the Puritans who had gone a step farther. "Seeing," as they said, that "they could not have the word freely preached and the sacraments administered without idolatrous gear, they concluded to break off from public churches and *separate* in private houses."

James refused to permit any deviation from the forms of public worship established by law. He believed that dissent would lead to disloyalty, and that if divisions were tolerated in religion the crown itself would be endangered.

He formulated this conviction of the indispensable unity of Church and State in his favorite saying, "No bishop, no king." His harsh laws drove both loyal Catholics and loyal Puritans to despair. He said of the latter class, "I will make them conform or I will harry them out of the land." If this was to be the king's policy toward the Puritans who still remained in the Church, what could the Separatists who had seceded from it expect?

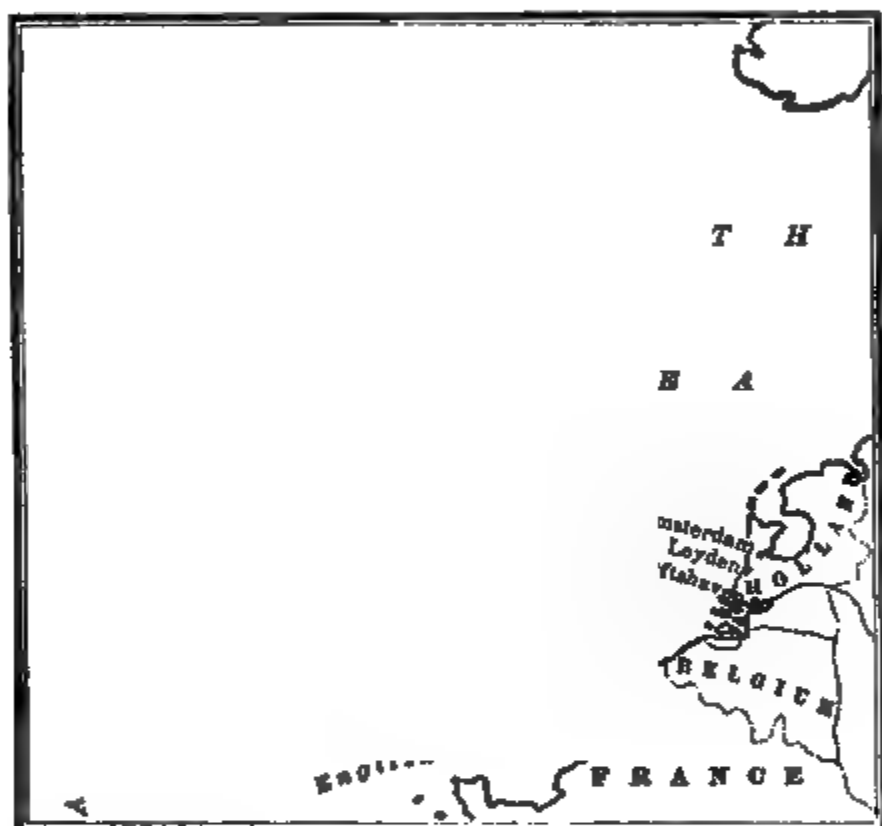
79. A congregation of Separatists escape to Holland; why they wished to emigrate to America. A small congregation of Separatists were in the habit of meeting privately at the house of William Brewster, the postmaster of the village of Scrooby, in the north-eastern corner of Nottinghamshire. Finding that they could not safely remain in England, they resolved to go to Holland "where they had heard was freedom of religion for all men." They succeeded (1608) in escaping from England and in getting to Leyden. There these plain English farmers learned different trades and managed, by dint of severe toil, to support themselves and their families. Ten years later, some of them began to think of embarking for America. William Bradford, one of their most prominent men, gives the following reasons for their desire to emigrate.

1. The hardships of their life were so great that many who had come to join them went back, preferring, as they said, "prisons in England rather than liberty in Holland."

2. Some of them felt age creeping upon them, and saw with sorrow that exhausting labor was rendering their children "decrepit in their early youth."

3. Furthermore, it was a sore grief to parents to see that oftentimes their children, when they grew up, were led astray by the "manifold temptations of the place," while others, leaving their homes, went to sea or entered the army.

4. Finally, the Separatists saw that if they should continue to remain in Holland their descendants would in time forget not



THE PILGRIM AND THE PURITAN EMIGRATION OF 1620 AND 1630

only their native customs, but even their native language, — in fact, would practically cease to be Englishmen at all.

By going to America they hoped to build up a strong, prosperous English colony, enjoying entire liberty of worship and "advancing the gospel in those remote parts of the world." Lastly, they hoped, as they said, to serve as "stepping-stones unto others for performing so good a work."¹

80. The Separatists and the "merchant adventurers"; the patent; the joint-stock company. As the Separatists were too

¹ See Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, 45-47.

poor to cross the Atlantic at their own expense, they bargained with a body of "merchant adventurers" or speculators in London to provide vessels for them. A patent granted by the Virginia Company gave them the right to settle "about Hudson's River."

They agreed to take the Oaths of Supremacy and of Allegiance. They thus bound themselves to recognize the king as the lawful head of the Church of England and as their rightful sovereign. James promised not to interfere with the undertaking, and when told that the emigrants expected to get their living by fishing, replied, with a spice of humor: "'Tis an honest trade; 't was the Apostles' own calling."

A joint-stock company was organized, consisting of "merchant adventurers" and the outgoing settlers. The price of the shares was fixed at £10, payable in money or in work. All the emigrants were to devote the results of seven years' labor to the "common stock." Out of that stock they were to receive "meat, drink, and apparel." "At the end of seven years . . . the houses [and] lands [were] to be equally divided" among the stockholders; each person sixteen years old or upward, at the time of sailing, to receive one share of the profits.¹

These were hard terms, for they required the colonists to pledge their whole time and strength for a long period and for a very uncertain result. Some of them indignantly declared that such conditions were "fitter for thieves and bondslaves than [for] honest men"; but they could get no better.

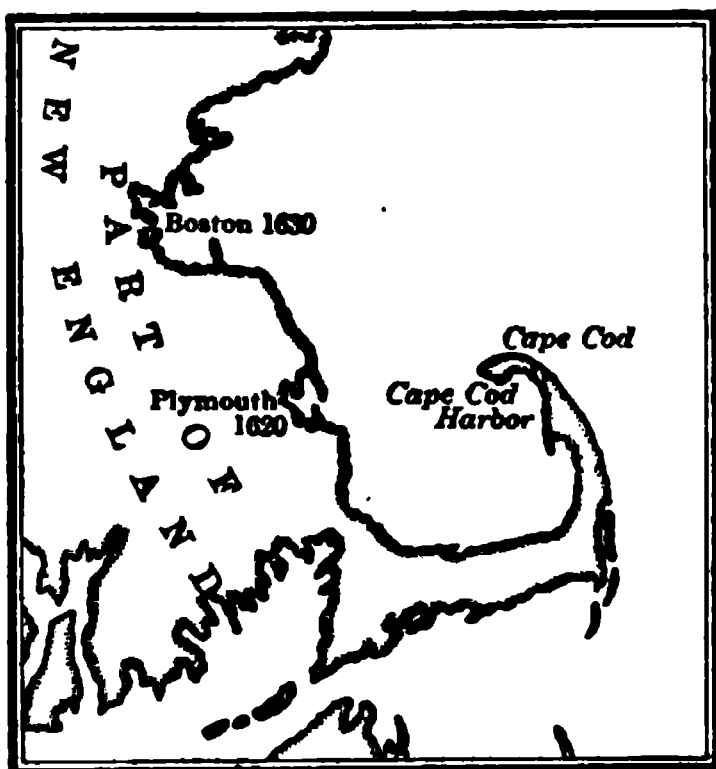
In 1620 they left Leyden for England, there to embark on their voyage across the Atlantic. It was a perilous undertaking and the prospect of success was small; but, as Bradford said, "They knew that they were pilgrims, and looked not much on those things, but lifted their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits." In his farewell sermon their faithful pastor, John Robinson, spoke words of cheer, bidding them go forward in the belief that "the Lord had more truth and light yet to break out of his holy word."

¹ See Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, 82.

All told, the actual number of Pilgrims who set sail in the *Mayflower* was less than a hundred. Among those who went with them was Myles Standish, an English soldier who had fought in the wars in Holland. He was not a member of the Pilgrim congregation, but simply a true, brave-hearted man, who was glad to cast his lot with those who were as brave and true-hearted as himself. Of the Pilgrims proper the most prominent were Bradford, Brewster, Winslow, and Carver.

On reaching Cape Cod the emigrants decided to settle on the New England coast, although their patent was "for Virginia" only. Knowing this fact, some of the hired men threatened to use their liberty as they pleased.

It seemed best, therefore, to form a plan of union for maintaining order. To this end the Pilgrim Fathers drew up a compact or "law and order league" (November 21, 1620) in the cabin of the *Mayflower*. By that compact,¹ which received forty-one signatures, they formed themselves into "a civil body politic" and bound themselves as



Christians and as loyal subjects of King James to enact "such just and equal laws . . . as shall be thought most meet . . . for the general good of the colony." They then chose John Carver governor. When Carver died William Bradford was chosen ; he filled the office for thirty-one years.

Ten of the Pilgrims explored the coast in a sail-boat. They found a satisfactory harbor and landed, December 21, 1620, on that solitary granite boulder known as Plymouth Rock. During the ensuing winter death visited them daily. When the *Mayflower* sailed for England in the spring (1621) nearly half of the settlers

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 5.

were in their graves. But not one of the little band of survivors thought of returning in the ship, — they had come here resolved to make America their home. Their nearest civilized neighbors were a few Dutch on the Hudson and the Virginia colonists five hundred miles south of them.

81. The Pilgrims and the Indians. Governor Carver made a treaty with Massasoit, chief of a small neighboring tribe of Indians. The treaty, though not ratified by any oath, was faithfully kept on both sides. Two years later (1623), the Indians of a tribe at Weymouth, about twenty-five miles north of Plymouth, conspired to kill off a small independent colony of English who had settled at that point (1622) and had provoked the savages by their bad conduct. Massasoit warned the Plymouth settlers of the plot, and told them that if successful the same tribe would next attack them.

Captain Myles Standish, small of stature but great of heart, with eight followers, marched against the savages and soon brought back the head of one of the leaders. It was the first and last Indian war in which the Pilgrims took part until they rose to put down King Philip (1675) more than half a century later. The Indians, in fact, were most helpful; they showed the colonists how to plant corn, trap game, and catch fish to the best advantage (§ 28).

82. The "Pilgrim Republic"; freedom of worship; government. The settlers at Plymouth, though acknowledging themselves subjects of King James, practically formed themselves into a little republic. Their Church was bound by no creed. Its members simply signed a covenant by which they pledged themselves "as the Lord's free people . . . to walk in all his ways made known, or to be made known, to them."

Politically all were equal. In the outset they assembled in town meeting to make necessary laws, to choose officers for the colony, and to act as a court of justice. Newcomers might take part in those meetings if a majority of the original colonists admitted them as "freemen," or voters; but it was decreed that

no one should settle within the limits of Plymouth except by permission of the governor or two of his assistants. To-day the government of the United States, following that wise precedent, determines what emigrants may or may not land on our shores.

In time the growth of the colony made it inconvenient for the whole population to gather in a single town meeting, and each of the different settlements (1638) sent two representatives to Plymouth to act for them. But even then the body of the people expressly retained the right to repeal the laws made by their representatives. —

Later (1644), the right to vote for a representative was limited to those who took the oath of fidelity to the colony, — those who refused to do so were ordered to leave the settlement.

After the coming of the Quakers into the neighboring colony of Massachusetts Bay, a statute (1658) was enacted declaring that persons of that faith and all others who "opposed the good and wholesome laws of the colony . . . the true worship of God," or who refused to do military service, should be denied the right of suffrage. Finally (1671), fifty years after the founding of Plymouth, suffrage, though not limited by church membership, was restricted to persons "of sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion, and such as have also £20 of ratable [taxable] estate."¹

The sturdy independence of the colonists manifested itself in a declaration which the Legislature of the "Pilgrim Republic" made in 1671. That body then resolved that "as free-born subjects of the state of England . . . no act . . . shall be . . . imposed upon us at present or to come, but such as shall be made . . . by consent of the body of freemen . . . or their representatives, legally assembled."

83. The "merchant adventurers"; Myles Standish goes to England; the Pilgrims become free men. The growth of the colony was very slow. Lack of capital prevented the settlers from engaging in cod fishing, and the chief exports were furs

¹ See Winsor's *America*, III, 280; Brigham's "General Laws" of Plymouth, 258.

obtained from the Indians. The "merchant adventurers," who were grievously disappointed at the small returns received, at length refused to do anything more to aid the colonists, though they insisted on holding them to their labor contract. Governor Bradford wrote that the "adventurers" finally threatened in their anger "that if we ever do grow to any good estate they will nip us in the head."

In these straits the Plymouth people sent Captain Myles Standish (1625) to England to seek help. He could not get the contract canceled, but succeeded at length in borrowing £150 for the use of the colonists at fifty per cent interest.

The next year (1626) the "merchant adventurers" sold out their share to the colonists for £1800, — equal probably to more than \$30,000 now, — to be paid in nine annual installments. The attempt to hold property in common had completely broken down.

Then the whole colony went to work with a will, and in six years had discharged the debt and were free men. In future all that they earned was their own. Meanwhile they tried to obtain a royal charter which should give them power to regularly organize a government. In this they failed; but they obtained a patent from the Council of New England which granted them a certain fixed territory (1629), but nothing more.

84. The Massachusetts Bay Colony absorbs Plymouth Colony (1691). In 1630 the Massachusetts Bay Company settled Boston. The growth of the new colony was comparatively rapid, and after a time the people of Massachusetts endeavored to secure the annexation of Plymouth. But the Plymouth people preferred to stand by themselves; as one of their chief men quaintly said, the best of them had no desire "to trot after the *Bay* horse." Massachusetts, however, succeeded in her plans, and in 1691 a royal charter consolidated the two colonies. This, of course, ended the history of Plymouth as a distinct colony. But the little Pilgrim republic had made its record and could afford to merge its political life in that of the stronger and richer Puritan commonwealth.

The Pilgrims were the first settlers who obtained a permanent foothold on the New England coast. In religious matters they showed remarkable tolerance. They too were the first colonists of the New World who established the management of all public affairs in town meeting. Thereby they laid the foundation in America of that democratic system which ripened in time into "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

IVa. MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY (1630)¹

85. The Puritan emigration to New England; John Endicott; charter of Massachusetts Bay Colony. The emigration (1620) of the Pilgrims to America (§ 80) was the forerunner of a far greater emigration on the part of the Puritans ten years later.

Political and religious persecution drove them to seek a refuge in New England. John Endicott, a Puritan of the Puritans, conducted the first party of emigrants (1628) to a point on the shores of Massachusetts to which they gave the biblical name of Salem. In his fiery zeal Endicott (1635) slashed the red cross out of the English flag, because it seemed to him an emblem of popery; and he shipped two members of his Council back to England for insisting on making use of the Episcopal prayer book in public worship.

The year after Endicott sailed, a number of wealthy and influential Puritans obtained a royal charter² granting them all the territory in New England lying between a point three miles north of the Merrimac River and a point three miles south of the Charles River. Westward the grant extended to the Pacific.

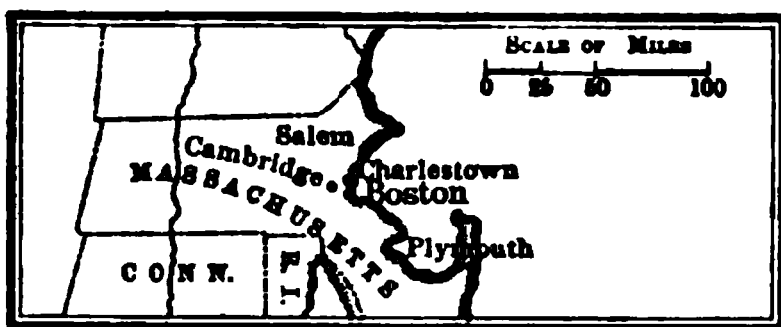
This charter empowered the Massachusetts Bay Company of England (1) to make laws, provided they should not be "contrary to the laws of England"; (2) to carry on trade; (3) to

¹ See Winsor's *America*, III, ch. ix; V, ch. ii; Thwaites' *Colonies*, ch. vi-vii. Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc.; Winsor's *History of Boston*; Hildreth's *United States*; Doyle's *Puritan Colonies*; Palfrey's *New England*; Fiske's *Beginnings of New England*; Barry's *Massachusetts*; Fisher's *Colonial Era*; B. Adams' *Emancipation of Massachusetts*; C. F. Adams' *Episodes of Massachusetts History*.

² See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 8.

drive out obnoxious persons and intruders. Nothing was said about the establishment of any form of worship or of religious liberty. It was practically the charter of a trading company, and it seems to have been understood that the government of the colony was to remain in the hands of the corporation in England.

86. John Winthrop ; settlement of Boston (1630) ; large emigration ; the Puritan Church ; Puritan government. John Winthrop, a man of wealth and education, was elected (1629) governor of the Company. Believing, as he said, that the Puritans had "no place left to fly unto but the wilderness," he quietly took the charter with him and led nearly a thousand emigrants (1630) from Eng-



land to Massachusetts. Not liking Salem, Winthrop went to Charlestown; a little later, the colonists moved across the river to the three-peaked peninsula

of Shawmut, which they named Boston (1630). Several other settlements were made, and each of these towns managed its own local affairs in town meeting. In fact, each one was "a little republic, almost complete in itself."

One of the first acts of the settlers was to form a covenant Church similar to that of Plymouth (§ 82). Two Puritan ministers were chosen, and all the inhabitants were to be assessed to pay for the "maintenance of these ministers." Before the end of the year a thousand more emigrants, bringing many "indentured servants" (§ 42), arrived, and in the course of the next ten years (1630-1640) more than twenty thousand colonists settled in New England. They were men who came not from hope of gain but to obtain that religious and political liberty which was denied them at home. They represented the flower of English Puritanism.

The original colonists (that is, the stockholders of the Massachusetts Bay Company) established a government which was practically independent of both king and parliament. By the provisions of the charter the "freemen," or legal voters, were to

elect a governor, deputy governor, and a council of eighteen assistants. This governing body was to meet in a "general court," or legislature, and make all needful laws, not contrary to the laws of England.

87. Alteration in the form of government ; limitation of suffrage ; the "freeman's oath." At the first meeting of the General Court (1630) the form of government was altered. The freemen agreed to surrender a part of their political power and to let the assistants choose the governor and his deputy from their own number. But less than two years later, the freemen (1632) took this power out of the hands of the assistants and resumed their charter right to elect the governor and deputy governor by choosing such persons as they deemed fit.

In the meantime a large number of men had petitioned the General Court to be permitted to vote. Their request was granted on their taking an oath of fidelity to the colonial government. Later (1643), the clause of the magistrates' oath requiring the governor and assistants to swear allegiance to the king was dropped, and for many years all public recognition of royal authority ceased in Massachusetts.

88. Important laws enacted ; suffrage limited to church members (1631) ; the "Body of Liberties" of 1641 ; liberal measures. In 1631 two very important laws were enacted. Following the example set by Plymouth (§ 82), the authorities prohibited any person from settling within the territory of Massachusetts Bay without leave from the Company.

Secondly, suffrage was limited by the following statute : "To the end [that] the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men . . . no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic [that is, no one could become a citizen and a voter], but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same."¹ This law practically made the church members of the colony, and not the towns, the real unit of government (§ 174).

¹ See Massachusetts Records, I, 87.

In 1641 the magistrates, yielding to pressure by the freemen, drew up a code of laws known as the "Body of Liberties"¹ which protected all classes. One of its provisions was that "every man, whether inhabitant or foreigner," voter or non-voter, should have the right to make any "necessary motion, complaint [or] petition" in any "court, council, or town meeting."

Following this act the General Court (1647) granted to all persons of good character, though they were not church members, the right to vote in town meeting on local questions. They also had the right to serve on juries and offer themselves as candidates for town offices.

The liberal movement did not stop here. The conditions of admission to certain church and civil privileges were relaxed by a measure derisively called by its opponents the "Halfway Covenant" (1662). Whether the "Halfway Covenanters" obtained the political rights enjoyed by regular church members is still a matter of controversy.²

Two years later (1664), the General Court, finding it expedient to conciliate the king, made a further concession. They gave to all persons paying a certain tax, who could show a certificate of orthodoxy signed by an approved minister of the colony, the privilege of making application for the right to vote.³

89. Establishment of a House of Representatives (1634); purpose of the Puritans. But while these changes were taking place an event of no small importance occurred. The General Court had levied a tax to build a palisade against the attacks of Indians. The leading citizens of Watertown refused to pay the demand, on the ground that there should be no taxation without representation. Eventually they receded from their position, but their protest was not without effect since it led to the establishment of a House of Representatives (1634) consisting of two persons elected by ballot by the freemen of each town. The men so chosen met with the governor and his assistants to advise with them respecting the

¹ See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 17. ² See the *New Englander*, LVI, 93; and *Hill's Old South Church*, I, 8, vs. iii. ³ See *Massachusetts Records*, I, 87.

EXTRACT FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS "BODY OF LIBERTIES," OF 1641

(See Macdonald's Charters, No. 17)

No man's life shall be taken away; no man's honour or good name shall be stayned, no man's life shall be seized, restrained, banished; disinherited, nor any wayes punished, no man shall be deprived of his wife or children, no man's goods or estate shall be taken away from him, nor any way damaged under colour of law, or Countenance of Authority, unless it be by vertue or equitie of some expresse law of the Country written & published by a generall Court & sufficiently published, or in case of defect of law in any particular case by the word of god. And in Capital cases, or in cases concerning dismembering or banishment, according to the word of god hee indicted by the generall Court.

Article 1st of the code of one hundred laws, c. 1
be taken away, no man's honour or good name shall be stayned, no man shall be deprived of his wife or children, nor any wayes punished, no man shall be disinherited, nor any way damaged under colour of law or Countenance of Authority, unless it be by vertue or equitie of some expresse law of the Country written & published by a generall Court & sufficiently published, or in case of defect of law in any particular case by the word of god. And in Capital cases, or in cases concerning dismembering or banishment, according to the word of god hee indicted by the generall Court.

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money save by the consent of the tax-payers; it forbade torture to extort confession, or barbarous or cruel punishments; it protected women, children, and orphans, forbade cruelty to animals, and secured to slaves "all the lib-

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raising of public money, and to take part in making all needful laws. Thus Massachusetts became the second English colony (§ 43) to obtain the privilege of representative government; but in this case it was the work of the people themselves, not, as in Virginia, the gift of a company resident in England.

The avowed purpose of the settlers of Massachusetts was to establish an independent Puritan state composed of those, and those only, who professed their faith. They believed themselves to be a divinely chosen people. "God sifted a whole nation," said Governor Stoughton, "that he might send choice grain over into this wilderness." Their intention, Governor Winthrop declared, was "to square all their proceedings by the rule of God's word" as they understood it. They contended that their charter gave them the exclusive ownership and control of Massachusetts (subject of course to the king), and in that charter they believed they found authority to expel any one who should attempt "annoyance to said colony."

90. Results of the exclusive policy of Massachusetts; resistance to the king. But this exclusive policy had very important political results: (1) it moved the king to demand the surrender of the Massachusetts charter; (2) it roused the colonists to evade or resist that demand, which they did with entire success for more than half a century; (3) on the other hand, the restriction of the right of suffrage to church members (§ 88) endangered the stability of the colonial government. Only about one fourth of the adult male inhabitants belonged to the Church, and the result was that three quarters of the men of Massachusetts had to submit, or preferred to submit, to laws which were made and enforced by the remaining quarter.

The first demonstration of resistance to the king was unmistakable. When he (1634) threatened to take away the charter, the Massachusetts authorities took decisive action. They ordered new forts to be built and an alarm signal to be set up on Beacon Hill in Boston. Furthermore they commanded that citizens should be drilled in the use of arms, and they encouraged the

casting of bullets by making them pass current as money at the rate of a farthing each.¹ Finally, to prevent the king's spies from reporting what they were doing, they passed a law (1637) ordering that no stranger or suspicious character should be permitted to remain in the colony.²

91. Roger Williams attacks the charter and the laws ; he flies to Narragansett Bay. At this critical period, when the charter was in peril, a new trouble arose. Roger Williams, an impetuous young Separatist minister (§ 78), had come over (1631) from England to Boston. The Puritan churches had not yet openly broken off all connection with the Church of England. Williams blamed them for not taking this final step. After preaching for a time in Salem, he removed to Plymouth and labored for the conversion of the Indians. While in the "Old Colony" Williams wrote a book, apparently not intended for publication, in which he attacked the Massachusetts charter. He declared that since the territory belonged originally to the Indians, the king had no power to grant it to the colonists.

Later, he withdrew this attack and even offered his book "to be burnt" ; but he now assailed the authorities on another point. The General Court had ordered (1634-1635) that every man, whether a church member or not, should swear to obey the laws and to defend the colony. Those who twice refused to take this oath were to be banished.

Williams, who had returned to Salem, preached against this law. He declared that the Puritan authorities had no moral right to force an unconverted person to take an oath. He also denied their right to punish those who refused to attend religious meetings, or who violated the first four commandments, except "in such cases as did disturb the civil peace."

The General Court summoned the preacher to retract, but he stood fast in his "rocky strength." The Court then (1635) ordered him to leave the colony, but finally allowed him to remain until spring, provided he did not "go about to draw others to his

¹ See Massachusetts Records, I, 137.

² Ibid., I, 196.

opinions." Mr. Williams insisted on preaching in his own house on the prohibited points, and the authorities dispatched a constable to arrest him.¹ He fled through winter snows, and at the peril of his life, to the hospitable hut of Massasoit (§ 81) on Narragansett Bay. He remained in that chief's smoky wigwam until spring, when he went forth and founded (1636) the colony of Providence.

92. The case of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. The Puritan authorities had next to deal with a case more aggravating even than that of Roger Williams. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a woman of "ready wit and bold spirit," had formed a kind of woman's club to discuss the sermons preached in Boston and vicinity. All went well until Mrs. Hutchinson began to indulge in sharp criticism. She commended the teaching of her friend, the Reverend Mr. Cotton, and of her brother-in-law, the Reverend Mr. Wheelwright, but she declared that the other ministers made altogether too much of religious ceremonies and church attendance and not half enough of faith.

The discussion waxed so hot that Winthrop said the colonists were split into two hostile parties, — one of "works" and the other of "faith." A company of militia who were about to march against the Indians were unwilling to move because their chaplain was accused of being "under a covenant of works," — or, in other words, of being more Jew than Christian. Next the dispute got into politics, and there was a Hutchinson and an Anti-Hutchinson candidate for governor.

Finally, a meeting of ministers formally accused Mrs. Hutchinson of teaching no less than twenty-nine "cursed opinions." Her brother-in-law, Mr. Wheelwright, who was said to hold the same dangerous views, was convicted of sedition, heresy, and contempt, and was banished (1637) from the colony. He went with some friends to New Hampshire and founded Exeter.

When Mrs. Hutchinson was brought to trial, she declared that God had revealed himself directly to her. "How?" asked

¹ See Palfrey's *New England*, I, ch. x, 405-412; Arnold's *Rhode Island*, I, 27-39.

her examiners. "By the voice of his own spirit to my soul," she replied. She was expelled from the Church, "given over to Satan," and banished. She, with her husband and some friends, made a settlement on Rhode Island.

93. **The Boston Latin School (1635); Harvard College (1636); establishment of public schools (1647).** Meanwhile the people of Massachusetts were taking action for the instruction of those who were to succeed them. Some citizens of Boston (1635) founded the Boston Latin School, — the oldest educational institution established by English settlers in the United States (§ 59). Among the early pupils of that justly celebrated school we find the names of Benjamin Franklin and Samuel Adams, two of the staunchest patriots America ever produced.

The next autumn the General Court voted £400 — a large sum for the colonists of that day — to found a college. Two years later (1638), Reverend John Harvard left property to it valued at £750, and gave to it his valuable library. In honor of these bequests the institution was named Harvard College. This Puritan university was wholly unsectarian. Its first seal had for its motto the single expressive Latin word *Veritas*.¹

The next year (1639) — the same year in which the first press in the English colonies was established at Cambridge — the citizens of Dorchester ordered that a free school should be set up in that town. Like the Boston Latin School, it was for boys only; girls then, and for many years to come, received all their instruction at home.

In 1647 the General Court took action on a broad scale. It declared: In order "that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers" every township of fifty householders shall hire a schoolmaster "to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read."² The wages of the teacher were to be paid in such manner as the people should determine in town meeting.

¹ See Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries*, I, No. 137.

² See *Massachusetts Records*, II, 203.

This law of 1647 established public schools that in time were to become "cheap enough for all, and good enough for the best." It laid the foundation of the free common-school system of the United States.

94. The New England Confederation (1643). In 1643 the four colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven formed a political and religious Confederation.¹ Its four chief objects were to keep the Dutch out of the Connecticut Valley, to put down insurrections of the Indians, to apprehend fugitives from justice, assist masters to recover runaway apprentices and slaves, and to maintain the purity of the orthodox faith.

But more than this, the people of these four colonies felt that such a union would help them to maintain their liberties in case the king should threaten them. The Confederation lasted about forty years, but its importance practically ceased in half that time. It was a prophecy of that union of all the colonies which was formed late in the next century and which was destined to secure American independence.

95. George Fox founds the Society of Friends or Quakers. Shortly after the New England Confederation went into operation, George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, began to preach in England. He declared that God makes himself known directly to the human heart, and that whoever follows this divine "inner light" is sure of salvation. The Puritans regarded the Bible as the supreme rule of life. In their eyes George Fox was a revolutionist, striking at the very foundations of both Church and Scripture. But more than this, he seemed to most men of that age to threaten to destroy the bonds that hold society together. They accused him of "troubling the world by preaching peace to it."

(1) The Quakers conscientiously refused to take any form of oath. They would not give evidence in this way in a court of justice or swear allegiance to any form of government. (2) Believing that war was wrong, they would not bear arms in defense of

See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 19.

the state or of their own homes. (3) They refused to pay taxes for the support of any ministry or church. (4) Believing that all men are equal in the sight of God, they refused to address any one, no matter what his rank, by any other title than that of "Friend"; they spoke rudely to magistrates; they insisted on keeping on their hats in courts, and would not take them off¹ to the king himself. They were mercilessly treated in England; and some of them, driven half-crazy by brutal punishments, indulged in actions which to-day would be regarded as proof of insanity. The General Court of Massachusetts, hearing of these things, ordered (1656) that a day of fasting and prayer should be kept for fear that the teachings of the English Quakers should spread abroad.

96. Arrival of Quaker missionaries (1656); action against Quakers; Episcopalians and Baptists. Shortly after this day of fasting and prayer two Quaker women arrived (1656) at Boston. They came to convert the New England colonists. The authorities threw them into jail, burned their books, and as soon as possible sent them to the West Indies.

The General Court believed that the charter of the colony empowered them to exclude all persons whom they considered to be obnoxious. In accordance with that conviction they enacted (1656) a severe law against the "cursed sect of heretics . . . commonly called Quakers." The act imposed a fine of £100 on the master of any vessel who should bring one of these people into the colony, and it ordered that every Quaker who entered Massachusetts should be severely flogged and then kept in close confinement until he could be sent to distant parts.²

But neither cruel scourgings, nor the cutting off of ears, nor threats of worse punishments could keep out these fervent apostles of the "inner light." They believed it to be as much their duty to preach to the Puritan Fathers as the Puritans believed it theirs to preach to the savages.

¹ See Gardiner's *History of the English Commonwealth*, III, 106-110; Bryant and Gay's *United States*, II, 174.

² See Hazard's *State Papers*, I, 630, or *Massachusetts Records*, III, 415.

Baffled and exasperated, the General Court finally resolved, as they said, "to present the point of the sword toward the Quakers," and let them rush on it if they would. An act was passed (1658) making it death for a banished Quaker to return to the colony. The principle was not new, for a similar law respecting Jesuit and other Catholic priests had been on the Massachusetts statute books for many years.

Under this act four Quakers — one of whom was a woman — who had come back after having been twice banished were hanged on Boston Common (1661).¹ These were the first and also the last persons of this faith who were put to death in Massachusetts. But nearly a quarter of a century later the English authorities were killing Covenanters by hundreds, and drowning women in Scotland for refusing to conform to the Established Church.

The last exciting case of Quaker missionary work was that of Margaret Brewster (1677). She entered the Old South Meeting-house in Boston during the Sunday service. Margaret was dressed in sackcloth, her face was smeared with lampblack, and her head covered with ashes. She had come, she said, like the prophet Jonah, to call the people of Boston to repent. Judge Samuel Sewall, who was present, says in his diary that her sudden appearance "occasioned the greatest and most amazing uproar that I ever saw." Margaret was condemned to be tied to a cart's tail and whipped through the streets. With her the conflict ended, and the Puritans gave up trying to silence these new missionaries. Quaker persistence and Quaker nonresistance had fairly carried the day.

Meanwhile the Massachusetts authorities had sent (1660) a most humble, not to say servile, address to the king² in which they professed their entire loyalty. But in a declaration of their charter rights which they drew up the following year they took a very decided stand.³ In that document they claimed the power to defend the colony against all persons who should attempt to

¹ See Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 140-142.

² See Hazard's *State Papers*, II, 579.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 591.

annoy it, and they added a protest against the recent Navigation Act (§ 48). Later (1662), they promised His Majesty not to drive out any more Episcopalians (§ 85).

Baptists had been forbidden to preach and had been repeatedly banished. President Dunster of Harvard College had embraced certain Baptist views. He was compelled to resign (1654) and to give bonds not to preach. But by 1674 toleration so far prevailed that a member of that denomination wrote, "The church of the baptized [at East Boston] do peaceably enjoy their liberty."

The Catholics first began public worship in the colony after the establishment of our national independence. The Unitarians and Universalists obtained toleration about the same time with the Catholics.

97. Eliot's work among the Indians; his Indian Bible. The Reverend John Eliot of Roxbury — "the Apostle to the Indians" — had long been engaged (1646-1675) in his noble work. He believed that the red men were the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. He founded a settlement (1651) of "Praying Indians" at Natick, and (1653) he published, after many "heart breakings" and years of toil, his translation of the Scriptures into the Indian language. It was the first Bible printed by an English colonist on the American continent. In the terrible King Philip's War a number of Eliot's "Praying Indians" acted as military guides to the whites, while others fought in behalf of the colony.

98. King Philip's War (1675-1676); cause of the war; events; results. So long as Massasoit (§ 81) lived he remained friendly to the whites; but his son, "King Philip," had no love for them. The colonists had purchased Indian territory until they had crowded Philip's tribe into two or three narrow necks of land projecting into Narragansett Bay. The savage chief saw that the time was soon coming when the English would own all the hunting grounds, and when his people must emigrate, starve, or fight. He chose to fight.

Philip looked upon Eliot's "soft-hearted 'Praying Indians'" (§ 97) with suspicion and contempt. One of these Indians told

the governor of Plymouth that "King Philip" was preparing to make war. Some of that chief's followers murdered the informer. The Plymouth authorities arrested and hanged them. Philip retaliated by an attack (1675) on Swansea, the town nearest his headquarters at Mount Hope.

For some time the war was confined to southern Massachusetts and vicinity, but gradually the Indian tribes in the western part of the colony joined Philip. It now became evident that the struggle was to be a desperate one, especially in the Connecticut Valley, where the white settlements were small and scattered.

The colonists had the advantage in numbers and in arms, but the Indians knew the forests perfectly, they were as quick and stealthy as wild-cats, and they were pretty well supplied with muskets.

Brookfield and Deerfield were attacked and burned, but Hadley escaped. According to tradition that town was saved by the sudden appearance of a venerable white-haired man who rallied the inhabitants and drove off the savages. The mysterious leader then disappeared. He was the regicide Goffe (§ 116), who had long lived concealed in the town. A few



KING PHILIP'S WAR

weeks later (1675) the Indians surprised and cut to pieces a body of ninety men — "the very flower of Essex" — at "Bloody Brook," near Deerfield. Then the New Englanders resolved to "root this nest of serpents out of the world."

The next winter a colonial force, a thousand strong, burst into the Indian fort of the Narragansetts on the west shore of Narragansett Bay. They set fire to the wigwams in the inclosure, and scores of Indians — helpless old men, women, and children —

perished in the flames. On the other hand, the savages burned (1676) Lancaster, Groton, Marlborough, Medfield, and smaller towns. The temper of the Indians was illustrated by Canonchet, chief of the Narragansetts. He was captured, and when told he was to be shot, he answered, "I like it well, I shall die before my heart becomes soft."

A little later, Captain Turner of Boston gained a great victory over the savages near Turner's Falls on the Connecticut. Then the Indians saw that fate was against them and they began to lay down their arms and beg for peace.

It was the custom in England to sell prisoners taken in the civil wars. Following this example, the colonists sold many of their red captives as slaves to the planters of the West Indies. King Philip's wife, and his son, a boy of nine, were disposed of in this manner. Not long afterward, Captain Church of Plymouth, a famous fighter, surprised Philip near Mount Hope. The savage "king" was shot by one of his own men who had turned against him. At last, as Cotton Mather said, the colonists "had prayed the bullet into his heart." The death of the great chief virtually ended the contest. This was the last war between the whites and the natives in southern New England, — the power of the Indians in that section was broken forever.

The losses of the war were very heavy. More than half of the towns in Massachusetts had been burned, and a tenth of all the fighting men in New England had either fallen in battle or had been carried off captive. Plymouth Colony suffered most of all. Its war debt exceeded in value the entire personal property of the inhabitants, but by years of toil they at last paid off every dollar of it, principal and interest.

99. Charles II and the Massachusetts Colonial charter ; the charter falls (1684). But Massachusetts had next to deal with some one far greater than "King Philip." Charles II confirmed (1662) the Massachusetts charter on five conditions: (1) the colonists were to repeal all laws contrary to those of England; (2) they were to take the oath of allegiance; (3) justice was to be administered

in the king's name ; (4) liberty of worship was to be granted to Episcopalians ; (5) all persons of respectable character, competent estate, and orthodox in religion were to be allowed to vote.¹

The General Court had partially complied with the order respecting the administration of justice in the king's name, but not with the other demands. The commonwealth still refused to permit appeals from the colonial courts to the royal courts in England.

Commissioners were now (1664) sent over by the king to hear complaints. Plymouth Colony, Rhode Island, and Connecticut agreed to comply with the demands of the crown, but Massachusetts refused to permit the commissioners to sit as a court of appeal.

Later, however, in the hope of saving their charter, the General Court ordered the oath of allegiance to the king to be administered. This submission, however, made little difference in the end ; for Charles was determined to rule absolutely and to leave no chartered rights in England or in the colonies to resist his will.

Massachusetts declared (1681) that she no longer withheld liberty of worship from Episcopalians or Baptists (§ 96) ; but it was easy to find other grounds of complaint, and it was moved in the king's court in London that the colonial charter be annulled ; no time was given to the colonists to plead their case, and (1684) the charter fell. This was the end of the Puritan commonwealth. Henceforth it was to be ruled as a province of the crown.

100. Sir Edmund Andros ; royal instructions ; his rule ; his overthrow ; results of the English Revolution of 1688. James II, the successor (1685) of Charles II, sent out Sir Edmund Andros to govern " the Dominion of New England " (§ 64).

Andros, with his self-appointed council, was authorized : (1) to enact laws " as near as conveniently may be to those of England " ; (2) to organize courts of justice ; (3) to levy taxes ; (4) to call out the militia ; (5) to grant liberty of conscience to all persons and to encourage the Episcopal form of worship.

He faithfully carried out his instructions. He opened the Old South Meeting-house in Boston on Sunday afternoons for the

¹ See Hazard's State Papers, II, 605-607.

Church of England service. He imprisoned the Reverend John Wise of Ipswich, and five other leading citizens of that town, for refusing to pay a tax levied upon them without their consent.

By the fall (1684) of the colonial charter (§ 99) every acre of land in Massachusetts was forfeited to the king. Andros gave the prominent real-estate owners of the colony their choice between paying an annual ground rent to his royal master or surrendering their houses and fields. In Cambridge, Lynn, and other towns he seized the commons, fenced them in, and leased them to private tenants.

In order to prevent the public discussion of political matters, he prohibited all town meetings except one which might be held yearly to choose town officers. He forbade any person's leaving New England without a pass. The press had always been under the supervision of a keeper appointed by the General Court. The governor now appointed that keeper himself; nothing could be printed without a license. Andros was naturally arbitrary, but there seems to be no evidence that he was either "cruel, rapacious, or dishonest." It was simply inevitable that he should excite the hatred of those who were compelled to submit to him and to his royal master.

When the news of the landing of William, Prince of Orange, was received (1689) in Boston, Andros wrote, "There is a general buzzing among the people, great with the expectation of [regaining] the old charter." The "buzzing" had a sting in it. It ended in the rising of the citizens. They threw the obnoxious ruler into prison and set up a temporary government of their own. Great was the joy of the colonists when William and Mary came to the throne in England. The new king was known to be in strong sympathy with the principles of the Puritan faith, and the citizens of Massachusetts believed that in him they would have a fast friend.

The "glorious revolution of 1688" which dethroned James II and gave the crown to William and Mary had far-reaching results in America: (1) it destroyed the scheme of consolidation of the

northern colonies begun by James (§ 64) and so secured to them a greater degree of independent action; (2) it restored the old charters to Connecticut and Rhode Island (§§ 117, 125) and gave Massachusetts her charter rights again (§ 99), though in somewhat smaller measure than before; (3) it banished all fear of the establishment of Catholicism in any of the colonies, or of Episcopacy in the Puritan colonies; (4) it brought on the great war with France which ended by securing all French territory in America to England (§§ 162-172).

101. The province charter of Massachusetts (1691); Salem witchcraft; Judge Sewall. King William (1691) granted a new charter¹ to Massachusetts which annexed Plymouth and Maine to the colony. It provided: (1) that the crown should appoint the governor of the colony; (2) that the property holders among the people should elect an Assembly; (3) that the Assembly should choose a council or upper house, subject to the approval of the governor; (4) the two houses of the Legislature were to make all laws, subject to the approval of the governor and of the king; (5) the Assembly was to levy all taxes; (6) the Legislature established the courts of justice, and the governor, with the consent of his council, appointed the judges; (7) freedom of worship was granted to all Christians except Catholics. The colony remained under this charter until the war for independence.

The king now appointed Sir William Phips governor. He arrived (1692) in the midst of the witchcraft excitement.

Belief in the reality of witchcraft was then practically universal. In Great Britain alone thousands of poor old women were tortured, hanged, and burned for that crime. The most eminent men "thought that they had Scripture authority for that belief, and knew that they had law for it."

Some children in Salem formed a sort of club for reading stories about witches. They next began to mimic the actions of bewitched persons. At length they worked themselves into a state of nervous excitement bordering on insanity. In that condition

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 42.

they accused several women of having bewitched them. One of the accused was a poor Indian servant; she was flogged so cruelly that in her agony she confessed herself guilty. Then the whole community was seized with a frenzy of terror; before the fatal delusion ran its course nineteen persons were hanged for having sold themselves to Satan.

But the inevitable reaction came. A day of fasting and prayer was held (1696) throughout Massachusetts to bewail the "mistakes" of the witchcraft trials. Judge Samuel Sewall rose in his place in the Old South Meeting-house and read a written confession of his error in having taken part in them. He ended by humbly begging the congregation to pray "that God might not visit his sin upon him, his family," or "upon the land."

Later, one of the girls who had begun the terrible work signed a written statement, still on record, in which she acknowledged the deceit she had employed, and which had cost near a score of lives. But though no more witchcraft cases came before the courts in Massachusetts, they continued to be prosecuted in the "old country." In fact, the English statute punishing such offenses with death was not repealed until forty years later (1736).

102. The power of the purse; disputes with the governors; Episcopacy; the Forest Laws; the Navigation Laws revived. The new charter (§ 101) gave the Assembly the exclusive control of the public purse. The representatives chosen by the different towns levied all taxes and paid all salaries. This provision put "the effective whip of the money power" into the hands of the colonists and made them almost independent of the governor and the king.

One great object of the governor was to secure a fixed permanent salary, so that the people could not put a bridle on his authority. The people, on the other hand, were fully resolved not to grant a fixed salary; and not to grant any for more than a single year at a time. In this way they made the governor realize that his pay depended on his behavior. This battle between the executive and the people was constantly going on, not only in Massachusetts, but in every one of the royal colonies in America.

Another lively source of irritation sprang from the fact that the governor, as the king's representative, always attended the king's or Episcopal Chapel in Boston. This excited the distrust of many of the descendants of the original Puritans. They feared that the king intended to appoint a bishop for Massachusetts and to secure to the Episcopal Church the controlling influence in religion. No bishop, however, was ever appointed by the crown for any American colony.

The Forest Laws were a third cause of discontent. The tall straight pines of New England were reserved for masts for the royal navy. The new charter forbade the colonists to cut them down. But as a fine tree would readily sell for £100, or even more, the king's surveyor found it difficult to save the pines. His attempts to do so sometimes led to pitched battles between his men and the colonists, in which the latter generally came off victors.

Later, the royal authorities made determined efforts to enforce the obnoxious Navigation Acts (§ 48), which had long been a dead letter in New England. This added fresh fuel to the smoldering embers of discontent. Samuel Adams and other patriots blew those embers until they suddenly burst out in the fierce flame of the Revolution.

103. Summary. Plymouth Colony (1620) and the colony of Massachusetts (1630) were established by men seeking liberty of worship for themselves, but for themselves only. The settlers of the first or "Old Colony" were Separatists or Pilgrims; those of Massachusetts Bay were Puritans. The Pilgrims organized government by town meeting, where all met on terms of political equality. Later, they established the representative system (except for local affairs) and restricted the right to vote to persons of orthodox faith. After an independent existence of seventy years Plymouth Colony was united with Massachusetts.

The Puritan settlers of Massachusetts practically set up an independent religious republic, based on church membership, and they endeavored to exclude all who did not accept their

faith; on the other hand, they were the first English colonists to establish a college for higher education, and a system of public schools which laid the foundation of free instruction in the United States. In 1684 the colony was made a royal province. Later (1691), a new charter was received which remained in force until the outbreak of the Revolution.

V. NEW HAMPSHIRE (1623)¹

104. Grant of territory; first settlements. Two years after the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason of England obtained a grant (1622) of the country between the Merrimac and the Kennebec rivers.² Their territory extended "to the farthest head of the said rivers" and sixty miles inland. The new province was to receive the name of Maine.



A few months later, David Thomson, a Scotchman, got possession of a small section of land on the Piscataqua and established a fishing station (1623) near the mouth of that river. He soon moved to the vicinity of Boston; but the settlement he had formed on the Piscataqua seems to have been maintained.

Several years later (1627), Edward Hilton came over from England and set up a second fishing station at what is now Dover. Not long afterward (1629), Gorges and Mason built a fort for carrying on the fur trade. The three founded Portsmouth on one of the noblest harbors of the New England coast. When (1638) the Reverend John Wheelwright was banished from Massachusetts for heresy (§ 92) he began the settlement of Exeter.

¹ See Winsor's *America*, III, ch. ix; V, ch. ii; Thwaites' *Colonies*, ch. vi-vii; Sanborn's *New Hampshire*; Fisher's *Colonial Era*; Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc.; Bancroft's *United States*; Palfrey's *New England*.

² See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 7.

105. Gorges and Mason divide their territory into Maine and New Hampshire. Gorges and Mason (1629-1634) divided their territory. Gorges took the part east of the Piscataqua, or Maine, while Mason took that between the Piscataqua and the Merrimac.¹ This region he called New Hampshire, — from the county of Hampshire, England, where he had once held an important office.

An attempt had been made by Sir George Popham to establish a colony of that name at the mouth of the Kennebec in 1607, but it was unsuccessful. Maine was planted by small settlements, and hence presented only "scattered beginnings." The first permanent one was made (1625) on the rocky promontory of Pemaquid, east of Bath. It promised so well that it received the name of "the metropolis of New England."

Sir Ferdinando Gorges was a stanch Royalist and a zealous member of the Church of England. He fixed his capital (1640) under the shadow of Mount Agamenticus, at what is now York. Massachusetts, under a new interpretation of her charter, claimed part of Maine. By a later charter (1691) she got the whole of it, and held it under the name of the "District of Maine." In 1820 this "District" became an independent state of that union which the hardy and patriotic sons of Maine had done their full part to establish.

106. Religious opinions ; land titles. New Hampshire was greatly divided in religious opinions. A considerable part of the first settlers were "loyal to the Church of England and to the king." But besides these there were Puritans and Hutchinsonians (§ 92) at Dover. Again, the Wheelwright party (§ 92), who settled Exeter, felt no very fervent love toward the old Bay Colony, which had driven them out to find homes in the northern wilderness.

Besides religious differences there were serious disputes about land titles, and between the two New Hampshire found herself in a very unsettled condition. When Mason died his heirs insisted that the settlers on the grant were intruders who must either pay for their farms or leave them.

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., Nos. 10 and 13.

While this dispute was going on, Massachusetts (1630) laid claim to a large part of New Hampshire. Her ground was that the Massachusetts Company's charter gave them the right to all lands as far north as three miles above the source of the Merrimac River (§ 85), and thence easterly in a straight line to the Atlantic.

After many years of litigation the English courts finally (1680) decided against this claim; but the Mason heirs kept up the controversy for about half a century longer. The early settlers had a trying experience. When they were not fighting Indians in the forests they were fighting in the courts against English claimants to their homes; of the two, they probably dreaded the claimants rather more than they did the savages.

107. "Combinations"; union with Massachusetts (1642-1675); New Hampshire becomes a royal province. After Mason's death the citizens of Dover signed a compact by which they bound themselves to obey the laws of England, but maintained the right of the settlers to supplement those laws with regulations of their own. Similar "combinations" were formed (either earlier or later) by the people of Portsmouth and of Exeter. In practice these agreements established independent systems of self-government.

But New Hampshire had too small a population to hold her own against the terrors of Indian attacks, of boundary disputes, and of private claimants to her lands. A commissioner sent from Massachusetts reported that the Piscataqua people were ripe for union with the Bay Colony. The union took place in 1641. The northern colony lost none of its rights or privileges by the annexation. The General Court of Massachusetts prudently ordered (1642) that the freemen of New Hampshire should "have liberty . . . to manage all their town affairs," and that permission should be given to each town to "send a deputy to the General Court though [such deputies] be not at present church members."¹

¹ See Massachusetts Records, II, 29.

This union lasted for more than thirty years (1642-1675), when the king ordered that New Hampshire should be restored to one of Mason's heirs. A few years later (1680), it became a royal province. Governor Cranfield's rapacity made the people desperate, and the farmers rose. Armed with clubs and aided by their good wives armed with kettles of boiling water, they drove back the governor's bands of tax collectors and constables.

108. Settlement of Londonderry (1719); manufacture of linen; Stark; Webster; Dartmouth College. Early in the eighteenth century (1719) a number of Scotch-Irish (§ 52) immigrants settled in New Hampshire. They founded a frontier town, which they called Londonderry in grateful remembrance of the famous Protestant city which had been their temporary home in Ireland.

These thrifty settlers soon began a most important industry which they had learned in Ireland; this was the raising of flax and the manufacture of linen. In every log cabin the music of the spinning wheel was heard, and the cloth sent out from those humble homes in the wilderness became so famous all over New England that British makers counterfeited the Londonderry stamp.

Another product of which the town had good reason to be proud was John Stark, who came to the front in the French and Indian wars and in the early battles of the Revolution.

About forty years after the settlement of Londonderry a farmer of Scottish descent pushed far north into what was then the wildest part of New Hampshire. There he made himself a dwelling place under the shadow of Mount Kearsarge. Speaking of that home in the woods, Daniel Webster said: "My father *lapped on* a little beyond any other comer; and when he had built his log cabin, and lighted his fire, his smoke ascended nearer to the north star than that of any other of His Majesty's New England subjects; his nearest civilized neighbor on the north was at Montreal."

Something like ten years after that cabin was erected a band of about thirty students, mostly Indians, made their way on foot through the woods from Connecticut to what is now Hanover.

There they felled trees in the forest and erected (1769) the first rude buildings of Dartmouth College.

109. Dispute between New York and New Hampshire; the "beech seal"; Vermont; Paul Jones. In 1763 a dispute arose between New Hampshire and New York in regard to the ownership of the territory lying between the latter colony and the Connecticut River.

Both claimed it under the royal grants. The colony of Massachusetts had built Fort Dummer (1724) near what is now Brattleboro. This was the first settlement made in that region. Governor Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire (from whom Bennington was named) had already laid out nearly a hundred and forty townships in this disputed territory. These townships — popularly called the "New Hampshire Grants" — were a favorite field for speculators, and lawyers grew rich from land sales and the quarrels arising from them.

The king (1765) confirmed the claim of New York to the territory west of the Connecticut River. Thereupon the governor of New York ordered the settlers on the "New Hampshire Grants" — later named Vermont — to repurchase their lands.

Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, two "Green Mountain boys," headed a party determined to resist these demands. They armed themselves with tough blue-beech rods, such as were used for taming unruly oxen. When the sheriff's officers came from New York to eject the settlers, the "boys" gave them a very warm reception. This they styled "applying the beech seal." A long and bloody contest would probably have ensued had not the breaking out of the Revolution compelled the disputants to turn their energies to fighting a common enemy.

In the war for independence the "Green Mountain boys," led by Allen, Warner, and other patriots of that section, did the cause of American liberty memorable service. In 1777 the freemen of the "New Hampshire Grants" declared themselves an independent state under the appropriate name of Vermont. Vermont (1791) headed the band of states which, outside of the original thirteen, first entered the American Union.

Early in the Revolution, citizens of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, built (1777) the famous privateer *Ranger* which sailed under the command of Paul Jones. The *Ranger* was the first vessel to hoist the stars and stripes, and the first to force a British man of war to strike her colors to our national flag.

110. Summary. Early in the seventeenth century a few fishing and fur-trading settlements were planted on the New England coast north of the Merrimac. Soon afterward the proprietors of the territory divided it; the eastern part became Maine and the western New Hampshire. Eventually New Hampshire was annexed to Massachusetts, but it retained important features of its own more liberal form of government; late in the seventeenth century it became a royal province.

Scotch-Irish immigrants set up the manufacture of linen at Londonderry. Stark and Webster were the sons of New Hampshire pioneers. After a time the settlers in the western part of the colony declared themselves an independent state under the name of Vermont. Both New Hampshire and Vermont took active part in the war for independence.

VI. CONNECTICUT (1634)¹

111. Connecticut Valley; the Dutch; emigration from Plymouth Colony and from Massachusetts. Between Plymouth Colony on the east and New Netherland on the west lay the beautiful valley of the Connecticut. James I had granted this region to the Council for New England; but no proper surveys had been made, and "the king might as well have given a bearskin while the bear himself was still at large in the forest."

The Dutch claimed the country by virtue of exploration and settlement. They had sent vessels up the Connecticut (1633) and had built a fortified fur-trading house where the city of

¹ See Winsor's *America*, III, ch. ix; V, ch. ii; Thwaites' *Colonies*, ch. vi-vii; Fisher's *Colonial Era*; Bancroft's *United States*; Trumbull's *Connecticut*; Johnston's *Connecticut*; Fiske's *Beginnings of New England*; Palfrey's *New England*.

Hartford now stands. But the Puritan and Pilgrim colonists on the east refused to recognize the Dutch claim. They looked upon the coveted territory as a "No Man's Land" or "Lord's Waste," which any Englishman had the right to seize.

Acting in this spirit, Captain William Holmes of Plymouth sailed boldly up the Connecticut, pushed past the Dutch fort (1633), and set up a ready-made rival trading house where Windsor now stands.

The next year (1634) emigrants from Watertown, near Boston, built a few log huts at Wethersfield, — the oldest town in Connecticut. Soon afterward (1635) about half the inhabitants of Dorchester, Massachusetts, moved to the vicinity of Captain Holmes' trading house. They, too, had a "hankering mind" after the rich river meadows of Windsor.

But the chief emigration took place the following year (1636), when the Reverend Thomas Hooker, "the Light of the Western

Churches," led the greater part of his Cambridge congregation to the Connecticut. The colonists found their way through the primeval forests by the use of the compass. After two



weeks' journeying they reached the Connecticut, crossed it on rafts, and began the settlement of Hartford.

The same autumn (1636) John Winthrop, junior, built a fort for Lords Say and Brooke at the mouth of the Connecticut — hence the town of Saybrook. This fort shut out the Dutch from coming up the river. Eight years later (1644), the Connecticut colony (consisting of Wethersfield, Windsor, and Hartford) purchased Saybrook, and so got the control of the river from its mouth to the Massachusetts line on the north.

112. Opposition of Massachusetts; reasons for emigration. Massachusetts strongly opposed this movement of her people into the valley of the Connecticut. She regarded it as a secession rather than an emigration. It was in fact the secession of the more democratic part of the Puritan population of Massachusetts. But the authorities had other reasons for opposing this movement: (1) they did not like to see their own slender numbers reduced; (2) they feared that England would hold them responsible for letting the people take possession of a region for which they had no patent; (3) they thought the movement would bring on a war with the Dutch and with the Indians.¹ In regard to trouble with the savages, the results showed that their judgment was correct.

The Cambridge emigrants gave as their reasons for going: (1) that they needed more room for pasturing their cattle; (2) that if they did not seize the Connecticut Valley there was great danger that the "Dutch, or other English" might do so; (3) that it was "the strong bent of their spirits to remove thither."

The phrase "strong bent" was doubtless a mild way of expressing the determination of the leaders of the movement to establish a new government which should more fully represent their own ideas. Hooker was opposed to having suffrage restricted to church members (§ 88). He advocated broader and more tolerant principles in both religion and politics than those held by the authorities in Massachusetts.

After a long debate a reluctant kind of half assent was given to the emigration, but on the condition that Massachusetts should appoint commissioners to control the Connecticut settlers. To this the emigrants agreed, but in less than a year they had become self-governing.

113. War with the Pequots; the destruction of the Pequot fort; results. The settlers at Wethersfield, Windsor, and Hartford had hardly got their log cabins completed when they were obliged to unite in a campaign (1637) against the savages. It

¹ See Winthrop's *New England*, I, 166-169, or Walker's *Life of Hooker*, 84.

was the first war with the Indians in New England. The ferocious Pequots—a tribe that could muster nearly a thousand warriors—were determined to drive the English from the rich valley of the Connecticut.

Captain John Mason of Windsor led (1637) his valiant little army of ninety men against the savages. Captain Underhill of Massachusetts joined him with a force of about twenty more. Several hundred friendly Narragansetts and Mohicans went with the expedition.

Mason and Underhill, with this small force, burst into the Pequot fort (on Pequot Hill, near what is now Mystic). They set the wigwams on fire, and in a few minutes the whole Indian village was a sheet of roaring flame. When the terrified savages rushed madly out of their blazing wigwams, Mason and Underhill “entertained them,” as the latter says, “with the point of the sword.” Out of six or seven hundred Pequots only “about seven escaped.”

The remainder of the tribe, who were intrenched in a second fort a few miles distant, fled westward in despair. All summer they were hunted down like wild beasts. In the autumn (1637) the miserable remnant of this once powerful people surrendered. The colonists gave part of the prisoners to the Mohicans and Narragansetts; the rest they sold as slaves to the West India planters. The destruction of the Pequots secured forty years of peace to the New England settlers, and opened the way to the rapid settlement of Connecticut.

114. Mr. Hooker's sermon ; the Connecticut Constitution ; laws respecting suffrage. In the spring following the victory over the Pequots, the Reverend Mr. Hooker preached a memorable sermon (1638) before the General Court of Connecticut. He declared that the foundation of every just government must be laid “in the free consent of the people,” who alone had the right not only to choose but to limit the power of their rulers.

The next January (1639) the Court framed a “Body of Fundamental Laws”¹ based on the republican principles which

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 14.

Hooker had laid down. Such was the origin of the first written, and purely republican, constitution made by Americans for Americans (§§ 43, 80). It did not mention either king or parliament, but derived its powers solely from the "free consent" of the governed.

This constitution required that the governor of Connecticut should be "always a member of some approved congregation." That meant that he must be orthodox in religion. But the Connecticut authorities, unlike those in Massachusetts, did not restrict the right to vote to church members.

A number of years later an act was passed (1657) forbidding Quakers and other "loathsome heretics" from settling in the colony. About the same time the right of suffrage was limited to persons who had once held office or who owned property to the value of £30.

The laws were liberal for that day. Roger Williams was "a welcome guest at Hartford," and there "never existed a persecuting spirit in Connecticut."

115. New Haven Colony (1638) a republic founded on the Bible; the Laws of Moses. Meanwhile a new colony had been planted (1638) at New Haven. In many respects it differed widely from the Connecticut Colony. Its founders were Theophilus Eaton, a London merchant, and the Reverend John Davenport, a Puritan minister of the "straitest sect."

In 1639 the settlers held their first town meeting. They voted: (1) "that the Scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men"; (2) "that church members only shall be free burgesses." These ordinances were declared to be unalterable. In 1643 several independent settlements united with New Haven in forming a representative government on this basis.¹

The settlers then chose twelve men, who in turn chose, from among themselves, the "Seven Pillars." These seven, by mutual agreement, formed the first church of New Haven Colony, and

¹ See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 14.

also the first court of justice. They appointed the civil officers of the commonwealth and decided who might be permitted to vote.

A few years later (1644), the General Court ordered that "the judicial Laws of Moses," as laid down in the Old Testament, should be the rule for dealing with all offenders. These laws, which resembled those of Massachusetts, inflicted the penalty of death not only on the murderer but on the presumptuous Sabbath breaker, the willful blasphemer, and the stubborn and rebellious son.¹ All trials were conducted before the seven judges; trial by jury was not allowed. There is no evidence, however, that capital punishment was ever inflicted except for willful murder and for the commission of one or two revolting crimes.² In England at this date no less than two hundred offenses, of which sheep stealing was one, were punished by the hangman's halter.

116. Establishment of a free school (1642) and of a college (1701); the regicides. In 1642 the colony of New Haven ordered a free school to be "set up" (§ 93), and to be supported out of the public money of the town.

Two generations later, after New Haven and Connecticut had long been united, tradition tells us that ten ministers, zealous for the cause of sound knowledge and sound orthodoxy, met at Branford, near New Haven (1701). Each brought a few books, saying, "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony." Such was the humble beginning of what is to-day Yale University. It was the second in order of birth of the great New England institutions of learning.

When Charles II came to the throne Whalley and Goffe, two of the judges who had signed Charles I's death warrant, fled to Boston. Thence the regicide judges went to New Haven.

The Puritan colonists of New England naturally sympathized with men who had given the deathblow to that royal tyranny which had driven them to seek homes in the New World. The Reverend John Davenport concealed the fugitives in his own

¹ See New Haven Records, I, 130, 191; Levermore's New Haven, 151, 153.

² See Levermore's New Haven, 153.

house. In a sermon full of fervor he bade his congregation obey the Scripture command, "Hide the outcasts; betray not him that wandereth." The emissaries of the crown offered large rewards for the capture of the regicides, but no one, however poor, would give information respecting them. The king never succeeded in laying hand on these two men who had helped to send his father to the block.

117. The Connecticut Charter (1662); New Haven united with Connecticut; Andros and the Charter. In 1662 Charles II granted a charter¹ to the Connecticut Colony, which incorporated (1665) the New Haven Colony with the other settlement. The Connecticut charter was a remarkable instrument. It made the people of that commonwealth "independent except in name." They could elect their own governor and Legislature, enact their own laws (provided they should not be contrary to the laws of England), and administer justice without appeal to the English courts. The charter imposed no restrictions in matters of religion or worship.

It was as liberal in its gift of territory as in its political concessions. It secured to this virtual American republic a strip of land about seventy miles in width, extending from a point a little west of Narragansett Bay in one unbroken line across the continent to the Pacific. By these generous terms Connecticut embraced, like Virginia and Massachusetts, nearly one eighth of the circumference of the globe (see map on page 35).

In 1687 Governor Andros, in pursuance of his instructions from James II (§§ 64, 100), demanded the surrender of the Connecticut charter, and went with a military retinue to Hartford to obtain it. The authorities protested, but Andros was unyielding. He had come for the charter and he was determined not to go away without it. The discussion extended into the evening. Then, according to tradition, the much-coveted document was brought in and laid on the table. The governor was about to take possession of it when the candles were suddenly blown out;

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 24.

when they were relighted the charter had disappeared. One of the Assemblymen had seized the precious document under cover of the darkness, and rushing out had hidden it in the hollow trunk of the tree henceforth known and venerated as the "Charter Oak."

Andros now took the management of Connecticut upon himself. But his triumph was brief. When (1689) he fell (§ 100) the colonists brought out the hidden charter and reëstablished their liberty. From that time the government remained substantially unchanged until the adoption of the state constitution in 1818.

The growth of Connecticut, like that of her noble elms, was silent and sure. As she chose her own rulers and made her own laws, she was exempt from those quarrels with royal governors which kept most of the colonies in a constant turmoil. In the French wars Israel Putnam, one of Connecticut's adopted sons, — "the man who dared to lead where any man dared to follow," — showed how her people were being trained for the coming struggle for independence. That struggle brought such patriots as Putnam, Roger Sherman, and Governor Jonathan Trumbull — the original "Brother Jonathan," the friend and adviser of Washington — directly to the front.

118. Summary. The Connecticut Valley was settled by emigrants from Massachusetts who desired to establish a colony on a broader basis of citizenship. Connecticut framed the first written and purely republican form of constitution made by Americans for Americans. Later, a colony of the strictest class of Puritans was established at New Haven. They limited the government to church members. In 1662 Charles II united the two colonies under a very liberal charter. Henceforth Connecticut became an independent republic in everything but name. Israel Putnam led Connecticut men in the French and Indian War; and at the beginning of the Revolution, Putnam, Sherman, and Trumbull took a conspicuous part in behalf of independence.

VII. MARYLAND (1634)¹

119. George Calvert, Baron of Baltimore; the Maryland Charter; laws; religion. In 1629 George Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, visited Jamestown, Virginia, with the view of settling in that province. The authorities, knowing that he was a Catholic, demanded that he should take the Oath of Supremacy (§ 40), and thus compelled him to leave the colony.

Two years later (1631), Charles I granted Lord Baltimore a large tract of wild land in Virginia north and east of the Potomac; but before the charter was signed Lord Baltimore died, and his son, Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, received the charter.² It created Calvert and his heirs "Proprietaries" or "true and absolute lords" of Maryland, — a name given by the king in honor of his French wife, Queen "Mary," who held the same faith as the Calverts. By this act Charles I granted "the most ample rights and privileges ever conferred by a sovereign of England." He gave Lord Baltimore power to set up "a government almost independent of the parent country."

By the charter the "Proprietary" could erect manors, create a titled aristocracy, wage war, call out the entire fighting population to defend his province, establish courts of justice, impose customs duties, levy taxes, and, with the assent of the freemen, or voters, could enact all needful laws — provided, however, that they should agree "as far as conveniently might be" with the laws of England.

In pursuance of this plan, Lord Baltimore ordered (1636) that land grants of a thousand acres and upwards should be erected into manors. The lord of such an estate was empowered to hold civil and criminal courts. His tenants usually enjoyed a share in the management or government of the estate. One of the most

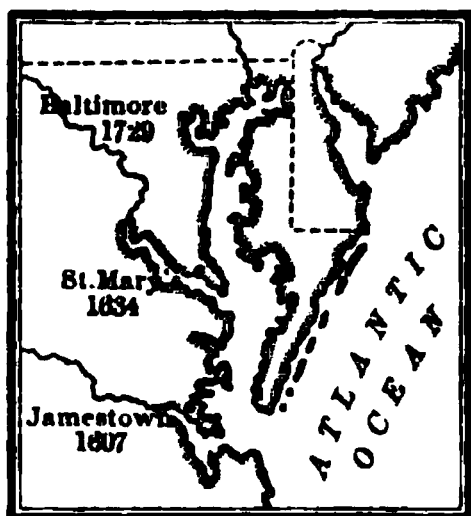
¹ See Winsor's *America*, III, ch. xiii; V, ch. iv; and Thwaites' *Colonies*, ch. iv; Scharf's *Maryland*; Browne's *Maryland*; Fisher's *Colonial Era*; Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc.; Hildreth's *United States*.

² See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 12.

famous of these manors, on which the ancient mansion, chapel, and outbuildings are still to be seen, was the beautiful domain of the Revolutionary patriot, Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Nothing in the charter forbade the Proprietary from opening such places of worship as he saw fit. Lord Baltimore's intention was to found an aristocratic province of wealthy landholders, which should also be a place of refuge for English Catholics. In doing this he had no intention of compelling all colonists to contribute toward the support of the Catholic Church, or of excluding any other class of Christians; in fact, under English law he could not have shut out Protestants had he been so disposed. But he was not so disposed; on the contrary, he invited them to take part in planting the first settlement in the American wilderness which was open to all believers in Christianity.

120. Emigration to Maryland; St. Mary's (1634) first English Catholic Church; Puritans; toleration; Quakers. Leonard Calvert, a brother of Lord Baltimore, sailed (1633) for Maryland



with nearly two hundred colonists. About twenty of them were Catholic gentlemen who went out to take up lands; most of the remainder appear to have been Protestant laborers.

A settlement was made at St. Mary's in 1634. Here an Indian wigwam was consecrated as a place of worship. It was the first English Catholic church opened in America. No other colony would have allowed it to stand even for a day. Under English law no colony could have rightfully permitted it to do so (§ 40). Nothing in Lord Baltimore's charter granted him permission to open such a church; but it seems to have been implied or understood.

From the outset Protestants and Catholics enjoyed equal and entire freedom. Puritans from New England were invited to settle in the new colony. Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts wrote (1643) that Lord Baltimore, "being himself a Papist,"

offered "land in Maryland to any of ours that would transport themselves thither, with free liberty of religion."

When Governor Berkeley of Virginia drove out the Puritans from the "Old Dominion," a number fled to Maryland (1648-1649) and, like Roger Williams, founded a town which they named Providence, — now Annapolis. In 1649 the Maryland Assembly, a majority of whom were Catholics, passed an "Act concerning Religion"¹ which confirmed and fully established Lord Baltimore's policy of religious toleration. That act punished denial of the Trinity with death; but it declared that "no person . . . professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall from henceforth be any ways troubled . . . in respect of his or her religion . . . so as they be not unfaithful to the Lord Proprietary."

Certain Quakers were banished for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to Lord Baltimore; but even they were not very rigidly excluded, for George Fox later (1672) declared that he held "a large and heavenly meeting" in Maryland.

121. The Virginians; Clayborne; Captain Ingle; the Puritan commissioners; Cromwell; William and Mary. The Virginia colonists, angry at the dismemberment of their territory (§ 119), showed decided hostility to their new neighbors. William Clayborne, a Virginian, held a trading station on Kent Island, under a royal license granted before Lord Baltimore received his charter. He refused to vacate; fighting ensued. Finally the case was brought before the English courts and was decided in Lord Baltimore's favor. When the Civil War broke out in England between the Puritans and the Royalists, Clayborne made an attempt to repossess himself of Kent Island.

At the same time Captain Richard Ingle, an English piratical adventurer who professed to be a staunch Puritan, seized St. Mary's and compelled Governor Calvert to fly to Virginia. Under the plea that he had come to help "the distressed Protestants" of the colony, Clayborne plundered the Catholics and the Royalists, broke up the Catholic missions, and arresting Father

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 21.

White and the other priests, sent them to England in irons to answer to a false charge of treason.

When Governor Calvert returned to Maryland, there was a great outcry in England against the so-called "Papist province." To take away all cause for this clamor, Lord Baltimore removed the Catholic governor, and put a Protestant in his place. The next Assembly passed the famous act of toleration previously mentioned (§ 120).

After Charles I was beheaded, Parliament appointed three commissioners, one of whom was Clayborne, to reorganize the government of Maryland. Three fourths of the colonists were Puritans. They supported Clayborne in his avowed determination to "root out the Papists." An Assembly was summoned from which all Catholics were expressly excluded. That body enacted a law (1654) declaring "that none who profess and exercise the Popish religion . . . can be protected in this province by the laws of England." The extreme Puritans in England said that at last "Babylon in Maryland" had fallen. The same law that refused liberty of worship to Catholics denied it to Episcopalians, Quakers, and Baptists.

Cromwell, Puritan though he was, sternly rebuked this action. He declared that "liberty of conscience is a natural right." Furthermore, he gave orders that Lord Baltimore's authority should be respected and that freedom of worship should be restored to all Christians.

When William and Mary came to the throne (1689), they were not at once proclaimed sovereigns in Maryland. John Coode spread the report that the delay was the result of a plot on the part of the Catholics and the Indians to "cut off the Protestants" of the colony. The story was absurd on its face, for the Protestants greatly outnumbered the Catholics and could easily have crushed any attack. But the report led to an insurrection, and the colony of Maryland was split into two hostile parties, one crying out against the "villainous practices" of "the late Popish governors," the other denouncing "the wicked instigation of John Coode."

122. Maryland becomes a royal province ; the Church of England ; the Catholics ; Lord Baltimore ; the Revolution ; Articles of Confederation. In consequence of this turmoil the king decided (1692) to take the government of Maryland into his own hands, and the Assembly established the Church of England in the colony. Puritans and Catholics were now alike forced to contribute money for its support, and Catholics were forbidden to hold public worship. Later (1716), the introduction of the Test Act (§ 174) had the effect of prohibiting Catholics from holding any office under the government. Henceforth until the Revolution, despite the sturdy protest of such patriots as Charles Carroll, citizens of that faith "were taxed to sustain a religion which they believed heretical, and a government in which they had no share."

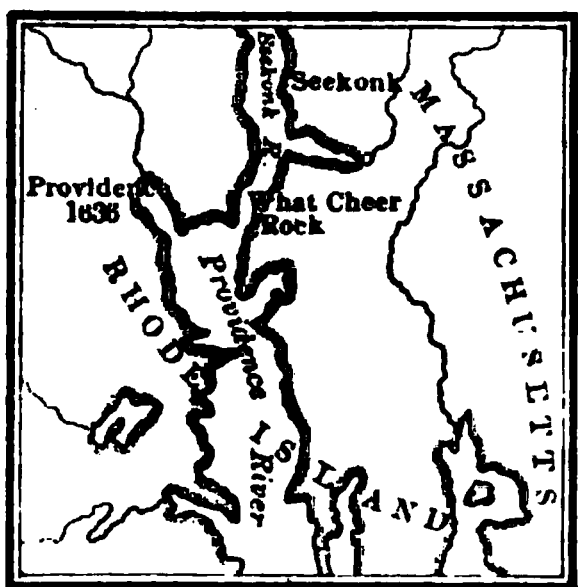
Meanwhile the Baltimores had become Protestants, and Maryland was restored (1715) to Charles Calvert, the fifth Lord Baltimore. He was a member of the Church of England, and he and his descendants held the province until the war for independence. In 1729 the great tobacco planters on the Patapsco founded the city of Baltimore, as a port from which to ship that staple. In the outset of the Revolution the Maryland colonists burned the taxed tea that was shipped to Annapolis, and sent sharpshooters to aid the Continental army in besieging the British force shut up in Boston.

123. Summary. The colony of Maryland was established by Lord Baltimore (1634) mainly as a refuge for English Catholics. Liberty of worship was guaranteed to all Christians. Maryland became involved in a dispute with Virginia in regard to the possession of Kent Island. The republican party in England appointed Clayborne with other commissioners to reorganize the government of Maryland. The commissioners summoned an Assembly made up of Puritan settlers, who refused to protect Catholics, and prohibited freedom of worship to any but those of their own faith. In 1692 Maryland became a royal province, and the Church of England was made the established form of worship.

Later, when the Baltimores had become Protestants, the government was restored to them, and remained in their hands until the outbreak of the Revolution.

VIII. RHODE ISLAND (1636)¹

124. Roger Williams founds Providence; the "lively experiment." In the spring of 1636 Roger Williams (§ 91), with a few friends, formed a settlement at the head of Narragansett Bay. In commemoration of the many mercies he had received from the Most High, he called the place Providence. "I desired,"



he says, "it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience."

In the colony of Providence absolute religious liberty was guaranteed to all. It was, as Roger Williams said, "a lively experiment," — one that had never been made before. Early in the preceding century (1515) Sir Thomas More in his romance of *Utopia* had dared to hint at such

toleration in England. The idea was regarded as an excellent jest. Well-nigh fifty years later (1561) L'Hôpital, Chancellor of France,² likewise pleaded, but without success, for freedom of worship. Lord Baltimore (1634) granted it in Maryland, but confined it to trinitarian Christians (§ 120). In Rhode Island (1636) Roger Williams, casting all limitations aside, welcomed men not only of every faith, — Jew, Christian, or pagan, — but men of no faith, to the enjoyment of what he called "soul liberty."³ Complete religious toleration had its origin in America. Later, Williams (1654) explained how this "soul liberty" was to be made consistent

¹ See Winsor's *America*, III, ch. ix; V, ch. ii; and Thwaites' *Colonies*, ch. vi-vii; Arnold's *Rhode Island*; Fisher's *Colonial Era*; Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc.

² See the *Leading Facts of French History*, in this series, 134.

³ See Arnold's *Rhode Island*, I, 126; Roger Williams' *Letters*, 278.

with the maintenance of order. He compared the colony to the passengers in a ship. No one, said he, must "be forced to come to the ship's prayers"; but on the other hand no mutiny can be permitted, and no man's religious belief can be allowed to "disturb the civil peace."¹

A striking illustration of the practical working of such broad toleration occurred a few years later. The commissioners of the New England Confederacy (1657) requested Governor Arnold of Rhode Island to exclude Quakers as a "common pest." The governor replied that they had no law to punish them. He added ironically that the Rhode Island colonists had found by experience that where Quakers were "suffered to declare themselves freely . . . [there] they least of all desire to come."²

Several Baptists had already emigrated from Massachusetts to Providence. Williams gave them a hearty welcome, and united with them in forming (1639) the first Baptist Church in America. He soon withdrew from it and became what was then called a "Seeker," or independent inquirer. Eventually he came to the conclusion that Christianity is only another name for humanity.

125. Government of the colony; charter of the colony. The government of the colony was a democracy limited to the heads of families. Unmarried men could not vote, but must bind themselves to obey the laws. Later (1640), five men called "Disposers" were chosen to manage affairs, but their action might be modified or set aside in town meeting.

Subsequently suffrage was restricted to owners of real estate, and no one could become a citizen until he had resided in the colony for some time.

In 1643 Williams secured a patent³ of incorporation for the "Providence Plantations." The patent made no grant of land, but it gave the colonists power to govern themselves provided they enacted no laws contrary to those of England.

¹ See Rhode Island Records, I, 376.

² Ibid.

³ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 18.

Twenty years later (1663), a royal charter¹ was obtained which confirmed all the privileges granted by the first instrument, and which expressly provided that no one should be "in any wise molested . . . for any difference in opinion in matters of religion." This charter was so broad and liberal that it virtually made Rhode Island a "little republic." When the colony threw off the power of the crown in 1776, the clause in the charter requiring allegiance to the king was struck out, and one was substituted requiring allegiance to the colony; with this single change it then stood until 1842.

126. Limitation of suffrage versus religious toleration; Brown University. But, on paper at least, a very decided limitation of suffrage had taken place. In the statutes of Rhode Island of 1719 a law which claims to have dated from 1664 provided that "all men professing Christianity," Roman Catholics excepted, should be admitted to vote. There appears to be no evidence that this law was ever enforced; but it was five times formally reënacted, and it remained on the statute book until the close of the Revolution (1783).²

Unquestionably this act was a departure from the privileges guaranteed by Roger Williams. It restricted political liberty for a religious reason. It imposed a serious political disability on both Catholics and Jews; nevertheless it did not directly assail the great principle of freedom of worship.

Under this law any one might settle in the colony, but not every one could legally obtain the full rights of citizenship. Rhode Island still continued to be a refuge for men of all creeds and of no creed; and it was humorously said that if any man had lost his religion he would be sure to find it somewhere in the "Providence Plantations." Perhaps, after all, it was a good thing that there was one corner in America where a man could find the religion he sought, and having found it could practice it in his own way without molestation.

¹ See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 27.

² See Arnold's *Rhode Island*, II, 490, 494; Winsor's *America*, III, 379.

This principle found expression in the establishment by the Baptists (1764) of Rhode Island College, now Brown University. The charter of that noble institution of learning expressly forbids the use of religious tests, and requires that not only Baptists but Quakers, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists shall be included in the board of trustees.

Eventually this broad principle of toleration obtained national expression in the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Whether the "soul liberty" enjoyed in Rhode Island suggested that amendment or not, it at least established a precedent for it.

127. Independent spirit of Rhode Island; resistance to Great Britain. It was inevitable that a colony which excluded no one should be at times tumultuous in its exercise of individual liberty. It was natural, too, that Massachusetts should be strongly prejudiced against a commonwealth established on principles of religious toleration by a man she had driven out.

This feeling of personal independence, though at times pushed to extremes, did good service in the end. Governor Shirley of Massachusetts (1754) denounced it as the "spirit of mobbism." But later that spirit struck the keynote of the highest patriotism in its resistance to arbitrary rule.

When (1764) England by the passage of the Sugar Act¹ revived her restrictions on trade with the French and Spanish West Indies (§ 177) and thus threatened the commercial ruin of both Rhode Island and Massachusetts, Stephen Hopkins, the Quaker governor of Rhode Island, came out in vigorous defense of the American colonies. With unmistakable emphasis he declared that "the Parliament of Great Britain had no more right to make laws for the Rhode Islanders than they had to make them for the Mohawks." In that spirit the sons of Rhode Island, led by General Greene, fought in the Revolution which established our national independence.

128. Summary. Roger Williams planted the colony of Rhode Island on the basis of absolute religious freedom for all men. He

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 56.

obtained a patent which virtually gave the colony the power of self-government. After a time the right of suffrage was legally restricted to Protestants, but there was no interference with liberty of worship. From the outset the spirit of the colonists was vigorously independent, and manifested itself most effectively in the War of the Revolution.

IX. NEW SWEDEN OR DELAWARE (1638)¹

129. First settlement on the Delaware; Christina. The Dutch made a settlement on the Delaware (1631), but it was soon destroyed by the Indians. A number of years later, Sweden resolved to get a share of the American continent, and to build up a "New Sweden," which should rival Holland's "New Netherland" and Britain's "New England."



The Swedish government engaged ex-Governor Peter Minuit (§ 56) to take over a party of emigrants. They made a settlement (1638) on the western bank of the Delaware within what are now the city limits of Wilmington. The emigrants named

this settlement Christina, in honor of the young queen of Sweden.

It was the first permanent colony established in the Delaware Valley. The Dutch, however, had no idea of permitting the Swedes to get a foothold on territory which they claimed as their own. Governor Stuyvesant sailed with an expedition from New Amsterdam and compelled (1655) the fort at Christina to surrender. The Dutch gave the Swedish colonists permission to remain in the country, and pledged themselves not to interfere with their freedom of worship. When the English captured (§ 62) New Netherland (1664) this southern territory on the Delaware became part of the possessions of James, Duke of York.

¹ See Winsor's *America*, IV, ch. ix; III, xii; V, ch. iii; and Thwaites' *Colonies*, ch. ix; Fisher's *Colonial Period*; Scharf's *Delaware*; Hildreth's *United States*.

130. William Penn purchases Delaware; its government; Delaware becomes independent; enters the Union. After William Penn obtained (1680) his grant of Pennsylvania he was anxious to secure a frontage on the Atlantic. In order to accomplish this he purchased (1682) the region then called the "Three Counties upon the Delaware" from the Duke of York.

Penn annexed these three counties to his province and named them the "Territories of Pennsylvania"; they were governed as part of that province until 1701. The people of the "Territories" then succeeded in getting a charter from Penn under which they established a legislature of their own.

That charter followed the "Frame of Government" of Pennsylvania and was equally liberal in its terms. It granted: (1) freedom of worship to all who believed in "One Almighty God"; (2) no one could be required to contribute toward the support of any form of religion to which he conscientiously objected; (3) all persons who professed belief in Jesus Christ, and who solemnly promised allegiance to the king and fidelity to the Proprietor and to the governor of Pennsylvania were eligible to office.¹

In 1776 the inhabitants of the "Territories of Pennsylvania" declared themselves an independent state. They took the name of Delaware from that of the river forming their northeast boundary. In the battles of the Revolution no regiment fought more bravely than that popularly known as the "Blue Hen's Chickens," or the "Gamecocks of Delaware." The state, by a prompt, unanimous, and enthusiastic vote, was the first in order of time to accept the Constitution and to enter the new American Union so established.

131. Summary. Delaware was originally settled (1638) by the Swedes at Christina (now Wilmington), but the Dutch from New Netherland soon got possession of the province. After the conquest of New Netherland by the English, Delaware was purchased from the Duke of York by William Penn, who annexed it

¹ See Poore's *Constitutions and Charters*, I, 270.

to his province of Pennsylvania. Eventually the people of Delaware obtained a charter from Penn and established a Legislature of their own. In 1776 they declared themselves independent of Great Britain and took an active part in the Revolution. Delaware was the first state to accept the Constitution and to enter the American Union.

X-XI. NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA (1663)¹

132. Charles II grants "Carolina"; settlements in that region. Charles I by his grant of Maryland (1632) had greatly reduced



the area of Virginia on the north; his son Charles II cut off a still larger slice from the original territory of the "Old Dominion." In 1662 that lavish monarch issued a charter² to Lord Clarendon and seven other court favorites, giving them all the region along the coast between Albemarle Sound and the St. John's River of Florida. Westward the tract extended to the Pacific. The king named the province Carolina in honor of himself. Two years later (1665), Charles extended this grant half a degree farther north, and, in open defi-

ance of the claims of Spain, pushed the boundary on the south until it not only included the ancient Spanish city of St. Augustine (§ 23) but overlapped it by nearly seventy miles.

The Proprietors of this vast province received large discretionary executive power. They might make all needful laws, provided they received "the approbation" of a majority of the freemen of the colony. They might also grant such religious liberty as they thought "fit and reasonable."

¹ See Winsor's *America*, V, ch. v; Thwaites' *Colonies*, ch. iv; Fisher's *Colonial Era*; McCrady's *South Carolina*; Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc.

² See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 26.

Emigrants from Virginia had already moved into this country and settled (1653) on the Chowan River, or Albemarle district. Later (1665), Englishmen coming from the Barbadoes formed a settlement at Cape Fear, or the Clarendon district. When George Fox (§ 95) pushed his way south across the Great Dismal Swamp (1672) and entered Carolina he received a warm welcome from certain Quakers who had fled there and had built colonies on the Chowan River.

133. The "Grand Model"; provisions respecting society, laws, religion. The Proprietors of Carolina adopted (1669) a cumbrous and complex constitution,¹ popularly known as the "Grand Model." It was to stand "forever" and could not be amended or altered. The "Grand Model" was mainly the work of the eminent English philosopher John Locke. Feudalism had died a natural death in England, but Locke proposed to resurrect it, and transplant it in a modified form to the pine forests of the New World.

The avowed object of the "Grand Model" was to "avoid erecting a numerous democracy," — or to grant as little power to the people as possible. It aimed to build up a political and social pyramid. The base was formed of negro slaves, subject in all respects to the "absolute power" of their masters. Next above the negroes came the white agricultural laborers. They were serfs of the soil; they had no right to vote, or even to leave the estate on which they worked, without permission of the owners. In that condition they and their children were to remain "to all generations." Above these serfs came a class of well-to-do but untitled landholders who had the right to vote and a voice in legislation.

Above this class was the nobility, holding vast estates, descending from father to son forever. Finally, a corporation of eight wealthy and titled Proprietors crowned all. The eldest Proprietor represented the king; the whole proprietary body was "self-renewing and immortal."

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 33.

134. Mode of legislation ; religious toleration ; the colony becomes a royal province. All laws were to be made by a Parliament consisting of the "Proprietors (or their deputies), together with the nobility and a small proportion of the untitled landholders." The Proprietors could veto the laws enacted by this Parliament, and so control the government.

With respect to religion the "Grand Model" provided that all persons who acknowledged "that there is a God" and admitted the rightfulness of taking oaths should have freedom of worship. Those who denied the existence of God could neither vote nor hold real estate. Persons above the age of seventeen, not members of some religious society, could not claim the protection of the laws. Finally, the Church of England and "it alone" was to be maintained in Carolina by public taxation, — other churches must support themselves. The above provisions excluded Quakers, since they refused to take an oath, but did not shut out Jews or Catholics.

The Proprietors, after more than twenty years of vain struggle, gave up the attempt (1698) to enforce this peculiar constitution. In 1720 the colony became a royal province, and the crown divided it (1729) into North and South Carolina. Under the royal government religious liberty was granted to all Christians except Catholics.

135. Settlement of Charleston ; Huguenot emigrants ; cultivation of rice and indigo. In 1670 British emigrants settled on the west bank of the Ashley River. Two years later (1672), they founded the city of Charleston. The same year slaves were brought into the colony from the Barbadoes. They increased until they outnumbered the white population.

In order to escape the merciless persecution of Louis XIV numbers of Huguenots (§ 22) fled to America, and many came to Charleston. These religious refugees represented in large degree not only the bone and sinew but the brain and conscience of France. From them sprang such patriots as Henry Laurens and Francis Marion, while from Huguenot settlers in other colonies

came John Sevier, Peter Faneuil, John Bayard, James Bowdoin, Paul Revere, Elias Boudinot, and John Jay.

For many years the chief exports from the Carolinas were derived mainly from the pine forests or from traffic with the Indians. These exports consisted largely of turpentine, tar, pitch, and rosin, or of furs and deerskins. A bag of seed rice, obtained (1694) by chance from the captain of a vessel that put in at Charleston, led to the cultivation of that valuable grain. In time it became the principal article of export from South Carolina. Its production created a great demand for negroes, and planters reaped rich harvests from the swamp lands along the coast. Had the white settlers attempted the cultivation of those lands under the fierce rays of a southern sun, they would have simply "dug their own graves."

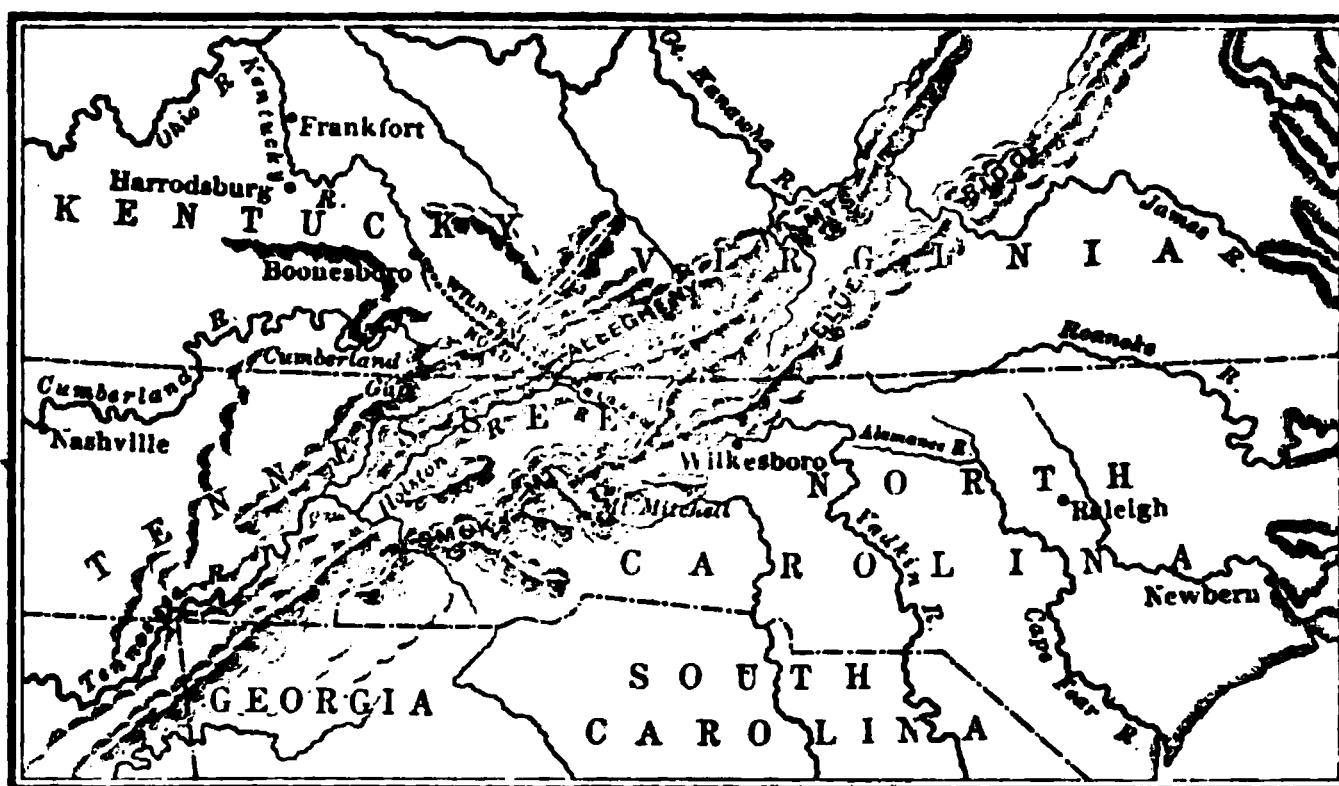
Nearly half a century after the introduction of rice culture, the daughter of a planter near Charleston obtained (1742) some indigo seed from the West Indies and succeeded in making it grow. Indigo raising rapidly extended. Before the outbreak of the war for independence the yearly export of this product exceeded a million pounds, and it often proved immensely profitable.

136. Indian wars; Governor Tryon. The progress of North Carolina was greatly retarded by wars (1711-1713) with the formidable Tuscarora Indians, who, according to tradition, were an offshoot of the ferocious Iroquois of New York. By the help of South Carolina and Virginia the power of the Tuscaroras was (1713) completely broken. The greater part of the tribe emigrated north and joined the Iroquois confederacy — hereafter known as the Six Nations.

But, though small in numbers, the North Carolinians were made of resolute stuff; as they fought the savages, so in a different way they fought against the exactions of the royal governors. When they demanded taxes, the people replied by demanding better government. The watchword of these sturdy backwoodsmen was "No reforms, no money."

Finally, the extortions of Governor Tryon — nicknamed the “Great Wolf of North Carolina” — drove the back-country colonists into open revolt. They organized bands of “Regulators,” who not only refused to pay oppressive fees and taxes, but flogged the lawyers and shut up the courts.

137. Battle of Alamance; Spotswood, Robertson, and Sevier; the Stamp-Act Congress. Tryon attacked a body of the patriots who had gathered near the Alamance River (1771) in western North Carolina. The governor had a much superior force, and so gained the day. He hanged seven prisoners as “rebels” and



MAP OF SETTLEMENT OF TENNESSEE AND KENTUCKY

“traitors.” They died as bravely as they had fought. The battle of Alamance struck a blow at unjust taxation and spilt blood that prophesied the Revolution.

More than half a century before (1716), Governor Spotswood of Virginia (§ 51) climbed the Blue Ridge, and, looking down into the great valley of the West, drank the health of George I in brimming tumblers of punch. The Virginia governor, however, did not venture beyond the Shenandoah Valley; but after the battle of Alamance, James Robertson of North Carolina led (1771) a band of emigrants into that western country. They resolved to move into the remote wilderness out of Tryon’s reach.

After a long and difficult journey over the mountains they settled on the Watauga River. There John Sevier of Virginia joined Robertson (1772); these two pioneers, one of Scotch, the other of Huguenot descent (§ 135), laid the foundation of the state of Tennessee.

James Harrod (1774) led a band of pioneers into the valley of the Kentucky. Soon afterward Daniel Boone, the famous hunter, who had long been exploring "the land of promise" west of the mountains, settled Boonesboro (1775) in the same valley. Such was the beginning of the state of Kentucky. These resolute men pushed the frontiers of the colonies beyond the Alleghenies, and laid the foundation of the future greatness of the American Republic.

But before this opening of "the West," or what was called "the West" at that day, occurred, the citizens of Charleston (1765) publicly burned the obnoxious Stamp Act. A little later, Christopher Gadsden, a "born republican," with his brother patriot John Rutledge, met the delegates from the united colonies in New York at that memorable Stamp-Act Congress (1765), which has been called the "Day Star of American Liberty."

138. Summary. By a sea-to-sea charter Charles II granted Carolina (1663) to Lord Clarendon and a number of associates. An attempt was made to govern the colony under a constitution called the "Grand Model," but the people demanded a voice in the government; the constitution was cast aside, and the colony became a royal province, which was soon afterward divided into North and South Carolina. A settlement had been made at Charleston which attracted many Huguenot emigrants. The introduction of slavery made the cultivation of rice and indigo very profitable in South Carolina, while the northern province engaged largely in the export of the productions of the pine forests and of furs.

The resistance of the settlers of North Carolina to the oppressive measures of Governor Tryon led to the battle of Alamance, — a forerunner of the Revolution. Shortly afterward, emigrants

from the Carolinas settled the Kentucky and the Tennessee country. It was the first decided movement of English colonists toward taking possession of the West.

Gadsden and Rutledge of South Carolina took a prominent part in the Stamp-Act Congress, which asserted the principles of American liberty.

XII. PENNSYLVANIA (1681)¹

139. Grant of Pennsylvania to William Penn; Penn's object; provisions of the charter. William Penn, one of the most influential of the English Quakers, inherited from his father, Admiral Penn,

a claim against the crown for £16,000. Charles II discharged the debt by issuing (1681) a charter² granting his creditor an immense tract of land bordering on the western bank of the Delaware and extending five degrees into the interior. Out of respect to the memory of Penn's father, the king named the new province Pennsylvania or Penn's Woods.



Penn's object was to make what he called a "holy experiment"; in other words, to found a commonwealth in America where all Christians might dwell to-

gether on the broad basis of the Golden Rule. Such toleration did not exist in the old country. Those who did not uphold the established form of worship were regarded as virtually disloyal. Penn declared that according to the current of thought then prevailing in Great Britain, "No churchman meant no Englishman, and no conformist meant no subject." In despair

¹ See Winsor's *America*, III, ch. xii; V, ch. iii; and Thwaites' *Colonies*, ch. ix; Sharpless' *Quaker Government in Pennsylvania*; Fisher's *Colonial Era*; Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc.; Hazard's *Annals of Pennsylvania*; Fisher's *Making of Pennsylvania*; Fisher's *Pennsylvania*.

² See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 38.

of obtaining religious liberty at home, he now turned to the New World.

The charter made him (1) the "true and absolute Proprietary" (or Proprietor) of Pennsylvania, which was to include three degrees of latitude by five degrees of longitude west from the Delaware; (2) acting with the freemen of the colony, he had power to make all needful laws, provided they were not repugnant to the laws of England; all legislation was subject to the king's veto; (3) the Church of England might be established in the colony, but no restrictions were to be imposed on other forms of Christian worship; (4) the Proprietor had the sole power to erect courts and appoint judges for the colony; (5) it was expressly provided that the English Parliament should have the right to levy not only customs duties but taxes on the people of Pennsylvania. This last provision had never before been inserted in any colonial charter. For nearly a hundred years it remained as harmless as a sheathed sword, then out of it suddenly sprang the war for independence.

140. Emigration to Pennsylvania (1681); Penn's Constitution or "Frame of Government." Penn at once (1681) sent over several hundred emigrants to Pennsylvania. They formed, he declared, "the seed of the nation." He said to them, "You shall be governed by laws of your own making." All settlers could buy land at the rate of forty shillings a hundred acres, but on each lot they were required to pay to the Proprietor of Pennsylvania a perpetual annual rent of one shilling. This trifling rent became the cause of most vexatious disputes.

While in England (1681) Penn drew up a "Frame of Government"¹ in which he carefully limited his own power and that of the Proprietors who should succeed him. He imposed these checks in order "that the will of one man" might "not hinder the good of a whole country." "Liberty without obedience," said he, "is confusion," but "obedience without liberty is slavery."

¹ See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 40. This first constitution or "Frame of Government" was followed by three others in 1683, 1696, and 1701.

To this constitution forty "fundamental laws" ¹ were appended which received the assent of Penn and the emigrants. One of the most important of these laws was that which forbade that any child should be brought up in idleness, and required every one to learn some useful trade.

In 1682 Penn himself sailed for Pennsylvania, taking with him about a hundred emigrants, "mostly English Quakers." He landed at Newcastle, on the Delaware, and there took formal possession of his province.

141. The "Great Law"; Philadelphia founded (1682); treaty with the Indians. At Chester, Penn summoned an Assembly of the people. Together the Proprietor and the Assembly enacted (1682) the "Great Law," ² which provided that "God" might "have his due, Cæsar his due, and the people their due."

The most important points in this code were: (1) the right to vote for members of the Assembly was restricted to men of good character who held the Christian faith and were taxpayers; (2) only those who professed Christianity could hold office or sit in the Legislature (but later, Catholics (§ 179) were debarred from voting or holding office); (3) every colonist might demand trial by jury; willful murder, but willful murder only, was punishable by death; the prisons were not to be places of punishment only, but schools of industry and of reformation; (4) the laws of the colony were to be printed and taught to all children; (5) "no person" who should confess "Almighty God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world" should "in any wise be molested" or "compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship"; but all persons were required to keep the Lord's day sacred.

Later in that year (1682), Philadelphia was founded. Its scriptural name gave fit expression to Penn's spirit of brotherly love. Shortly afterward he met the Indians in solemn council, under the spreading branches of a huge elm. The ferocious Iroquois despised the less warlike Delawares whom they had conquered. Tradition declares that the Proprietor of Pennsylvania

¹ See Hazard's *Annals of Pennsylvania*, 568.

² *Ibid.*, 619.

concluded a famous treaty¹ with the Delawares which secured the unbroken friendship of that peaceable tribe of red men for more than sixty years, or as long as the Quakers held control of the province. So completely did the founder of the colony gain the confidence of the natives by his fair dealing, that the highest praise a Delaware Indian could give a white man was to say, "He is like William Penn."

142. Disputes in the colony; growth of Philadelphia; first printing press. Penn had no sooner returned to England (1684) than quarrels broke out between the settlers and the deputy governor. From that time forward there was little peace in the colony. One chief ground of dispute was the claim of the Assembly to limit the governor's expenditure of money to certain objects.

But notwithstanding these stormy political discussions the new colony prospered in a very remarkable degree. In the short space of fourteen years from its foundation, Philadelphia was described as a "noble and beautiful city" of "above two thousand houses," and the capital of a province having more than twenty thousand inhabitants.

It could also boast of the first permanent printing press set up south of New England (1686). On that press, which Benjamin Franklin may have worked later, William Bradford printed the attacks of the political disputants of his day. It was a war of pamphlets, making up in vehemence what they lacked in size.

143. Quaker remonstrance against slavery (1688); iron and coal mines opened. Nothing, however, which Bradford sent out from his press had such deep meaning as a petition addressed to the Friends' Yearly Meeting (1688) by the German Quakers of Germantown. That paper, which seems never to have been printed, voiced the first organized movement in the colonies against slavery, for negro bondage had already been introduced into Pennsylvania. The petition asked, "*Have these poor negers not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep*

¹ Hazard's *Annals of Pennsylvania*, 634.

them slaves?"¹ This protest was the forerunner of a movement which, three generations later (1776), had a practical issue. On the eve of the Declaration of Independence the Quakers of Pennsylvania commanded all members of the Society of Friends in that state to free their slaves. A few years later (1780), the state passed an act — the first on record — which provided for the gradual emancipation of that species of human property which Penn himself had once seen no harm in holding.

Meanwhile the people of Pennsylvania had discovered one of the greatest sources of their future wealth. They had opened iron mines (1720), had set up an iron furnace, and later (1755) had exported a considerable quantity of that metal to England. Toward the close of the eighteenth century (1791) anthracite coal was accidentally discovered at Mauch Chunk Mountain. The use of this coal for fuel and for iron manufacturing led to the development of the two leading industries of the state.

144. The Quakers and the French and Indian wars; a struggle for life; dispute with the English Proprietaries of the colony. Until the outbreak of the French and Indian wars (1750) the history of Pennsylvania was comparatively uneventful. The Quakers were nonresistants, and though a part of them justified purely defensive war, others felt that they could not conscientiously aid in equipping troops to fight the invaders. This reluctance led, a few years later (1756), to their ceasing to exercise political power in the colony.

After Braddock's defeat (1755) (§ 168) the Pennsylvanians found themselves engaged in a fierce struggle for life. The knife of the savage was at their throats and the settlers on the western frontier were flying in despair. The hostility of the Indians was doubtless due in some measure to the notorious "Walking Purchase" fraud (1737) by which certain greedy and unscrupulous white men swindled them out of a very large tract of land in the "Forks of the Delaware."² But the people rose to meet the

¹ See Hart's American History by Contemporaries, II, No. 102.

² See Fisher's Pennsylvania, Colony and Commonwealth, 114.

emergency; they girded themselves for battle, and volunteers rushed forward. The war spirit was stimulated to the highest degree by the offer of a bounty of \$130 for every Indian scalp brought in.

But the English Proprietors of Pennsylvania who had succeeded Penn showed little interest in the welfare or safety of the colony. Their object was to get all the revenue they could out of it, and to spend nothing for it. They owned tracts of land in the province valued at £10,000,000, but they refused to pay a single penny in taxes on this vast property. On the other hand, they insisted that the colonists should raise troops at their own expense to defend the interests of the province and at the same time to protect the untaxed real estate of the Proprietors residing three thousand miles away.

The Assembly indignantly refused to shed the blood of the people of Pennsylvania for the sake of the English owners. They sent Benjamin Franklin (1757) to London to protest against the selfish greed of the Proprietors and to demand that they should bear their share of the burdens of the colonial government. Franklin succeeded, after a long and vexatious contest, in getting an order from the authorities in England commanding that the surveyed lands belonging to the Proprietors should be taxed in future. Henceforth the successors of the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania could no longer boast that their possessions in America were exempt from public charges, yet were protected at public cost.

145. Settlement of the boundary question; "Mason and Dixon's Line"; services of Dickinson, Franklin, and Morris. Later, another serious controversy was satisfactorily concluded. Ever since the settlement of Philadelphia the question of the southern boundary line of the colony had been a matter of dispute between Penn and Lord Baltimore and their successors. Penn's charter fixed that boundary at the fortieth degree of north latitude, but it was found that this parallel not only ran north of Philadelphia, but that it wholly shut out Pennsylvania and Delaware from any part

of Delaware Bay. The intent of the charter was clearly to secure to Penn a certain amount of seacoast, hence a new survey was demanded.

This was finally made (1763-1767) by Mason and Dixon, two skilled English surveyors. They fixed the southern boundary at $39^{\circ} 43'$. When practicable, milestones were set up along this parallel for the whole distance of 280 miles. On every fifth stone the arms of the Penn family were carved on the northern side and those of the Baltimores on the southern side. "Mason and Dixon's Line" was destined to have political significance, for it came to be regarded as the dividing mark, east of the Ohio River, between the free and the slave states.

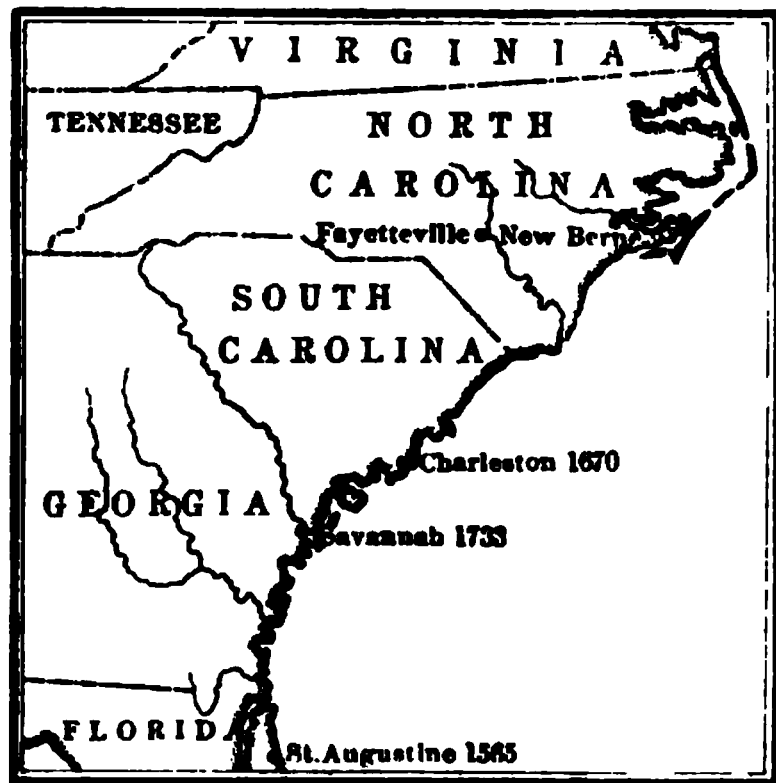
But a far greater struggle was now at hand. George III asserted the right of the crown to tax the colonists without asking their consent. John Dickinson protested in his "Farmer's Letters." The progress of the Revolution soon kindled the whole thirteen colonies into a blaze. The three most eminent citizens of Pennsylvania — Franklin, Dickinson, and Robert Morris — met on the floor of the first Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia (1776). Franklin served on the committee which drafted the Declaration of Independence. At the same time Dickinson drew up the Articles of Confederation, — the first Constitution of the United States. Morris later devised methods for finding means to carry on the war. Thus in a high political and financial as well as in a purely geographical sense, Pennsylvania proved herself the Keystone State of the Union.

146. Summary. The colony of Pennsylvania was founded by William Penn as a refuge for the persecuted brethren of his faith. The corner stone of his new American commonwealth was the Golden Rule. Religious toleration was granted to all who believed in God as the creator and ruler of the world. The right to vote and to hold office was originally granted to those who professed the Christian faith, but later it was withheld from Catholics. The Pennsylvanians, notwithstanding their disputes with the governors of the colony, prospered in a remarkable

degree. The Quakers organized the first general movement against slavery, and the Keystone State was the first to pass an act of emancipation. Three of its leading citizens, Franklin, Morris, and Dickinson, took a very prominent part in the movement which secured our national independence.

XIII. GEORGIA (1733)¹

147. Oglethorpe and associates found Georgia; their objects; the charter. Of the thirteen colonies none had a nobler origin than Georgia, the last of the series. In answer to a petition made by the soldier and philanthropist James Oglethorpe and others, George II granted (1732) to him and his associates a charter² for a tract of land for twenty-one years, in the southern part of South Carolina (§ 132). The tract embraced the country bordering on the Atlantic between "the most northern part" of the Savannah and "the most southern



stream" of the Altamaha rivers; "westerly" it extended "from the heads of the said rivers" to the "South Seas" or the Pacific.

Oglethorpe had three chief objects in view: (1) to give the worthy and honest poor of England — especially those confined in debtors' prisons — an opportunity to begin life anew under more favorable circumstances than the Old World could offer them, (2) to furnish a refuge to the persecuted Protestants of

¹ See Winsor's *America*, V, ch. vi; Thwaites' *Colonies*, ch. xlii; Fisher's *Colonial Era*; Jones' *Georgia*; Macdonald's *Select Charters*.

² See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 49.

southern Europe; (3) to protect the Carolinians against the attacks of the Spaniards of Florida by building up a settlement on the southern frontier.

The new colony was named Georgia in honor of the king. The Company, with Oglethorpe as its head, was to hold the region "in trust for the poor." They had full power to make needful laws, subject of course to the king's approval. The charter granted freedom of worship to all persons except Catholics. For ten years every settler was to have an allotment of land free of rent; after that time he was to pay fourpence annually for every hundred acres. All estates were to descend in the male line from father to son. This provision caused much dissatisfaction to those who had no children but daughters, and the law was soon modified (1739) so that women could inherit land.

148. Vexatious regulations; slavery excluded; the production of silk. The weak part of Oglethorpe's philanthropic scheme was that it treated the settlers of Georgia not as men but as children. The colonists had no votes and no voice in the government. Furthermore, for nearly twenty years they could obtain no clear title to land. But these were not the only regulations which irritated the emigrants. In England distilled liquors had recently supplanted beer to a great extent and had caused a decided increase in drunkenness. The trustees of Georgia determined to banish intemperance from their model commonwealth in the wilderness. For this reason they "absolutely prohibited" the importation of alcoholic spirits into the province. This prohibition cut off the people from trading with the West Indies, one of whose chief exports was rum, and so retarded the growth of Georgia.

The trustees also forbade the colonists to hold slaves, though every other American colony held them. Oglethorpe declared that slavery was "a horrid crime" contrary to "the gospel" and to "the fundamental law of England." Political and prudential reasons also influenced the trustees. They wished to make the colonists self-supporting; they believed that slave labor would

create habits of idleness on the part of the large planters, while the poor whites would starve because unable to compete with the blacks. Furthermore, the trustees thought that nothing but a compact white population could serve as a barrier against the invasions of the savages and the Spaniards; hence they did not object to the importation of white servants whose services were sold for a term of years (§ 44).

It was confidently expected that by white labor alone the colony would become a great silk-producing settlement. Mulberry trees, the leaves of which are the natural food of the silkworm, grew wild in that region. The work of raising and caring for the worms was so easy that much of it could be left to the women and children. Oglethorpe thought that "forty or fifty thousand persons" might be employed in this way.

The colonial seal adopted by the trustees was symbolical not only of this industry but of the unselfish motives of the founders of the province. On it was represented a group of silkworms spinning their cocoons, while underneath was the appropriate motto, *Non sibi, sed aliis*, — "Not for themselves, but for others."

149. Settlement of Savannah (1733); the Salzburgers; Scotch Highlanders. With these shining prospects before him, Oglethorpe set sail in 1733 with a company of "sober, industrious, and moral persons" to take possession of the "Promised Land." A settlement was made on a high bluff on the Savannah River. There a city named from the river was laid out. The site was admirably chosen, and Savannah is to-day one of the largest cotton-exporting ports in the United States.

The year following the settlement, a band of German Protestants who had been driven out of Salzburg, Austria, by religious persecution arrived (1734) at Savannah. They established themselves about thirty miles north of that town, at a place which they, like the Israelites of old, named Ebenezer, or "Stone of Help." More such refugees soon followed.

Later (1736), the trustees sent over a number of Scotch Highlanders to protect the southern frontier. The Scotchmen erected

a fort on the Altamaha and another at Frederica at the mouth of the river, to repel Spanish invasion.

The next year the fur-trading post of Augusta was established on the upper waters of the Savannah River. It became an important and highly profitable center of traffic with the Indian tribes west of the mountains. From this point at a later period two thousand pack-horse loads of valuable skins worth about £50,000 were annually sent to Europe.

150. The Wesleys; Whitefield and slavery. Among those who early came to Savannah were John and Charles Wesley. John came to do missionary work; his brother Charles acted as secretary to Oglethorpe. John Wesley, though just beginning his career, was a preacher of great power. "I went to America," said he, "to convert the Indians; but oh!" he added, "who shall convert me?" Out of that strong religious conviction sprang the Methodist Church, which he organized in England, — a Church destined to do much toward shaping the history of that country and of our own.

The Wesleys were followed by that noted Methodist revivalist, the Reverend George Whitefield, whose impassioned appeals not even the imperturbable Franklin could entirely withstand. Whitefield came to Georgia to found an orphan asylum near Savannah. In order to get more money for its support, he purchased a plantation (1747) in South Carolina, stocked it with slaves, and gave the products and profits to his "House of Mercy."

John Wesley, who later (1772) denounced slavery as the "sum of all villanies," had not then taken any open stand against it. Whitefield was outspoken in its favor. He declared that Georgia would never flourish "without negroes are allowed." To grant the settlers land, said he, yet refuse them slaves to work it, is like tying the colonists' legs and then ordering them to walk. Whitefield had a large number of the people on his side. The attempts to produce silk had ended in failure, and the settlers implored the trustees to permit them to buy negroes.

151. The introduction of negroes and the importation of rum. Finally, some of the colonists succeeded in hiring negroes from the planters in South Carolina. They got them at first for short periods, but later hired them for life. The trustees saw that slavery in one form or another was certain to creep in, and they at length (1749) reluctantly gave their consent to its open and legal introduction.

They also conceded the importation and sale of rum, a liquor which had long been smuggled into the colony. The establishment of slavery led to the formation of large plantations for raising rice and other products suited to the soil. This change in the labor system placed Georgia on an industrial equality with South Carolina, and the free importation of rum from the West Indies gradually gave rise to a prosperous trade with those islands.

152. Oglethorpe and the Spaniards. The colony, feeble as it was in numbers, served as an effectual barrier against the encroachments of the Spaniards. Oglethorpe had strengthened the southern frontier with forts, and had secured the friendship of several Indian tribes. In 1740 he led an expedition against the Spanish settlement at St. Augustine (§ 23). In retaliation the Spaniards (1742) besieged Frederica (§ 149); but the fort held out against the attack.

General Oglethorpe had valiantly defended the colony, but the settlers were greatly dissatisfied with the government by the trustees, and were constantly sending complaints to London. The general went to England and refuted these charges. He never returned to the colony, and the trustees appointed a president and council of four to administer the affairs of the province, but the discontent remained unabated. The people of Georgia felt able to take care of their own interests and were weary of the paternal government by which those in authority kept them in leading-strings.

In 1751 the trustees surrendered their charter to the crown. They had found that the profit did not equal the expense, and they gladly gave up their well-meant but badly managed experiment.

153. Georgia becomes a royal province ; American rights. By the surrender of the charter Georgia now (1752) became a royal province, and so continued until the Revolution. This was a decided change for the better, since, as in the other royal provinces, an Assembly was created and the people thus obtained a voice in the government. Even then, after twenty years' existence, the colony had gained so little in numbers that the entire population, including slaves, was estimated at less than five thousand.

At the opening of the war for independence the patriot party in Georgia took a firm stand for "American rights." When the port of Boston was closed as a punishment for the destruction of the taxed tea, the people of Georgia generously sent nearly six hundred barrels of rice to feed the suffering poor of the Massachusetts capital. After the battles of Lexington and Concord, the citizens of Savannah seized a quantity of the king's powder which was stored there. Part of it they retained for themselves ; tradition says that they sent the remainder to the Continental army at Cambridge. It arrived in season for effectual use at the battle of Bunker Hill.

General Oglethorpe must have heard of these proceedings with no small interest. He lived to see Georgia take its place among the United States, and to see England sign a treaty of peace recognizing the independence of the American nation.

154. Summary. Georgia, the last of the thirteen colonies, was founded (1733) for purposes of charity and as a refuge for the oppressed Protestants of Germany. For a time its growth was hampered by vexatious regulations and by laws restricting trade and excluding slavery. In 1752 Georgia became a royal province, and the people through their Assembly obtained a voice in the government. At the beginning of the Revolution the patriot party in Georgia took an active part in aiding Massachusetts and in furnishing powder for the Continental army.

EXPLORATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY¹

155. The French in the West; the French and the Indians; Catholic missions. While the English colonists were getting possession of the strip of Atlantic coast east of the Alleghenies, the French in Canada were rapidly pushing westward.

The fact that powerful Indian tribes held that unknown region greatly facilitated the progress of the French. Champlain, the "Father of New France," first conceived the idea of acquiring possession of the western country by conciliating the natives. With the exception of his fatal mistake of entering into an alliance with the Canadian Indians against the Iroquois of New York, he was successful in his plans. The English did not understand the Indian character; the French endeavored to adapt themselves to the red man's ways, and so won his lasting friendship. This they could do the more readily as their purpose at the outset was not, like that of the English, to plant colonies, but to establish fur-trading posts, which, of course, did not interfere with the Indian's control of the forest.

Champlain induced a number of Franciscan friars to come over as missionaries (1615) and begin the work of converting the savages. He meant to save the heathen, and at the same time save the cause of France in the New World.

Taking his life in his hands, one of these gray-robed friars leaving Quebec (1615) resolutely turned his face toward the west and struck out into the pathless wilderness. He reached Lake Huron, and there set up his altar in an Indian wigwam on the shore of Thunder Bay.

Ten years later (1625), the Jesuit fathers in France came over to help the Franciscans. The Jesuits infused new life into the undertaking. Cardinal Richelieu, then the power behind the throne, was determined that no emigrants but French Catholics

¹ See Winsor's *America*, IV, ch. v-vii; Winsor's *Cartier to Frontenac*; Winsor's *Mississippi Basin*; Thwaites' *Colonies*, ch. xii; Parkman's *La Salle*; Sloane's *French War and the Revolution*.

should land in Canada. The Jesuits, in full accord with this spirit, resolved to win over the entire native population of New France to the faith they preached.

These "peaceful soldiers of the cross" braved hunger, cold, torture, and death. Long before William Penn's band of colonists had built the first log cabin on the banks of the Delaware, the French priests, or "Black Gowns," as the Indians called them, had planted missions at Mackinaw, Sault Ste. Marie, Green Bay, and at Kaskaskia on the Illinois. They were the first white men to discover the salt springs of Onondaga, New York, and the copper mines of Lake Superior. They, too, first described and mapped out the upper Great Lakes and the streams flowing into them.

156. Joliet and Marquette discover the Mississippi (1673). The Indians told the Jesuits that there was an immense river in the West which flowed southward to an unknown distance. When Count Frontenac (§ 66) became governor of Canada (1672), he sent Joliet, a noted fur trader, accompanied by Father Marquette, to discover the river. The French hoped that it emptied into the Gulf of California and that it would open the long-sought way across the continent to the Pacific.

Starting from the Straits of Mackinaw (1673), Marquette and Joliet paddled their birch-bark canoes to Green Bay. From that point they laboriously pushed their way up the rapids of the Fox River, — "a way," said the good father, "as hard as the path to heaven." Leaving the head waters of the Fox, they carried their canoes across the country a short distance and embarked on the Wisconsin. For a week they floated down with the current, until on a beautiful day in June, says Marquette, "we safely entered the Mississippi with a joy that I cannot express."

157. Voyage down the Mississippi and return. Down that great river they glided day after day. They passed the mouth of the Illinois, the castellated rocks, the painted limestone cliffs, and the roaring flood of the muddy Missouri. Still keeping on, Marquette and Joliet reached the mouth of the placid Ohio, and



THE FRENCH IN THE WEST

two days later passed the point where De Soto (§ 20) had crossed the Mississippi more than a hundred and thirty years before. Thence moving southward in the shadow of forests of cottonwood, magnolia, and cypress, they came to the mouth of the Arkansas. There the natives warned them that they would encounter hostile tribes, and perhaps Spaniards, if they ventured farther down the stream.

The explorers resolved to go back and report what they had seen. Under the fierce rays of a July sun they began the exhausting toil of pushing their canoes northward against the powerful current. In time they reached the Illinois, and, crossing over from a tributary of that stream to the Chicago River, they entered the waters of Lake Michigan where the greatest city of the Northwest now stands.

158. La Salle's expedition to the Illinois country (1679-1680). Six years later (1679), La Salle, the commander of Fort Frontenac (now Kingston), set out to secure possession of the Mississippi to France and to open up trade with Mexico. He made his way to the Niagara River. There, a short distance above the Falls, he built the *Griffin*, the first vessel ever launched on the waters of the upper Great Lakes.

La Salle with his little party, among whom was Father Hennepin, a Franciscan friar, sailed (1679) to Green Bay. At Green Bay he loaded the *Griffin* with furs and sent the vessel back to Niagara with orders to obtain a cargo of supplies and return to him at the Chicago River or vicinity. The vessel was never again heard of. La Salle then embarked with his men in a fleet of canoes for the St. Joseph River on the east side of the lake. At that point (1679) the commander constructed Fort Miami. He then ascended the St. Joseph, and, crossing over the portage to the head waters of the Kankakee River, descended that stream, entered the Illinois, and kept on until (1680) he reached Peoria Lake. There he constructed Fort Crèvecoeur. This fort marks the first attempt made by white men to take permanent possession of what is now the state of Illinois.

La Salle spent the winter (1679-1680) at the fort anxiously hoping for news of the arrival of the *Griffin* with provisions and supplies, which would enable him to complete a small vessel in which he purposed descending the Mississippi. Weary of waiting, La Salle at length resolved to go back to Fort Frontenac and get the things he needed. Leaving a small garrison to hold Fort Crèvecoeur, he set out on the first of March (1680), accompanied by five of his followers, on his perilous journey of a thousand miles.

159. Father Hennepin's journey; La Salle explores the lower Mississippi and takes possession of Louisiana (1682); his death. Shortly before La Salle left Fort Crèvecoeur he sent Father Hennepin (§ 158) to explore the lower Illinois. Hennepin went down that river to its mouth and then turned northward up the Mississippi. After many adventures among the Indians he passed the site where the flourishing city of St. Paul now stands, and reached (1680) a cataract which he named the Falls of St. Anthony; to-day those falls furnish the magnificent water power of Minneapolis, the largest flour-manufacturing center in the world.

When the French commander returned to the Illinois he found Fort Crèvecoeur deserted. A band of Iroquois warriors had destroyed it. He was forced to turn back and seek shelter (1680) in Fort Miami (§ 158).

Subsequently La Salle, with a strong party, started (1681) for the third time to explore the Mississippi. Late in the season they left Fort Miami and crossed Lake Michigan to the Chicago River. Following the frozen Illinois, they reached open water just below Lake Peoria. There they embarked in their canoes, and in February (1682) entered the Mississippi. Early in April the French came in sight of the gleaming waves of the Gulf of Mexico.

There, amid volleys of musketry and shouts of "Long live the king!" La Salle planted a wooden column bearing the arms of France at one of the mouths of the "Great River of the West." Then, in the name of Louis XIV of France, he took formal

possession of the Mississippi from its source to the sea, and of all the country watered by it and by its tributaries. This immense territory, stretching from Lake Itasca to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Alleghenies to the Rocky Mountains, La Salle named Louisiana in honor of the reigning French sovereign. France gained all this magnificent empire more than thirty years before the English had ventured as far west as the Blue Ridge (§ 137).

But the Mississippi empties into a sea which Spain claimed as her own, and she threatened death to all foreigners who should enter it. La Salle resolved to brave that decree, to fortify the mouth of the river, and to hold the great valley of the West against the world. The hand of an assassin (1687) put a stop to the execution of his plan.

160. Iberville's settlement; Mobile founded (1702); the Mississippi Company; New Orleans founded (1718). A number of years later, Iberville, a French-Canadian explorer, built a fort at Biloxi on the Gulf of Mexico (1699); he thus began the first European occupation of what is now the state of Mississippi.

A company of French Protestants begged Louis XIV to grant them permission to emigrate to Louisiana. They received this answer: "The king has not driven Protestants from France to make a republic of them in America." The Biloxi colonists did not succeed, and were transferred (1702) to Mobile; there they laid the foundation of a settlement which eventually became the state of Alabama.

A number of years later, reports reached Paris that a Frenchman had found enormous deposits of gold in the Illinois country. John Law, a clever Scotch financier who was doing business in the French capital, got himself appointed (1717) president of a grand stock company to work these gold mines and develop the resources of Louisiana. Law proposed to pay off the French national debt of \$500,000,000 out of the profits of this gigantic undertaking. All Paris was seized with a mad fever of speculation. When the bubble burst thousands of Frenchmen cursed the day when they first heard the name of Louisiana. But Law's



THE LOUISIANA COUNTRY CLAIMED BY LA SALLE FOR FRANCE / 82

scheme had one good result: Bienville, a brother of Iberville, had been appointed commander general of Louisiana, and in 1718 he made a clearing in the canebrakes on the east bank of the Mississippi and there founded the city of New Orleans.

Henceforth New Orleans controlled the mouth of the river. That immense stream, with its tributaries, drains the largest agricultural valley on the globe, having an area greater than that of central Europe, and capable of producing grain enough to feed all the inhabitants of Europe and America.

161. The French in the north and the west; French forts. The French had also been active at the north; late in the seventeenth century (1695) they settled Kaskaskia, in Illinois. Captain Duluth had built a fort on the northern shore of Lake Superior, had "visited the spot where the city since named for him stands," and had explored much farther west. He advised building a fort on the straits connecting Lake Erie with Lake Huron. The French acted on that suggestion and founded (1701) the fortified post of Detroit. A little later (1702), they built a fort at Vincennes, the oldest town in Indiana.

In 1720 the French built Fort Chartres, on the Mississippi, in southern Illinois. It was one of the most formidable strongholds on the continent and formed one more link in that chain of fortifications which Louis XIV was extending from Quebec to New Orleans. By means of those forts France intended to make good her claim to the country west of the Alleghenies when the great final struggle for the mastery should come with the English.

162. War between the French and the English; Frontenac's plans; attacks on Schenectady and Haverhill; the English colonists attack Canada. The war (known as King William's War) had, in fact, already begun in the Old World between England and France (§ 100), and Frontenac (§ 66) simply opened the American side (1689-1697) of the terrible contest. It was a struggle for religious as well as for political supremacy, and Catholics and Protestants were arrayed against each other. Frontenac intended to seize New York and drive the inhabitants into the wilderness.

This plan failed, but he sent a party of French and Indians (1690), who fell upon the little Dutch settlement of Schenectady and destroyed it. They also burned the hamlet of Haverhill in Massachusetts and made the mistake of carrying off Mrs. Hannah Dustin. She managed to kill her captors while they slept, and proved, by the bundle of Indian scalps which she took home, that she could beat the savages at their own game.

At the suggestion of Jacob Leisler, governor of New York (§ 67), an attack on Canada was planned. Sir William Phips of Maine took the French fort at Port Royal, Acadia (now Nova Scotia), and stripped the place bare, bringing away even the governor's silver spoons and his new dress wigs.

In a later expedition against Quebec Phips was repulsed, and the "pinch of famine" forced a disastrous retreat. His men clamored for their pay, and Massachusetts, having no coin to give them, issued her first paper money (£40,000) in order to settle the demand. That colony had now to shoulder the burden of a heavy debt, with nothing to pay it but paper currency, which soon fell to half its face value.

163. Queen Anne's War; Indian attacks; Port Royal, Quebec; King George's War; Louisburg taken. In the second or Queen Anne's War (1702-1713) the French and Indians swept the coast of Maine from Casco to Wells. The next winter they burned Deerfield, Massachusetts, and carried away most of the inhabitants into captivity. On the other hand, an expedition sailed from Boston (1710) and took permanent possession of Port Royal, which was henceforth called Annapolis in honor of the reigning queen of England.

The next summer (1711) a combined force of English troops and colonists was sent against Quebec. Eight ships of the squadron were wrecked in the St. Lawrence, and nearly nine hundred men were lost. A council of war voted not to proceed farther. When peace was made (1713) Great Britain kept Annapolis, obtained full possession of Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia, which now received the name of Nova Scotia.

The third or King George's War (1744-1748) was marked by a splendid victory. The French fortress of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island guarded the entrance to the St. Lawrence. Colonel William Pepperrell of Maine led (1745) a secret expedition against this stronghold, which, with its walls of solid masonry twenty feet high, seemed to defy attack.

New England, New York, and Pennsylvania contributed men, artillery, and provisions for the expedition. Aided by a small English fleet, the little army of fishermen, lumbermen, and farmers besieged the fortress for six weeks. Meanwhile the people of Boston were holding weekly prayer meetings in behalf of the desperate enterprise. The commander of the fortress was unfit for his place, and his garrison was mutinous. The fort fell and the news of this victory filled New England with joy. George II was so delighted that he made the American commander a baronet, with the title of Sir William Pepperrell, an honor never before conferred on one of our countrymen.

When peace was made (1748) the fortress was restored to France; but its former fame was gone. The "Yankees" had mastered those proud walls which the French king once boasted no power on earth could take.

164. The French and Indian War; Canada and the English colonies compared; the Ohio country. The fourth and last or French and Indian War (1754-1763) marks the culmination of the struggle between France and England for the possession of America. Hitherto New England and New York had borne the brunt of the contest, but now the whole country as far south as Virginia was threatened by the advance of the French toward the valley of the Ohio. The English colonies had a population more than ten times greater than that of Canada, but the Canadians were ruled by a despotic king who could and would force every man into the army.

As early as 1716 Governor Spotswood of Virginia (§ 137) had seen the importance of securing the rich country beyond the Blue Ridge, and had urged the English government to occupy the

valley of the Ohio. But it was more than thirty years later before any decided action was taken. Then (1748) Lawrence Washington, an elder brother of George Washington, united with a number of influential Virginians in organizing the Ohio Company.

This Company obtained from the king a grant of five hundred thousand acres of land on the east bank of the upper Ohio. The tract lay mainly between the Great Kanawha and Monongahela rivers, — a region now embraced by West Virginia and southwest Pennsylvania. The Company proposed to plant settlements in the Ohio country, to speculate in western lands, and to carry on the fur trade with the Indians.

Some years later (1753), they opened a road by Will's Creek, a branch of the Potomac, and made preparations to send out emigrants. The French, through the explorations of La Salle (§ 159), claimed the Ohio country as their own. They resented its occupation by the English as an act of trespass, and promptly built a fort at Presque Isle (Erie) to defend their rights. They soon began a second (Fort Le Boeuf) south of it, and then a third south of that, at Venango.

165. Washington's expedition (1753); Fort Duquesne; the skirmish; Fort Necessity. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent (1753) Major George Washington, a young man of twenty-one, to order the French to leave the country. It was a difficult and perilous undertaking, involving a winter's journey of nearly a thousand miles through the wilderness. Washington reached Venango, but the French officer at that post told him with an oath that the English should never have the Ohio; and the commander at Fort Le Boeuf gave him the same answer.

On his way through the forests Washington stopped at the point where the waters of the Allegheny and the Monongahela unite to form the Ohio. "I spent some time," said he, "in viewing the rivers, and the land in the fork, which I think extremely well situated for a fort." He reported the military importance of the position to Governor Dinwiddie, and the governor sent (1754) a party of men to erect a fort at that

"Gateway of the West." The French swooped down upon the party, drove them off, and began to build a stronghold which they named Fort Duquesne.

A little later, a detachment of French soldiers from Fort Duquesne encountered Washington at the head of a small party of Virginians. The young man at once gave the command to fire. It was the first shot in a war destined to determine the fate of France in the New World. The victory of the Virginians foretold the final triumph of the English in the great struggle.

Colonel Washington now hastily built the stockade of Fort Mifflin. Here on the fourth day of July, 1754, a strong body of French forced him to surrender. Just twenty-one years from that date, lacking a single day, Washington took command of the Continental army which was to win the war of the Revolution.

166. The Albany Congress (1754); Franklin's plan of confederation. The colonists now felt the need of united action. A congress was called at Albany (1754), to which New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the four New England colonies sent delegates. Representative warriors of the Iroquois or Six Nations met with the congress.

Franklin, who was editing the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, had already made vigorous appeals in favor of union. He had emphasized the divided and helpless state of the colonies by a rude woodcut representing a snake cut in pieces, with the motto, "Join or die." He proposed that the colonies should form a confederation¹ under the government of a president to be appointed and supported by the crown, and a council chosen by the colonial assemblies.

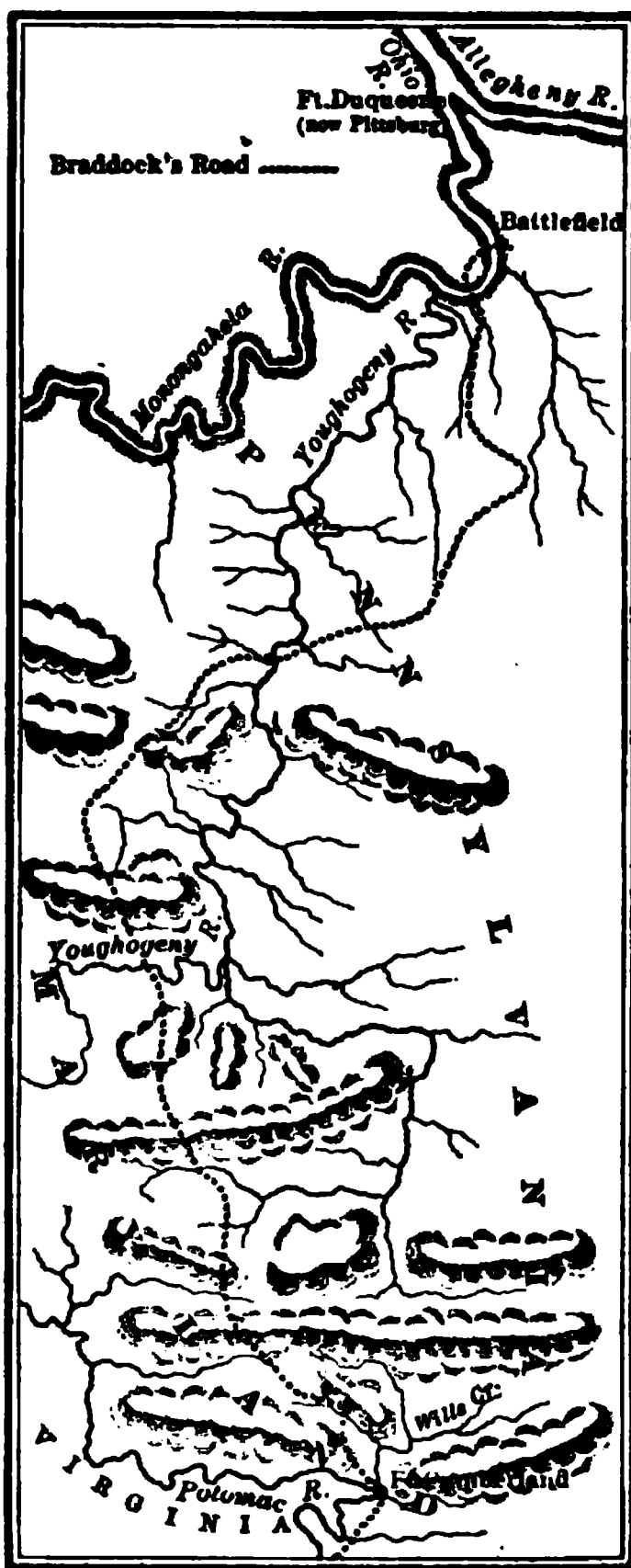
The congress unanimously accepted Franklin's plan, but the colonial assemblies and the crown rejected it. The assemblies refused it because they thought it gave too much power to the king; the king, because he considered that it gave too much power to the people. Even then reflecting men in England "dreaded American union as the keystone of independence."

¹ See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 52.

167. Preparations for Braddock's campaign. The next year (1755) England sent over General Braddock to Virginia to lead an army of British regulars against the French. Braddock was a veteran soldier, boastful and brave, and accustomed to do everything with the cut-and-dried precision of European military methods. He despised backwoods men, and backwoods ways of fighting.

The plan of the campaign was to attack the French simultaneously at four important points, — Fort Duquesne, Fort Niagara, Crown Point on Lake Champlain, and Fort Beauséjour in the Acadian country at the head of the Bay of Fundy (§ 163). If successful, these movements would drive the French back to Canada.

168. Braddock's expedition; Washington; the expulsion of the Acadians. Early in June (1755) Braddock set out accompanied by Colonel Washington and a body of Virginians, all eager to fight for "the best of kings." Braddock advanced from Fort Cumberland at the base of the Alleghenies, and began to climb



BRADDOCK'S MARCH

the rough ridges of the mountains. Three hundred axmen led the van to clear the way. Behind them came the British regulars, a glittering array of scarlet and steel. The distance to Fort Duquesne was about a hundred and thirty miles. The progress

of the army was so slow that after a month's march they were still five miles from their destination. Up to this point all had gone well, when suddenly the English advance was greeted with a terrific Indian war whoop and was fired upon by an unseen foe.¹

Braddock fell, mortally wounded, and the British regulars "ran like sheep pursued by dogs." The Virginians with Washington at their head were the only men on the English side who did any successful fighting. Braddock had lost more than half of his army. Washington saved what was left. This disastrous defeat of the British troops had one good result: it inspired the Virginians with confidence in their own methods of fighting, and it led at once to the creation of a military organization for the defense of the colony.

The attack on Fort Niagara was given up, but the attack on Crown Point and that on Fort Beauséjour were completely successful. Then came the question what action should be taken respecting the Acadians, who, by conquest, were subjects of the king of England (§ 163). They were called "French neutrals"; but at Beauséjour no less than three hundred of these "neutrals" had been found fighting on the side of France.

The British authorities suspected that the whole French population of Nova Scotia was secretly hostile to King George. They now urged the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance to the English sovereign; nine tenths of them refused. Then the English determined to banish them from the country. The unsuspecting people were called together in their parish churches and suddenly made prisoners. They were then hurried on board British transports and carried off to be distributed throughout the colonies from Maine to Georgia. The whole number thus kidnapped was between six and seven thousand. It was a terrible act, but apparently not contrary to the law of nations, and even France did not remonstrate.²

169. Pitt and victory. The French and Indian War had now been going on for more than three years, but the English could

¹ See Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, ch. vii.

² *Ibid.*, I, ch. viii.

show no adequate results. Then (1757) the elder William Pitt entered the English cabinet; he soon became the directing power of the British government. He grasped the helm with a master's hand. He had faith in America and called on the colonists to furnish twenty thousand men for a vigorous campaign. Pitt inspired the army with his own enthusiasm. He sent (1758) a strong force which recaptured Louisburg (§ 163), and the famous fort was dismantled and destroyed.

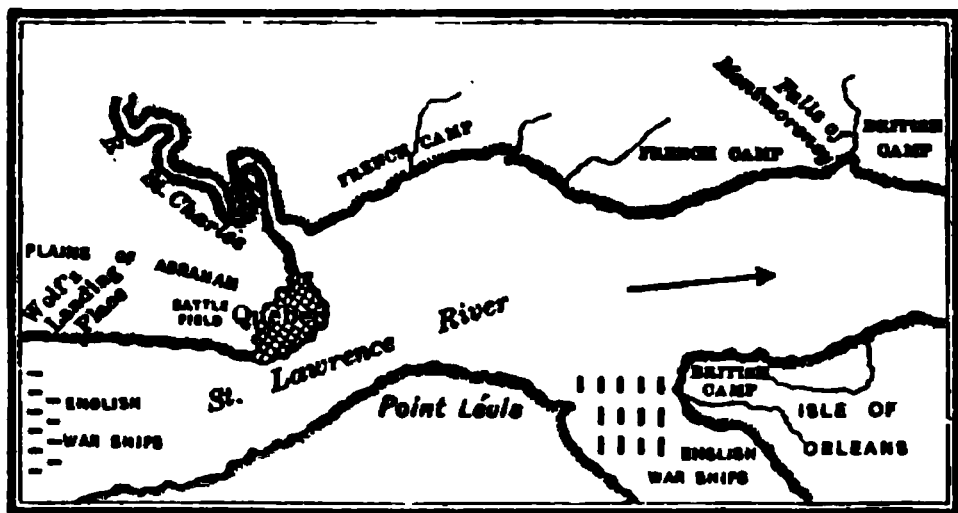
Colonel George Washington planned the line of march of an expedition of seven thousand men against Fort Duquesne (1758); the French commander, having but a feeble garrison, blew up the fort and fled. A new

structure, a part of which is still standing, was built on the ruins of the French stronghold. It was named Fort Pitt in honor of the great statesman whose genius had made

the war a success. A settlement sprang up around this military post which has since grown into the city of Pittsburg, the largest iron manufacturing center in the world.

Sir William Johnson of Johnson Hall, New York, led his Iroquois "braves" against Fort Niagara and took it. Ticonderoga and Crown Point fell, and so throughout the east the French were driven back to Canada.

170. Wolfe takes Quebec (1759). The next move made by the English was on Canada itself. Montcalm, one of the bravest and noblest of French soldiers, held the world-renowned fortress of Quebec. General Wolfe, the young English officer who had stormed the batteries of Louisburg (1758), led the British forces against the French stronghold. He besieged the place for nearly three months (1759), but without avail. Out of his army of less



THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC, 1759

than nine thousand men he had lost nearly a thousand in desperate assaults on the works. He had fretted himself into a fever, and began to doubt whether he would win the day.

Finally, the English commander determined to make an attempt to scale the heights above the town. On a starlight night in September (1759) Wolfe landed five thousand men on the north shore of the river at the little cove which he himself had discovered, and which is now called by his name.

Feeling their way in the darkness, the soldiers seized hold of projections of the rocks, branches of trees, and bushes, and so noiselessly climbed up the almost perpendicular heights. When they reached the top, they reformed and marched silently on until they came to the Plains of Abraham outside the walls of Upper Quebec. There at dawn the French discovered them. There the decisive battle was fought. Both generals fell, mortally wounded. Wolfe lay bleeding on the ground, supported by an officer. "They run! they run!" exclaimed the officer. "Who run?" asked Wolfe. "The French," was the reply. The English commander gave a final order, and then exclaimed with his last breath, "Now God be praised, I die in peace."

Montcalm also lay dying. When told by the surgeon that he could not survive more than ten or twelve hours, he said: "So much the better; I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."¹

The fall of the capital of Canada really ended the war. It left the English in possession of everything which they had fought to gain, though peace was not formally declared until 1763.

171. Conspiracy of Pontiac (1763). Four years later (1763), Pontiac, chief of a Michigan tribe, led a revolt of the savages living in the vicinity of the upper lakes. The chief was friendly to the French, and he believed that with their help he could drive the English from the West.

It was the most formidable and widespread plot ever devised by an Indian brain. Pontiac hoped to unite all of the savage tribes west of the Alleghenies in a general movement against the

¹ See Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, II, ch. xxvii.

colonies. The uprising met with such success that out of twelve military posts the Indians took eight and massacred their garrisons. In the whole West only the forts at Detroit, Niagara, and Pittsburg held out against the savages. The final battle was fought under the walls of Detroit (1763). Two years later (1765), Pontiac was forced to beg for peace. It was the last general attempt on the part of the western tribes to drive out the English settlers until, nearly half a century later, Tecumseh stirred up his famous revolt (1811).¹

172. Results of the struggle between England and France for the possession of America (1689-1763). By the Treaty of Paris² (1763), France, ceded to England all of her American possessions east of the Mississippi (and north of the West Indies) except two small islands off the coast of Newfoundland which Great Britain permitted her to keep "as shelter to her fishermen." By a secret treaty (1762), France had transferred New

NORTH AMERICA AFTER THE TREATY OF 1763

Orleans to Spain, and with that city all of her lands west of the Mississippi; of her former magnificent domain on the North American continent she now had not even a foothold left.

Spain, in return for the restoration of Cuba, had ceded (1762) Florida to England (ceded back to Spain in 1783). At the close of 1763 England held the whole continent east of the Mississippi, from the frozen shores of the Polar Sea to the coral reefs of Florida, while Spain had her grasp on all the country west of the great river to the Pacific.

¹ See Parkman's Pontiac.

² See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 54.

By a proclamation¹ issued by George III (1763) the lands west of the Alleghenies were reserved for the Indians. The intention of this royal mandate was to completely shut out the English settlers in America from the great valley of the Mississippi. The king's object was to prevent conflicts with the tribes west of the Alleghenies and at the same time to confine the colonists to a narrow area which could be readily controlled by Great Britain.

But England paid a heavy price for the vast territory she had wrested from France. The expense of the war (in Europe and America) doubled the English national debt, raising it from £70,000,000 to £140,000,000. The British taxpayers protested loudly against further outlay; but further outlay seemed an absolute necessity.

The crown declared that a standing army of at least ten thousand men must be sent to America. This force was to hold Canada and the Ohio Valley, otherwise the French and the Indians might rise and get back all that they had lost.

In order to obtain money to pay this army, England resolved to impose a direct tax on the colonies, although they had furnished more than twenty thousand men (§ 169) and incurred a debt of £2,600,000 in a war undertaken "in behalf of the mother country."² England paid part of this debt, but the king insisted on a tax for the future. Burke said that this last demand was the origin of the quarrel between the colonists and the mother-country.

If, then, one result of the French war was to extend enormously the area of the American possessions held by England, on the other hand, the expense of that contest forced the king to adopt a policy which roused the resistance of the colonists. At the same time his refusal to permit emigration to the rich lands of the West increased the feeling of irritation. George III held stubbornly to this new policy, and relentlessly pushed it, until finally the Americans rose and fought the War for Independence.

¹ See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 55.

² See Doyle's *Essay on the American Colonies*, 130; Bigelow's *Franklin's Works*, III, 414.



THE KING'S PROCLAMATION LINE, 1763

GENERAL VIEW OF THE THIRTEEN COLONIES IN 1763¹

173. Settlement and population. In 1763 the population of the thirteen colonies was not far from 1,800,000, or less than half that of New York City to-day. Of this population somewhat more than 300,000 were slaves. These slaves were distributed throughout the colonies, but the number held north of "Mason and Dixon's Line" (§ 145) was comparatively very small. The three largest cities were Philadelphia, New York, and Boston; but none of them had a population exceeding 30,000.

The original charters were often loosely drawn as respects geographical lines, and this led to much confusion and dispute (§§ 106, 145). But by virtue of those which ran from "sea to sea" six of the thirteen colonies, under the treaty of 1763 (§ 172), claimed the Mississippi for their western boundary line (see maps on p. 35 and facing p. 226). New York made a similar claim on the ground of purchase of lands north of the Ohio from the Six Nations (§ 32).

The great majority of the people lived along the Atlantic coast. Each colony had, as a rule, its own seaports, and was, therefore, commercially independent of the others; west of the Alleghenies the whole country was almost an unbroken wilderness, although some adventurous pioneers had pushed into that region and made a few clearings in the forests. But further movement in that direction was prohibited by royal proclamation (§ 172).

In New England a large proportion of the people had gathered in towns which had grown up around the parish meeting-house and the schoolhouse. Independent of all questions of trade, the religious societies of these colonies would have kept them compactly together. In the middle colonies the towns likewise embraced a majority of the population; but owing perhaps to the fact that the Indians of that section were generally friendly,

¹ See Thwaites' Colonies, ch. xiv; Hart's Formation of the Union, ch. vii; Lodge's Colonies; Fisher's Colonial Era; Thorpe's Constitutional History, I, ch. ii-iv.

there were more scattered settlements than in New England, and in some cases they extended farther westward.

At the South the tobacco and rice plantations did not favor the growth of compact settlements. Jefferson humorously declared, "The law has said that there shall be towns, but nature has said there shall not." Generally speaking, the colonists lived apart from each other.¹ Charleston, Baltimore, and Savannah were the principal southern cities, and of these the first only had a population exceeding 5000.

A large majority of the people, especially in New England and Virginia, were of pure English descent. In the middle colonies, especially in Pennsylvania and New York, there were a good many Germans and Dutch, besides some Swedes and Scotch. South Carolina had an influential Huguenot (§ 135) element, and probably most of the colonies, if not indeed all, had more or less of the same class, with some Irish and a few Jews; as for the Scotch-Irish (§ 52), they or their descendants could be found in varying numbers everywhere. It is estimated that about one fifth of the population of the thirteen colonies had some other language than English for their mother tongue. Collectively the people called themselves Americans.

Owing to the immense immigration which has since taken place, not much more than half of our present population can claim English as their native language.² Furthermore, statistics seem to show that the birth rate among native Americans, especially in New England, has fallen off to such an extent that it is doubtful if they will continue to hold their own.

174. Government of the colonies. Three forms of government were in force in the colonies in 1763, namely, government by charter (Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island), by Proprietaries (Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland), and by the crown in the seven remaining provinces. The general supervision of the colonies was in the hands of a board of trade, popularly

¹ On the effect of this isolation see Mace's *Method in History*, 83.

² See Wright's *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, 15.

called the "Lords of Trade." This board, appointed by the king (1696), had its headquarters in London. It required annual reports from the colonial governors in America concerning the general condition and growth of their respective provinces.

No other colonists in the world enjoyed the political liberty which England granted to her subjects in America. The Spanish and French governments on this continent were practically military despotisms, and the settlers in Mexico, Florida, and Canada had no voice whatever in making laws, electing officers, or levying taxes. Holland indeed was disposed to treat her provinces in a more liberal spirit, but still she gave them far less than England gave hers.

Two of the thirteen colonies, Connecticut and Rhode Island, elected their governors and their legislatures; they were republics in everything but name. In the remaining eleven colonies, though the king or the Proprietaries appointed the governors, yet the people elected the members of the Assembly.

These eleven governors, who were in most cases Englishmen sent over by the king, were clothed with the following powers: (1) they commanded the military and naval forces of their respective colonies; (2) they chose the members of the council or upper house of Legislature; (3) they made grants of lands and collected land rents; (4) they granted pardons; (5) they assembled and dissolved the Legislature, and (except in Pennsylvania) they could permanently veto any legislative bill.

The colonial legislatures had three most important powers: (1) they (with the governor's consent) enacted the laws, which, however, were not to be repugnant to those of England, and which were subject to the king's veto; (2) they levied all general taxes; (3) they fixed the amount of the governor's salary, and also the salaries of the judges (until 1761) and other leading officers. This power over the purse gave the legislatures the virtual control of the government, and as the lower house was made up entirely of representatives elected by the people, it made them the real rulers.

In all the colonies the right to vote was limited to persons possessed of a certain amount of property. In all of the colonies, except Pennsylvania and Delaware, Catholics were excluded from the polls, though it is denied that this law was enforced in Rhode Island (§ 126). By the beginning of the eighteenth century the right to vote appears to have been restricted, in all of the colonies, to Protestants.¹ The restriction of suffrage to property holders cut off a large per cent of the adult male population from any voice in the direct management of public affairs and imbued the government with an aristocratic spirit. In Rhode Island this state of things eventually led to what is known as the Dorr Rebellion (1842). An order of Queen Anne's (1702), enforcing the Test Act, shut out all persons not Protestants from holding any public office in the colonies.

The common law of England was also the common law of the colonies; but it was modified by acts of the legislatures.

In Massachusetts, and generally throughout New England, each town managed its local affairs by a meeting held once a year. At such meetings the people voted for town officers, for the building and repair of roads, the care of the poor, and the support of churches and schools. This system made New England a collection of "village republics" in which all gradation of power was from the people upward (§ 88).

In Virginia, and generally throughout the South, the management of local affairs, such as the building and repair of roads and the levying of taxes for such purposes, was under the control of certain county officers appointed by the governor; so that in the South the gradation of power was from the governor downward (§ 43). Each parish, however, was managed by a committee (§ 50), composed usually of the leading members of the Episcopal Church (the only Church there established by law). These committees, which were practically self-elective, and hence close corporations, provided for the maintenance of public worship and looked after the poor.

¹ See Professor Stillé in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, IX, 374.

In the middle colonies a mixed system of town and county government prevailed, the people of the towns electing one or more of the county officers.

175. Courts of justice; laws of inheritance. Except in the three proprietary colonies (Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware) and in Connecticut and Rhode Island, the crown, directly or indirectly, appointed the judges of the superior courts. They held their office, not during good behavior, as in England, but during the pleasure of the royal governor or of his master the king. For this reason the judges naturally felt themselves bound to maintain the interests of the crown; but, on the other hand, up to 1761 they were constantly reminded by the assemblies that their salaries depended on the good will of the people who paid them. After 1761 the salaries of the judges were paid out of the king's land rents, and so the judges were freed from all responsibility to the people.

The vice-admiralty courts, which were established to deal with maritime cases, were especially obnoxious to the mercantile community. It was the duty of these courts to enforce the Navigation Acts (§§ 48, 102, 177), the laws of trade (§ 177), and to punish smuggling. The cases were tried not by jury but by a bench of judges. The severity of their sentences made them especially unpopular with merchants and shipowners.

If England discriminated by her Navigation Acts against her American colonies, on the other hand the colonists were not slow to retaliate. By the laws of Maryland (1704), an Englishman emigrating to that country could not hold office until after residence for a term of years; a similar law existed in other colonies.

In Massachusetts British merchants did not enjoy the same privileges as colonists. Throughout America colonial creditors had a prior claim over English creditors in the collection of debts.

The laws and customs relating to the inheritance of real estate had an important influence on the condition of society. In Virginia, Maryland, and New York property passed to the eldest son as in England. This system naturally tended to keep up the

family name and position, and to establish a permanent landed aristocracy. Later (1776), Jefferson's attacks completely demolished this system in Virginia. In New England the property was divided among all the children, but the eldest son usually received a double share.

The movement toward equal division eventually triumphed in all of the colonies. Daniel Webster said that these changes helped to lay the material basis of republican government.

176. Conflicting interests of the colonies ; slavery ; the " poor whites." Though the thirteen colonies were practically one in modes of government and in religion, and though the English race predominated, yet conflicting interests separated them on many points.

Unquestionably one of the most serious obstacles to union arose from the fact that the labor systems of the North and the South were radically unlike in their tendencies. The South was almost entirely devoted to agriculture in its simplest form ; the North, while not neglecting agriculture, was largely devoted to commerce. Both sections held indented white servants, many of whom were felons (§§ 42, 44). Both sections too owned negroes who, as a rule, were humanely treated and neither overworked nor underfed ; but at the South climate, soil, and productions fostered the growth of slavery and made it more and more profitable, while at the North all these influences were against it.

The foreign slave trade was active ; it was to a great extent in the hands of New England men, and there were merchants in Salem, Boston, and Newport who regularly sent out cargoes of trinkets and rum to Africa to exchange for shiploads of Guinea negroes to be sold at auction in the South.

James I sent at least a hundred convicts to Virginia ; later, many political prisoners taken in the civil wars were shipped as slaves to America, most of them probably to the British West Indies. In 1718 Parliament enacted a law permitting convicts to be transported to this country ; between that date and 1776 large numbers were sent over.

There were also voluntary white immigrants, called "free willers" or "redemptioners," who sold themselves for a short term of years to pay the cost of their passage over.¹ They were most numerous in Pennsylvania. They were often driven about the country in gangs by men called "soul drivers," who disposed of them to farmers. As late as 1792 Washington urged buying a shipload of them in Germany to work on the public grounds and public buildings of the national capital.

The industrial differences between the North and the South were producing two different types of civilization, and were breeding not only antagonism of interests but bitter sectional hatred. Thus the seeds of the great conflict (1861-1865) were sown, and were slowly maturing for the inevitable harvest.

A movement against slavery began in Pennsylvania (1688), and Judge Sewall of Boston wrote a tract against it (1700).² Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin were, however, the first leading men who denounced it as a blight and a curse (§ 45). The people of the South were gradually separated into two classes, — the few who owned slaves, and the many, the "poor whites," who did not own them. They could not compete with negro labor, and they were ashamed to try to compete with it.

But the rich southern slaveholders had whatever high-bred virtues naturally belong to an aristocracy. When the day of need came, this class furnished leaders in the cause of independence who were every whit as ardent as those who sprang from New England or from the middle colonies. The so-called "poor whites" showed too on the battlefields of the Revolution, as they did nearly a hundred years later on those of the Civil War, that they were not "poor" in courage, fortitude, or self-denial.

177. Colonial industries ; commerce ; manufactures ; currency. Down to the beginning of the eighteenth century wages were quite generally regulated by law, and two shillings seems to have been the usual pay for a day's work.

¹ See Hart's American History told by Contemporaries, II, No. 107.

² Ibid., II, Nos. 102, 103, 106.

The great staples of the South were tobacco, rice, indigo, and the products of the pine forests of North Carolina. Pennsylvania exported iron; New York carried on a large trade in furs. New England was actively engaged in whaling and codfishing, and in distilling rum from West India molasses. A gilt figure of a codfish still hangs in the chamber of the House of Representatives in the statehouse in Boston. Like the sack of wool in the English House of Lords, it is an honorable emblem of what was once a chief source of the wealth of Massachusetts.

Shipbuilding had long been carried on in New England and Pennsylvania, and the English shipbuilders complained with good reason that America was driving their vessels from the ocean. Early in the eighteenth century (1713), Captain Andrew Robinson of Gloucester, Massachusetts, launched the first schooner, — a type of vessel which has since come into use throughout the world.

The commerce of the colonies in "nonenumerated articles" (§ 48), such as grain, salted provisions, fish, rum, and timber, grew steadily. New England had a fleet of between five and six hundred sailing craft employed in the West Indian and other foreign trade. Beside their lawful commerce the colonies carried on smuggling systematically and almost openly until George III came to the throne. Then the crown undertook, with more or less success, to enforce the Navigation Acts (§ 48). In 1733 Parliament passed a Molasses Act¹ which practically prohibited trade with the French and Spanish West Indies. This was done to protect the "Sugar Islands" of the British West Indies against foreign competition. The law, however, was never really enforced. In 1764 Parliament reenacted it, in a modified form, with a comparatively low rate of duty, under the name of the Sugar Act.² The object of the new law was to raise a revenue from the colonies. It was the first direct tax which England imposed on her American possessions. The attempt to collect this duty (which was cut down still further in 1766) led to conflicts with the customs officers. But, nevertheless, American trade continued to increase.

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 50.

² Ibid., No. 56.

Large as our exports were, our imports from Great Britain were nearly twice as great, and Lord Chatham said in Parliament, "America is the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength." He declared that Great Britain made a profit of £2,000,000 a year out of her American trade.

Aside from the production of certain classes of coarse goods, there were few manufactures in the colonies. The first fulling mill appears to have been set up by John Pearson in 1643 in Rowley, Massachusetts. England, acting on the protective principle, checked the growth of colonial manufactures by all sorts of vexatious legislation in order that she might keep the monopoly of supply for her own merchants. Parliament (1699) prohibited the export of American wool or woollen goods to any other country or from one colony to another.

The House of Commons resolved (1719) that "the erecting manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependence." Later (1750-1765), Parliament forbade the colonies to make ironware of any kind, and the erection of any new iron furnaces and iron mills in Pennsylvania or elsewhere was prohibited as a "nuisance." Again, although America was the home of the beaver, yet Parliament passed a law (1732) forbidding the colonists to export beaver hats to England, to any foreign country, or even from one colony to another.¹ But tyrannical as these trade restrictions now seem, they were far less severe than those imposed by other European countries on their colonies. Even Pitt, America's best friend in Parliament, upheld this policy, although he denied the right of direct taxation of the colonists (§ 190).

Such goods as the colonists were permitted to produce were made largely by hand, although horse power, wind power, and water power were used to some extent. Steam as a manufacturing agent was still unknown in the world, and the first steam engine

¹ See Lecky's *History of England*, III, 325; Weeden's *Economic History of New England*, I, 388; II, 722; Bancroft's *United States* (last revised edition), II, 81; III, 107-108, 240; Hildreth's *United States*, II, 213, 352, 431; Johns Hopkins University Studies, X, 547, 574.

in America was not set up until about the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The need of a sound currency was sorely felt in all of the colonies. In Virginia tobacco had served for money for a time, but unfortunately it was subject to sudden and violent fluctuations in value according as the price abroad rose and fell. In New England, and in some of the other colonies, wampum (§ 29) had long been in use, and did excellent service in trade with the Indians. Corn and cattle were also used for currency, and one student at Harvard College paid his tuition bill with "an old cow."¹ Massachusetts, indeed, ventured to set up a mint and strike off debased silver coins and coppers, but long before 1763 this mint had been suppressed. Most of the specie that came into the country consisted of Spanish dollars brought from the West Indies in exchange for exports, together with some English gold and silver; but this specie soon found its way into the pockets of the London merchants.

This constant drain of gold and silver out of the colonies naturally compelled them to undertake the issue of paper money. Most of this proved utterly worthless. The English Board of Trade (§ 174) instructed the royal colonial governors to veto the bills which the legislatures enacted for the issue of this irredeemable paper money, and the quarrels to which these vetoes gave rise were one cause leading to the Revolution.

178. Roads; travel; the post office. Owing to the very general lack of good roads the chief part of the transportation was, when practicable, by water. Large quantities of furs and freight of all kinds were carried in canoes on the rivers and lakes. New York in particular offered great facilities in this respect. Where rivers were not available for reaching the interior, pack horses were employed. They carried the goods in long bags slung across their backs.

The roads were frequently simply Indian trails; in other cases there was no path at all, and the way through the trackless forests was indicated by blazed trees; bridges were almost unknown.

¹ See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 18-21.

Pennsylvania was one of the few colonies which had a number of fairly good roads; they radiated from Philadelphia. Thousands of huge wagons carried produce to that busy port, which had an export trade of more than £700,000 a year. Boston (1763) ranked next in this respect.

There was but little passenger travel, — so little, in fact, that it was not very uncommon for a man to make his will when he ventured to go any distance from home. The usual mode of travel between the principal cities, such as Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Charleston, was by sailing vessels. The time required for making such a journey was as uncertain as the wind. Not infrequently men preferred to go on horseback to avoid vexatious delays. If a wife went with her husband on one of these journeys, she usually rode behind him on a pillion.

Toward the close of the colonial period a line of rude stage wagons was put on the route (1756) between Philadelphia and New York. They made trips once a week. Their average speed was usually rather less than three miles an hour; but as the roads were rough and the wagons had no springs, the passengers probably seldom begged to go faster. Later (1766), some enterprising individual put a new stage on the route. He advertised it as the "Flying Machine"; under favorable circumstances it flew at a speed of perhaps five miles an hour.

The first post office in the colonies was not established until 1710, or more than a century after the settlement of Virginia. The mails were scanty. They were generally carried on horseback. The rates of postage for a single letter ranged, in modern currency, from eight to twenty-five cents, according to distance. When Benjamin Franklin was appointed postmaster-general (1753) he startled the good people of Philadelphia by putting on a regular weekly mail between that city and Boston; there was no postal service between Boston and inland towns before the Revolution.

179. Religion; freedom of worship; the press. In the South the Episcopal Church, the Established Church of all the royal

To the PUBLIC.

THE FLYING MACHINE, kept by John Mercereau, at the New-Blazing-Star-Ferry, near New-York, sets off from Powles-Hook every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday Mornings, for Philadelphia, and performs the Journey in a Day and a Half, for the Summer Season, till the 1st of November; from that Time to go twice a Week till the first of May, when they again perform it three Times a Week. When the Stages go only twice a Week, they set off Mondays and Thursdays. The Waggons in Philadelphia set out from the Sign of the George, in Second-Street, the same Morning. The Passengers are desired to cross the Ferry the Evening before, as the Stages must set off early the next Morning. The Price for each Passenger is *Twenty Shillings*, Proc.* and Goods as usual. Passengers going Part of the Way to pay in Proportion.

As the Proprietor has made such Improvements upon the Machines, one of which is in Imitation of a Coach, he hopes to merit the Favour of the Publick.

JOHN MERCEREAU.

New York Gazette 1771.

FLYING MACHINE

* "Proc.": Proclamation-money or lawful money according to the proclamation of Queen Anne in 1704.

colonies, was the most influential; but numerically the Presbyterians were strong, and together with the Congregationalists were constantly growing stronger. In Pennsylvania the Quakers and the German Lutherans predominated. In the remaining middle colonies Episcopacy was maintained by law, but other denominations were tolerated. Maryland had by far the greatest number of Catholics. Yet even there they did not constitute more than a small per cent of the population.

In Massachusetts Episcopacy was encouraged by the royal governor, who attended the "King's Chapel" in Boston. The dread lest the crown should appoint an Episcopal bishop may be considered as one of the causes which operated in Massachusetts to bring on the Revolution. In Rhode Island the Baptists had become a controlling power. A few Methodists had settled in New York, but no preachers of that denomination arrived until several years later (1769). The following year (1770) a Universalist minister began to form two or three societies of that faith. The first Congregational churches of Massachusetts were based not on a creed, but on a "covenant" or bond of fellowship (§§ 82, 86); these religious societies with very few exceptions eventually became Unitarian in their faith, though this form of belief was not formally organized in Boston until after the close of the Revolution (1785). In Massachusetts the compulsory support of public Congregational worship was not abolished until many years later (1833). The social lines drawn in the churches made them essentially aristocratic, and the seats were allotted according to the standing of the occupants in the community.

The only colony which openly tolerated entire freedom of worship by legislative enactment was Rhode Island. In Virginia, where all property holders were taxed to support the established Episcopal Church, no other faith was legally recognized.

In western Virginia there were many dissenters, mostly Presbyterians. They were permitted to organize and maintain churches of their own on condition that they made certain concessions to the Established (Episcopal) Church. Jefferson secured (1776)

partial toleration, and eventually (1785) his influence obtained the passage of the famous act granting entire religious freedom.

In all of the colonies, except Rhode Island, laws existed which forbade Catholics from holding public worship; but in Pennsylvania the law was not enforced, and as early as 1734 a Catholic church — the first outside of the original church of Maryland — was erected in Philadelphia.¹

That art which has been truly said to be "preservative of all arts" was first introduced into the colonies by the establishment of a printing press at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1639. For forty years it remained the only press in British America. The next press outside of Massachusetts was permanently set up at Philadelphia (1686), and the next at New York (1693). No printing could be done except by special license, although most of the restrictions were removed by 1755.

The first permanent newspaper established in the colonies was the *Boston News Letter*, which made its appearance in 1704. It was printed weekly, and consisted of half a sheet of coarse, dingy paper about the size of a child's pocket handkerchief. The first attempt made by any newspaper to discuss public affairs was when James Franklin (1723) criticised the action of the Massachusetts authorities in his *New England Courant*. It was in certain respects the forerunner of the poorest class of modern sensational dailies, differing from them mainly because its limited circulation greatly restricted its demoralizing and destructive power. Its publication was stopped by the authorities.

Peter Zenger, the publisher of the *New York Weekly Journal*, first succeeded (1734) in establishing the right (§ 69) of a newspaper to censure acts of the government. He thus laid the foundation for the absolute liberty of the press which was finally recognized after the Revolution.²

180. Literature and education. Up to 1763 very few American books of note had been published. Wealthy men imported the

¹ See Prof. Stillé, *Pennsylvania Magazine*, IX, 375, and Hildreth's *United States*, II, 343.

² See Thomas' *History of Printing in America* (1874).

standard English authors, but in New England sermons by the Puritan ministers formed a large part of the solid reading in that section.

The most remarkable production in verse was the Reverend Michael Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom." It was a realistic description of the "Great and Last Judgment," and especially of the unutterable torments of lost souls. For a hundred years after its publication in Boston (1662), no other book commanded a sale equal to it. Peddlers hawked it from house to house, and little children learned it by heart along with their catechism. As late as the early part of the nineteenth century there were men and women living who had read and re-read the lurid pages of this poem by the flickering light of a New England fireside until every line seemed to have been burnt into their memories, and they could repeat the whole of the two hundred and twenty-four verses word by word.

In prose we have Cotton Mather's "Magnalia" (1702). It was a huge folio narrating the church history of New England, and was by far the most important book of the kind published in that period. Later, there appeared Dummer's "Defence of the New England Charters" (1728), a vigorously written pamphlet, which was followed by a multitude of others discussing and defending the rights of the colonists. The most noteworthy southern contributions to American literature were Beverly's "History of Virginia" (1705), followed by Stith's history of the same colony (1747).

The two master writers of the period were Benjamin Franklin and Jonathan Edwards. Edwards was a Puritan minister of the strictest sort; Franklin was a man of the world, an independent thinker, who hired no one to guess for him about anything. In 1732, while editing the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, a paper which he printed with his own hands, he began the publication of an almanac popularly known as "Poor Richard's Almanac."

He scattered through his almanac maxims which preached the gospel of thrift, self-help, and manly independence. These pithy

sayings of "Poor Richard" had a wide influence. They were reprinted on sheets (1754) under the title of "The Way to Wealth," and framed and hung up in houses and shops. There can be no doubt that they did much towards shaping American life when, as an eminent English statesman said, it was "in the gristle and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood."

Later, Franklin wrote numerous political pamphlets and scientific papers; several of the former had a decided bearing on questions relating to the welfare of the colonies and the need of union and of self-defense.¹

Jonathan Edwards was a country minister settled in Northampton, and later in Stockbridge, Massachusetts. He was a man of deep religious convictions, of vigorous intellect, and of noble purpose.

His preaching expressed the same feeling as that which found utterance in the "Day of Doom." It was largely an appeal to fear, and it gave rise to that remarkable revival (1740) called the "Great Awakening." That movement shook New England like an earthquake, and made itself felt as far south as Virginia. It called into existence a great number of independent exhorters and preachers; they broke up many of the old parishes in Massachusetts and Connecticut into opposite factions known as the "Old Lights" and the "New Lights." This led to the formation of societies holding views of their own. These new societies, in a number of cases, withdrew from the more rigid Puritan organization, and so, in the end, helped to bring about the separation of Church and State.

Later (1754), Edwards published his great work on the "Freedom of the Will"; his object was to show that there is no true and permanent liberty save that which springs from right doing, and that the power to do right comes only from above. His book was destined to have a profound influence on that small number of thinkers whose thoughts influence the world.

¹ See Tyler's *History of American Literature (1607-1765)*; The Cambridge United States, chapter on American Literature by Professor Barrett Wendell.

By 1763 the common-school system of New England had been in existence for more than a century (§ 93), but even in Massachusetts such schools were not, as a rule, fully maintained by public taxation until 1827, or nearly fifty years after the country had gained its independence as a nation. Twelve years later (1839), the first normal school in the United States was established at Lexington, Massachusetts.

This system did not (1763) extend south of Connecticut; numerous schools, however, existed in New Jersey and in New York, and Pennsylvania was noted for its "log colleges."¹

In Virginia and throughout the South there was no system of public instruction. Governor Berkeley, speaking of the "Old Dominion" (1671), said: "I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have [them] these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both."

Yet Governor Berkeley was not an enemy to higher education, for he subscribed for the founding of "a college of students of the liberal arts and sciences." What he feared was a democratic system of free instruction, such as he believed would tend to undermine the authority of Church and King.

The wealthy planters not infrequently employed classical tutors for their eldest sons, the heirs of their estates, or sent them to the college of William and Mary or to the mother-country to be educated. Augustine Washington sent his eldest son Lawrence to England for that purpose, but placed his younger son George in a little school kept by the sexton of the parish, where the lad was duly taught to read, write, and cipher. A large number of the "poor whites" never had an opportunity to acquire even these rudiments of learning. They got their education from things, not from books.

¹ See Boone's *Education in the United States*; Martin's *Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System*; Hinsdale's *Documents of American Educational History*.

By 1763 six colleges had been established in the colonies. They were Harvard (1636), William and Mary (1693), Yale (1701), Princeton (1746), the University of Pennsylvania (1753), and Columbia (1754); a seventh, Brown University, soon afterward came into existence (1764).

181. Science and art; discoveries and inventions. In art we had two noted painters, Copley and West. The latter had been painting portraits in Philadelphia at five guineas a head, but went to Italy before the close of 1763. Copley was painting in Boston, and John Hancock and his friend Samuel Adams were soon to sit for their portraits, both of which now hang in the Boston Art Museum.

Copley was painting a picture in London when (1782) the news was received of the acknowledgment of American independence by Great Britain. "With a bold hand and a master's touch" the artist introduced a ship in the background flying the "stars and stripes"; it was probably the first American flag that was hoisted in old England.

In the field of scientific discovery America had made her mark. Franklin was engaged in his famous experiments with electricity, and the leading scientists of France wrote to him, "We are all waiting with the greatest eagerness to hear from you." They did not wait in vain, for Franklin, by the use of nothing more remarkable than a boy's kite, succeeded (1751) in establishing the fact that the electricity produced by friction, and the lightning of the thunderclouds are one and the same thing. That was the beginning of the wonderful development which, after the lapse of nearly a century, has since taken place, and is now rapidly advancing. The lightning rod was the first step in that practical knowledge of electricity which has since given us the telegraph and telephone, and which now provides the silent power which lights houses and streets, cooks food, photographs invisible objects, drives machinery and automobiles, propels and heats cars, signals the approach of trains, rings fire alarms, and threatens in time to drive steam entirely into the background.

Another name destined to take high rank in the history of science was that of Benjamin Thompson (Count Rumford), then a boy at school in his native town of Woburn, Massachusetts. In his researches many years later he discovered that heat is a mode of motion, and he laid the foundation of the modern doctrine of the correlation of forces.

182. Mode of life.¹ Throughout the colonies the great mass of the people lived in the utmost simplicity. The farmhouses were generally built of logs, or of rough, unpainted clapboards. The cooking was done before huge open wood fires or in large brick ovens. The food was generally coarse but abundant. There were comparatively few vegetables, but plenty of apples and cider.

Salt pork was the meat most commonly eaten, but venison and other game were by no means rare. Corn in the form of hominy, mush, or hoeecake, and rye bread were more generally seen on the table than bread made of wheat.

Tallow candles, whale-oil lamps, and open wood fires gave light in the evening. Friction matches did not come into use until long after the Revolution, and the only way of kindling a fire was to strike a spark by a flint and steel, catch it on some tinder, and blow it to a blaze.

Men and women dressed chiefly in homespun, which the wives and daughters of the farmers manufactured in the long winter evenings with their spinning wheels and hand looms.

In New England Sunday was kept very strictly; every one was expected to attend church, and all travel or labor, except in cases of absolute necessity, was forbidden.

In all of the colonies lawbreakers were summarily and sharply dealt with. Ordinary offenders were put in the stocks, exposed on the pillory, or publicly whipped, much to the edification of the bystanders. Serious crimes were punished by imprisonment or by the gallows, and hangings took place where all could witness them.

In and near the cities there were occasional fine mansions. Some of these, such as the Longfellow House in Cambridge,

¹ See Earle's *Home Life in Colonial Days*.

Massachusetts, the Van Rensselaer Manor House at Greenbush, New York, the Carrollton House near Baltimore, and the Byrd House at Westover, near Richmond, Virginia, are excellent examples of the higher class of colonial architecture.

The owners of these houses frequently lived in a good deal of style. They imported French wines and silver plate for their tables, dressed in stately costumes of velvet and brocade set off with ruffles, and wore flowing wigs or powdered hair.

Social lines were more sharply drawn than at present. Broadly speaking, to-day every inhabitant of the United States who is not a lady is a gentleman, but in colonial days these names were given, as a rule, only to persons holding some acknowledged and well-defined social position. In fact, in the colonies, as in England, the aristocratic spirit prevailed to a great extent in the eighteenth century. It showed itself in the churches (§ 179), in the existence of slavery (§ 176), in the laws of inheritance (§ 175), in the limitations of suffrage (§ 174), and in methods of government (§ 174). This point is vitally essential to a correct understanding of that period, and its influence extended after the United States had gained their independence.

- **183. Indications of the coming Revolution.** Not long before the Revolution a marked change took place in the reading habits of many of the people. Burke, in speaking of America in 1775, said, "In no country in the world is the law so general a study." Not only did the colonists import a large number of law books, but they had begun to publish them. It is said that nearly as many copies of Blackstone's Commentaries were sold in America as in England. Public affairs were discussed to such an extent that a noted Frenchman said of the Americans, "They are all politicians, down to the housemaids."

This interest in public matters, joined to the study of law, was preparing the leaders of the colonists to take a decided stand in defense of their rights. English statesmen expressed their admiration for the ability with which the Americans drew up their petitions for justice and their protests against oppression.

Notwithstanding the fact that the English Board of Trade had accused the Massachusetts colonists of having "a thirst for independence," yet the general feeling of all the colonies appears to have been loyal until a late date. In a sermon on the death of George II (1760), the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew of Boston said that the people had regarded the late king as a father rather than a sovereign, and that they hoped to sit "under the shadow of his successor with great delight." The coronation of George III was celebrated with all the pomp the colonists could muster. They felt that the glory of the mother-country was still their glory, and they rejoiced "publicly on every victory of the English arms."

Franklin testified before the House of Commons that up to the passage of the Stamp Act (1765) the colonists "were led by a thread." They had, he said, "not only a respect, but an affection for Great Britain." It was natural that it should be so, for a large proportion of the people were of direct English descent. The laws, the language, the literature, the religion of America were to a great extent those of England.

But if the bond which united us to the mother-country was strong, so too was the spirit of resistance to injustice. In the cordage of the British navy a scarlet fiber is twisted into every strand of rope to mark it; so throughout the colonies, interwoven with the universal feeling of loyalty, there was this distinct and unmistakable determination to insist on the same constitutional rights which were granted to Englishmen at home. When George III positively refused to acknowledge those rights, when no petition however humble and no protest however vehement could move him, then the American people deliberately took the final step. In this action all the colonies were united, for a majority in all "wanted the same Revolution."

184. Importance of the colonial period. The Revolution brought the colonial period to a close. To rightly estimate it we should remember that in the growth of a nation, as in the growth of a tree, the roots count as much as the top. Many events of the

first importance originated in that period (1607-1776): (1) the English-speaking race got firm possession of the Atlantic coast and extended their territory as far west as the Mississippi; then, too, emigration began to the country beyond the Alleghenies; (2) then many local customs, laws, and institutions were established which must continue to have great influence on the welfare of the whole country; (3) the leading industries of America to-day were planted by the early settlers and their descendants; (4) they, too, first enunciated the great principle of complete religious toleration; they laid the foundation of our oldest colleges and of the public-school system of the United States; and they established the liberty of the press; (5) in that period, too, the conception of national independence was born and a committee was chosen to frame the first constitution of the republic; (6) as a rule, it was a period in which, as has been said (§ 182), the aristocratic principle was recognized in society, in religion, in law, in the limitations of suffrage, and in the form of government; but it must not be forgotten that underneath there was a slow but certain movement toward democracy; (7) finally, it was in that period that slavery gained firm root in the southern half of the republic and sowed the seeds of that gigantic war which, in the end, not only gave the country a "new birth of freedom" but led to the reconstruction of the Union on a basis far more solid and sure than that on which it rested before.

IV

THE REVOLUTION,¹ THE CONSTITUTION²

(1763-1789)

For authorities for this chapter, see footnotes and the classified list of books in the Appendix, page xxiv

185. The accession and policy of George III. The accession of George III (1760) produced a great change in political affairs both in England and in the colonies. The new sovereign was well-meaning, patriotic, and conscientious, but narrow-minded, obstinate, and subject to attacks of mental derangement. When he came to the throne he found the government in the hands of a few great Whig families. George was determined to be king in fact as well as in name. He resolved to break down the power of the old Whig party, to raise up a body of men in Parliament, who as the "king's friends" would vote as he should direct, and

¹ On the Revolution, see Winsor's *America*, VI, ch. i, et seq.; Hart's *Formation of the Union*, ch. iii, iv; Sloane's *The French War and the Revolution*, ch. x-xxx; *Summary of Grievances in the Declaration of Independence*, Trevelyan's *American Revolution*; Johns Hopkins University Studies, X, No. xi; Franklin's *Causes of American Discontent*; Bancroft's *United States*; Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries*, II, Nos. 130-220; Hildreth's *United States*, III-IV; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*; Lecky's *American Revolution* (Woodburn); Fiske's *American Revolution*; May's *Constitutional History of England*, ch. i, xvii; Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., and *Select Documents*.

² On the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution, see Winsor's *America*, VII, ch. iii-iv; Schouler's *United States*, I, ch. i-ii; McMaster's *United States*, I, 436-502; Hart's *Formation of the Union*, ch. v-vi; Walker's *Making of the Nation*, ch. i-iv; Elliot's *Debates on the Constitution*, I, 120-338; *The Federalist*; Gordy's *Political Parties in the United States*, I, ch. i-vii; Woodburn's *Political Parties*, ch. i; Thorpe's *Constitutional History of the American People*, I, ch. ii-iv; Von Holst's *Constitutional History of the United States*, I, ch. i, ii; Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries*, III, Nos. 37-41 and 54-75; Fiske's *Critical Period of American History*.

he also resolved to make his own arbitrary will supreme not only at home but throughout British America.

That determination was vigorously resisted on both sides of the Atlantic. The struggle which ended triumphantly for the American patriots was in truth part of the same revolution which was fought in England by other patriots in the halls of Parliament. In spirit Pitt, Burke, and Fox were the allies of Franklin, Adams, and Washington.

186. The chief cause of the American Revolution ; protest of the colonies against direct taxation. We have seen (§§ 70, 102, 127, 177, 179, 183) that many causes contributed to bring on the American Revolution ; the restrictions on trade and manufactures (§§ 102, 177) were very prominent among these, but the immediate cause was the king's determination to impose a tax on the colonists without their consent. The declared object of that tax was to aid in maintaining a force of ten thousand British troops in America for the purpose of preventing an insurrection of the conquered Canadian French, and to protect the colonists against the western Indians. But the colonists replied that they did not stand in need of this protection, since they were now strong enough to defend themselves.

Lord Grenville, the king's prime minister, held that the colonies were simply places of trade established for the benefit of Great Britain. Adam Smith, in the first edition of his celebrated work on political economy (1776), denounced this narrow view as "fit only for a nation of shopkeepers." The colonists themselves generally made a distinction between external and internal taxation. They admitted the right of Great Britain to impose duties on their imports and to restrict their commerce and their manufactures ; but at the same time they positively denied the right of the home government to demand money from them without their consent.

As early as 1624 the Virginia Assembly declared : "The governor shall not lay any taxes . . . upon the colony . . . otherwise than by the authority of the General Assembly."¹ This,

¹ See Hening's Statutes of Virginia, I, 124.

too, was the attitude of Massachusetts (1646) and of Plymouth Colony (1671).¹

It is true that the charter of Pennsylvania (1681) affirmed that Parliament might levy taxes on the people of that colony (§ 139); but Parliament never had attempted it, and the feeling was that no such exercise of power would ever be made.

In the reign of Queen Anne the New York Assembly (1710) took the same decided stand that Virginia had taken in the previous century. It voted that "the levying of any moneys upon her majesty's subjects of this colony, . . . without consent in General Assembly, is a grievance and a violation of the people's property."² This utterance of New York represented the general spirit of the American people when George III came to the throne (1760).

187. Loyalty of the colonies; Writs of Assistance; the "Parsons' Case"; the Sugar Act. Yet the loyalty of the colonies was unquestionable (§ 183). Even Samuel Adams, that fiery apostle of independence, declared as late as 1768 that nothing but unkind usage could sever the ties which bound America to England.

The first decided symptom of a change of feeling occurred in 1761. That year the king empowered the customhouse officers of Boston and of other American ports to make use of Writs of Assistance,³ or general warrants, in searching for smuggled goods. A few years later, such writs were decided to be unconstitutional in England. As if in anticipation of that decision, James Otis (1761) protested against their use in the colonies. In the course of his flaming speech Otis vehemently denounced "the tyranny of taxation without representation." Nevertheless the writs continued in use here to some extent, and they were later legalized (1767) by the Townshend Revenue Act (§ 191).

The next year (1762) Patrick Henry, in his celebrated speech in the "Parsons' Case," boldly denied the right of the king to

¹ See Bancroft's *United States*, I, 308; *Plymouth Laws* (1671).

² See Fisher's *Colonial Era*, 247.

³ See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 53.

set aside a law passed by the Virginia Assembly for the general good. These ringing utterances of Otis in the North and of Henry in the South showed that both sections of the country were equally determined to stand up for their rights.

In 1764 Parliament passed the Sugar Act (§ 177) and the crown appointed officers to enforce it. This roused a vigorous resistance in New England, which carried on a large trade with the French and Spanish West Indies.

188. The Stamp Act proposed ; effect on the colonies ; the act passes (1765). Meanwhile Lord Grenville, the king's prime minister, was maturing a scheme for compelling the colonies to help bear the burden of maintaining a standing army of British soldiers in America. His plan was to impose a stamp tax similar to one which had been imposed in England. He assumed that Parliament, as the national council, really represented all sections of the British Empire, and therefore that it could rightfully levy such a tax on the colonies.

Under this proposed act, stamps varying in value from a half-penny to ten pounds were to be affixed or impressed on all deeds, wills, policies of insurance, clearance papers for ships, on many other legal and business papers, and on periodical publications and advertisements. Such a law would execute itself. It would make it impossible for the colonists to export produce, transfer property, collect debts through the courts, or even purchase a newspaper or an almanac without paying this tax, and paying it in specie, when specie was often very hard to get (§ 177).

In a conversation with Franklin and other colonial agents then in London, Grenville said that he could think of no better way of raising the money needed by the British government. "If," said he, "you can tell of a better, I will adopt it." Franklin suggested that it might be well to ask the colonies to raise the sum needed, but admitted that he thought it very doubtful whether the colonial assemblies would agree as to what proportion each should contribute.

The TIMES :
 Dreadful.
 Dismal
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 DOLLAR-LESS

Thursday, October 31, 1763

THE

NUMB. 1195.

PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL; AND WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Resurrection to LIFE again.

I bear the Burthen,
 to stop a while, in
 their any Methods of
 Chains forged for
 portable Slavery;
 the last Representatives
 that A.G. may be
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being, (the *fatal* *to* *mar.*
 now) the Publisher of this Paper unable to

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 RADFORD.

HEAD OF PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE ON STAMP ACT

Adieu to the LIBERTY of the PRESS

Grenville gave the colonies a year to consider the matter; then he called on Parliament to act. Burke raised his voice against the measure. He did not question the right of the proposed action, but he did question its expediency. He said that it began to look as though the British government regarded the colonists as pack horses made to bear the burden first of unlimited commercial monopoly and next of unlimited taxation. Pitt went further; he boldly denied the right of Parliament to pass the proposed law, and declared later that it was a scheme to take the colonists' "money out of their pockets without their consent."

The news of the proposed law roused the Americans to fierce indignation. Otis denounced it at a Boston town meeting, and the Assembly of New York protested that if taxes should be wrung from them against their will, "life itself would become intolerable." But despite all efforts the measure passed in 1765.

189. Patrick Henry's resolutions; the Stamp-Act Congress. Virginia was the first to resent the action of Parliament. Patrick Henry introduced (1765) a series of remarkable resolutions in the Assembly, in which he declared that no power outside the people of the colony had any right to impose taxes on them. The Assembly adopted and recorded the greater part of these resolutions.¹

Before the news of Virginia's defiant action reached the North, Massachusetts proposed a Stamp-Act Congress. In October (1765) delegates from nine colonies met in New York. The Congress drew up a Declaration of Rights.² That declaration showed how fast public opinion was moving. It did not demand representation in Parliament, as Otis seems to have done; on the contrary, it affirmed "that the people of these colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in the House of Commons in Great Britain, . . . and that no taxes ever have been, or ever can be, constitutionally imposed on them except by their respective legislatures."

¹ See Tyler's *Patrick Henry*, 62.

² See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 59.

190. The boycott ; the Sons of Liberty ; Pitt ; repeal of the act. The leading merchants of the country proceeded to boycott Great Britain by pledging themselves to stop importing English goods until the obnoxious act should be repealed. The Sons of Liberty in New York and elsewhere took decided action. They seized stocks of stamps and burned them, destroyed stamp offices, and forced stamp officers to resign.

When the news of the reception of the Stamp Act reached England, Pitt rose from his sick bed to defend the colonists in Parliament (§ 188). "I rejoice," said he, "that America has resisted."¹

Lord Grenville, the prime minister, replied to Pitt and so did Lord Mansfield.² Both contended that Parliament had the constitutional power to tax the colonies, which, they insisted, were to all intents and purposes represented by the House of Commons, because that House, they said, acted in the interests of every portion of the British Empire. But Grenville had reluctantly come to the conclusion that it would be inexpedient to attempt to force the people to purchase the hated stamps, and the British merchants and manufacturers, fearing that they would lose the American market for their goods, besought Parliament to repeal the act. This was done (1766) amid great rejoicings in London. But in spite of Pitt's vehement protest the "king's friends" (§ 185) accompanied the repeal by the passage of a Declaratory Act,³ which expressly affirmed the right of Parliament "to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." In America the exultation of the people over their apparent victory prevented their heeding the ominous words of this declaration.

191. The Townshend Revenue Act. The next year (1767) Parliament passed the Townshend revenue act⁴ to pay the salaries of the king's governors and judges in the colonies. It imposed a duty on American imports of paints, paper, glass, and tea, and legalized Writs of Assistance (§ 187).

¹ See C. K. Adams' Representative British Orations, I, 98, 110.

² Ibid., 105, 150.

³ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 60.

⁴ Ibid., No. 63.

The colonists generally, except Otis, had conceded the right of the English government to impose such duties, but now John Dickinson of Pennsylvania rose to remonstrate. He attacked the Townshend Act in a masterful series of twelve papers entitled "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania." At the same time the Massachusetts Assembly, pushed on by Samuel Adams and by Otis, sent a circular letter,¹ drafted by Adams, to the other colonies, urging them to employ all lawful means to resist the collection of the proposed duties. In retaliation the English authorities took steps (1769) to have Americans who should forcibly resist acts of Parliament carried to England for trial.²

Under the lead of George Washington the planters of Virginia resolved to refuse to import goods from Great Britain until the Townshend Revenue Act should be repealed. The merchants of New York, Boston, and other cities took similar action. The result was that all of the Townshend Revenue Act was repealed (1770), except the clause levying a trifling duty on tea.

192. The Boston Massacre ; Governor Tryon ; the destruction of the "Gaspee." In 1766 British troops had been sent to New York, but the Assembly refused to obey the English Quartering Act,³ which required that the troops should be provided for in large measure at public expense. Parliament punished the refusal by suspending the Assembly,⁴ and that body remained dissolved until a newly elected house complied (1769) with England's demands. Meanwhile several regiments of British troops had arrived (1768) in Boston. In spite of the protests of the citizens, this standing army was quartered in the town itself. The people believed that the presence of such a force was an open violation of their constitutional rights as English subjects. The excited state of feeling then existing made collisions between the troops and the citizens inevitable. A mob assailed (1770) a squad of soldiers in the streets, pelted them with chunks of

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 65.

³ Ibid., No. 58.

² See Virginia's Protest, Macdonald's Select Charters, No. 66. ⁴ Ibid., No. 61.

ice and other missiles, and dared the "lobster backs" to fire. Finally, either in retaliation or in self-defense, the redcoats did fire, killing and wounding several persons. The soldiers were tried for manslaughter; all of them were acquitted except two, who were branded on the hand and then liberated. To prevent further trouble, the British commander ordered the troops to be removed from the town to an island in the harbor.

The next year (1771) the exactions of Governor Tryon of North Carolina provoked an insurrection. The battle of Alamance followed (§ 137), and the governor hanged a number of prisoners of war that he had captured. These men had taken up arms to resist unjust taxation, and their memories were cherished as those of martyrs to liberty.

The following year (1772) the British revenue cutter *Gaspee*, while chasing a Providence vessel, ran ashore on the coast of Rhode Island. The commander of the *Gaspee*, in his search for smugglers, had shown a zeal which "outran both discretion and law." The Rhode Islanders now revenged themselves for his acts of violence by burning the cutter. The British government ordered the chief justice of the colony to send the offenders to England for trial (§ 195), but he refused to obey.

193. Committees of Correspondence formed. In order to render the governors and judges of the royal colonies independent of the popular will and dependent on the crown, the king now resolved to pay those officers (at least in Massachusetts) out of the English treasury.

Samuel Adams took alarm at this act, which he believed tended to convert the government of the province into a "despotism." At a town meeting held in Faneuil Hall (1772) he moved the appointment of a "Committee of Correspondence" to state "the rights of the colonists" "to the several towns and to the world." The motion passed; the statement was sent forth, and soon every town in Massachusetts had appointed a similar committee. In future it would make little real difference whether the governor permitted the colonial Assembly to meet or not, since the

Committees of Correspondence would always be vigilant in the interests of liberty.

But the influence of these organizations was not confined to Massachusetts, for the next spring (1773) Dabney Carr, Patrick Henry, and other leading men in Virginia established the "Intercolonial Committee of Correspondence." That organization "laid the foundation of the Union."

194. Attempt to enforce the tea tax; the Boston "Tea Party." Meanwhile the British East India Company, unable to find a market for its teas, begged Parliament to permit them to make exports free of duty to America, where tea had long been smuggled from Holland. The king refused; he said, "There must always be one tax to keep up the right, and as such I approve of the tea duty."

The actual duty on the tea (§ 191) was trifling, — only three-pence a pound. But the Americans regarded the measure as a cunning device for establishing a precedent whereby money could be extorted from them for the support of a standing army in the colonies. They therefore resolved not to purchase a pound of the taxed tea. The citizens of Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Charleston took measures to prevent the landing or sale of the "pernicious herb."

The first tea ships arrived at Boston in the autumn of 1773. The people assembled in town meeting and urged Governor Hutchinson to order the immediate return of the ships with their cargoes. The governor, as an officer of the crown, refused to take such action.

A mass meeting was held in the Old South Meeting-house to consider what final decision should be taken. In the evening a message was received from the governor declining to permit any of the tea ships to go back until they were unloaded. Samuel Adams then rose and said, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." His words served as a signal for immediate action. A war whoop was heard, and a party of citizens disguised as Indians and armed with hatchets rushed down to

the wharf, boarded the ships, and breaking open the chests of tea emptied their contents into the harbor. The next morning a shining bank of tea leaves cast up by the tide on the south shore showed how thoroughly the "Mohawks" had done their work.

195. The "four intolerable acts." The news of the destruction of the tea created a profound sensation in England. The king and Parliament both resolved on inflicting summary punishment on the rebellious city. Four penal acts were now passed (1774) in rapid succession. First, the Boston Port Act¹ removed the seat of government to Salem and closed the chief port of Massachusetts to all commerce until the citizens should pay for the tea and declare themselves entirely submissive to the king.

Secondly, the Regulating Act² altered the charter of Massachusetts so as to deprive the people of a large measure of their political rights. It also prohibited the citizens from holding town meetings for the discussion of public affairs.

Thirdly, the Administration of Justice Act³ provided that all persons who should be accused of committing murder in maintenance of the cause of king and Parliament (as in the case of the British soldiers in the "Boston Massacre") should be tried "in some other of his majesty's colonies or in Great Britain" (where, of course, every influence would operate in favor of their acquittal). Furthermore, provision was made for a more stringent enforcement of the obnoxious Quartering Act (§ 192).

Fourthly, the Quebec Act⁴ extended the boundaries of the Canadian province of Quebec so as to embrace the territory northwest of the Ohio (excepting only such portion as the colonies could prove they held under royal grants), and virtually established the Roman Catholic Church in that vast province. The debates in Parliament show that the object of this act was to secure the allegiance of the French Catholics in Canada in the approaching war and to exclude the offending English colonists from making settlements in the West.

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 68. ² Ibid., No. 69.

⁴ See Hildreth's United States, III, 33.

³ Ibid., No. 70.

The king now temporarily removed Governor Hutchinson (May, 1774) and appointed General Gage, commander in chief of the British forces on the American continent, governor of Massachusetts.

196. Unity of the colonies; the First Continental Congress (1774). When the news of the passage of the Port Act reached Boston, Massachusetts sent an appeal for sympathy and help to all of her sister colonies. Paul Revere, mounted on a swift horse, started to carry this appeal to New York, but before he arrived there a committee of the Sons of Liberty, composed mainly of the mechanics and workingmen of that city, had recommended the calling of a general or continental congress. South Carolina expressed the feeling of the patriots of all the colonies when she said, "The whole country must be animated with one great soul, and all Americans must resolve to stand by one another, even unto death."

The first American or Continental Congress met in the Carpenters' Hall at Philadelphia in the autumn of 1774. It was composed of fifty-five delegates, representing all the colonies except Georgia, where the Tory governor contrived to block the way.

The Congress, while cheerfully acknowledging His Majesty George the Third to be their "rightful sovereign," adopted (October 14, 1774) a Declaration of Colonial Rights.¹ The declaration admitted the authority of Parliament to enact measures for the regulation of trade for the mutual advantage of the mother-country and of the colonies, but it affirmed (1) that inasmuch as the colonists could not "properly be represented in the British Parliament," therefore the colonial legislatures were entitled to make all local laws and levy all taxes; (2) that the colonists were entitled to the common law of England, and especially to the inestimable privilege of trial by jury, and that they had the right to hold public meetings for the consideration of grievances and to petition the king; (3) they protested against the keeping

¹ See Macdonald's *Select Charters*, etc., No. 72.

of a standing army in the colonies without their consent; (4) finally, they condemned eleven acts of Parliament, including the tax on tea and the "four intolerable acts" (§ 195), and declared that Americans would never submit to them.

Congress, in its "olive-branch petition,"¹ humbly besought the king "as the loving father" of his "whole people" to relieve their wrongs. But before sending that petition Congress signed the articles of an "American Association."² Those articles pledged the colonies they represented not to import or consume British goods, and not to export any merchandise or products of the colonies to Great Britain unless their wrongs should be redressed.

In the action of the American people thus far we may trace three progressive steps: (1) Otis' claim (1761),—no direct taxation without representation in Parliament (§ 187); (2) Declaration of the Stamp-Act Congress (1765),—no direct taxation except by the colonial assemblies (§ 189); (3) Declaration of the First Continental Congress (1774),—no legislation whatever (save in regard to trade and commerce for mutual advantage) except by the colonial assemblies.

197. Parliament retaliates; action of Massachusetts; General Gage's expedition. When Parliament met (1775), Pitt, now Lord Chatham, besought that body to repeal the "four intolerable acts." He said, "You will repeal them, I stake my reputation on it, that you will in the end repeal them."³ He was right; but the repeal came too late. Burke made his famous speech urging conciliation,⁴ and Lord North, then prime minister, offered a resolution⁵ to that effect, but falling far short of Burke's demands, which Parliament adopted. Congress declared⁶ Lord North's offer "unreasonable," because it did not renounce "the pretended right to tax us," but simply changed the mode of taxation. On the other hand, in retaliation for the adoption by Congress of the articles of the "American Association" (§ 196), Parliament

¹ See Bancroft's *United States*, IV, 76.

⁴ Adams' *British Orations*, I, 182.

⁶ See Macdonald's *Select Charters, etc.*, No. 74.

² *Ibid.*, No. 73.

³ *Ibid.*, IV., 103.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 78.

had already passed a bill¹ which cut off the colonies, that had agreed to the articles, from foreign trade, and prohibited them from taking any part in the fisheries of Newfoundland. Thus at one blow the chief industry of New England and the most important commerce not only of New England but of the other offending colonies were paralyzed.

Later (1775), Parliament enacted a law prohibiting all trade and intercourse with America.²

While the First Continental Congress was sitting, Governor Gage suspended the Assembly of Massachusetts. That body at once resolved itself into a Provincial Congress, adjourned to Concord (1774), and there organized, choosing John Hancock for president. This Provincial Congress appointed a Committee of Safety to provide for the defense of the colony. It furthermore authorized the enrollment of 12,000 minutemen, who were to hold themselves ready to meet any emergency. The other colonies organized similar provincial congresses or conventions, and prepared to maintain their rights by force of arms if necessary.

Patrick Henry urged the Virginia convention to prepare for the inevitable conflict: "We must fight!" said he; "I repeat it, sir, we must fight!" Virginia heeded the advice, and at once began to arm. General Gage attempted to seize some cannon at Salem, but failed. Hearing that the Massachusetts Committee of Safety had collected cannon and military stores at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston, he sent out a secret expedition of eight hundred troops to destroy them. The commander was ordered to stop at Lexington on his way to Concord and seize those "arch-rebels," Samuel Adams and John Hancock, who were suspected of being in the village, — as in fact they were.

198. British expedition to Lexington and Concord; beginning of the siege of Boston. Paul Revere, mounting a fleet horse, rode to Lexington in advance of the British, rousing the country as he passed with his midnight cry, "The regulars are coming!" Adams and Hancock, warned in time, escaped across the fields.

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 75.

² Ibid., No. 80.

Captain John Parker of Lexington had gathered a company of sixty or seventy men on the village green to meet the British. "Don't fire first," said he, "but if they want war let it begin here."

Just before daybreak (April 19, 1775) the regulars appeared. "Disperse, ye rebels!" shouted Pitcairn, the British commander. The Americans did not move; they were "too few to resist, too brave to fly." "Fire!" cried Pitcairn. Seven patriots fell. Then Parker ordered his men to leave the field; as they did so they fired a few scattering shots at the enemy.

Proceeding to Concord the regulars destroyed such military stores as they could find. At Concord bridge the patriots met the British; a fight ensued and several fell on each side. It was the opening battle of the Revolution.

Then the British began the return march to Boston; the enraged farmers pursued them, firing from behind every bush, fence, and tree. An English officer says that the British fled before the Americans like sheep.

At Lexington the flying regulars were reënforced by a thousand fresh troops sent out by Gage. By the time they reached Charlestown they had lost nearly three hundred of their number.

All the following night minutemen were pouring into Cambridge. Every New England colony speedily began to raise and send men under such leaders as Putnam, Stark, Arnold, and Greene; in all, an army of about sixteen thousand was gathered. They surrounded Boston on the land side, and General Gage, with his force of less than four thousand troops, found himself effectually "bottled up."

199. Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; meeting of the Second Continental Congress (1775). In order to get a supply of

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arms and powder an expedition was sent to capture Fort Ticonderoga, which controlled the waterway between New York and Canada. This expedition, led by Ethan Allen, was made up of "Green Mountain Boys" with some volunteers from Connecticut and western Massachusetts.

At sunrise (May 10, 1775) Allen surprised the sentinel at one of the gates of the fort and rushed in just as the commander was getting out of bed. He ordered the astonished officer to surrender "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." The exultant patriots captured a large number of cannon and small arms and a quantity of ammunition. The next day Seth Warner of Bennington, who had accompanied Allen, took the British works at Crown Point.

A few hours after we had obtained possession of Ticonderoga, the Continental Congress — John Hancock, president — met (May 10, 1775) in the old statehouse at Philadelphia. This second Congress remained, in name at least, in perpetual session until it was succeeded by the Congress of the Confederation nearly six years later (March, 1781).

200. Gage's proclamation; Washington made commander in chief. Gage was now (May 25, 1775) reënforced by troops brought to Boston by Generals Burgoyne, Clinton, and Howe. With ten thousand regulars under his command, he felt himself able to take a more decided stand. He issued a proclamation (June 12, 1775) threatening to hang as rebels and traitors all who continued to resist His Majesty's government. He closed by offering pardon to those who should forthwith "lay down their arms . . . excepting only . . . Samuel Adams and John Hancock."

A few days later (June 15, 1775), Congress chose George Washington to be commander in chief of "all the Continental forces raised, or to be raised, for the defense of American liberty." History attests the wisdom of that choice: "No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life."

201. The opposing armies in the Revolution. According to the official report of General Knox, the whole number of men in the

Continental army during the eight years of the war (1775-1783) was about 252,000, and the whole number of militia about 192,000. This would make the total enlistments for the war nearly 444,000, drawn from a white population which in 1775 did not exceed 2,500,000. ⁷⁰⁹

The average yearly strength of the Continental army was 31,500 men, but oftentimes this strength was on paper only, and the actual number present for duty was frequently not more than about 15,000, while shortly after Washington's retreat across the Delaware his force shrank to less than 3000. The militia force was subject to great and sudden fluctuations, which make trustworthy estimates well-nigh impossible.

The enlistments in the Continental army were for terms often not exceeding a few months, and seldom, if ever, for more than three years. Congress, owing to its own mismanagement, found it impossible to get recruits for the entire war. The difficulty of feeding, clothing, arming, and paying the men greatly aggravated this evil. Furthermore, sickness thinned the ranks, and in the "dark days of the Revolution" hardships and privations drove so many to leave the army that Washington wrote (June, 1777), "Our numbers diminish more by desertion than they increase by enlistments." But if in the long contest many fainted and fell by the wayside, others fought nobly to the end, and in hunger, cold, poverty, and the pangs of death proved themselves unflinchingly true to their country, their leader, and their flag.

A large number of European officers offered their services to Congress. Out of twenty-nine major generals in the Revolutionary army more than one third were foreigners. A good many of these men did excellent service, but there were some "black sheep" among them, like Conway and Charles Lee.

The most noted engineer among the first foreign volunteers was Kosciusko, a Polish military officer (1776). He planned the greater part of the fortifications at West Point. Duportail, who came later (1777), constructed the siege works at Yorktown. Count Pulaski, a countryman of Kosciusko's, fought bravely under

Washington and gave his life for the republic at the siege of Savannah (1779).

The two best known foreign officers in the American army were Lafayette and Steuben. Lafayette, accompanied by De Kalb, came (1777) when he was but nineteen. He not only served without pay, but spent large sums of his own money in clothing and providing for the men who fought under him. Baron Steuben was noted as a military organizer and disciplinarian. He drilled the half-fed, half-clothed patriots of the Continental army with German thoroughness until they fought with the coolness and efficiency of European veterans.

The total number of the British army cannot be very accurately determined, but it probably seldom exceeded thirty-five thousand men. Less than half of them were English subjects. The war in the outset was unpopular in England, and George III was reduced "to the military necessity" of hiring troops from the Prince of Hesse-Cassel and other petty German states. These "Hessians," as they were called, had no choice; they were forced to go to America to shoot and to be shot at simply because their masters at home got so much a head for them.

202. The American navy and privateers. Before the close of 1776 Congress had launched a navy of thirteen small but effective vessels, which were under the command of "Admiral" Esek Hopkins of Rhode Island. This little navy did excellent service and captured a large number of English merchantmen, thereby obtaining much-needed military supplies for the army. But in two years eight of our men of war had been taken by the enemy, and by 1781 all of the remaining vessels had been captured or destroyed.

Congress had authorized privateering, and the Atlantic soon swarmed with small vessels fitted out in New England and the middle states. The number of Americans engaged in this warfare on the sea probably outnumbered the entire Continental army. In the course of a single year (1776) they took nearly three hundred and fifty vessels, worth, with their cargoes, at least

\$5,000,000, and a complete record of prizes captured would show a total amounting in value to many millions more.

203. The Loyalists or Tories.¹ Before the outbreak of the Revolution all or very nearly all of the colonists were loyal to the king. The agitation of the Stamp Act caused a certain amount of division, but even those who were most determined in their resistance to that act did not think for a moment of renouncing their allegiance to the crown.

Later, after many of the colonists had decided to take up arms in defense of their rights, they still proclaimed themselves subjects of the king; but after independence was declared, a sharp and decided separation necessarily took place between the patriots or Whigs, who supported that declaration, and the Loyalists or Tories, who opposed it.

It is impossible to say with accuracy what proportion of the people ranged themselves openly or secretly on the Tory side. The Loyalists themselves claimed that they were in the majority and that the war was carried through by a small but energetic minority who had got the control. John Adams believed that at least one third of the population of the colonies were Tories.

A considerable percentage of them were men of property and high social standing. Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts was a good representative of this class. These men were thoroughly patriotic, but they clung to union with the mother-country, while the patriotism of the Whigs centered in the American Republic. One class was as sincere, as earnest, and as self-sacrificing as the other.

The largest number of Tories was to be found perhaps in the colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Virginia and New England were the strongholds of the Whigs.

In the Carolinas the parties were so evenly divided that it gave the Revolution there many of the most cruel characteristics of a civil war, in which each party bent all its energies to the destruction of the other. In Georgia the Tories were so strong that

¹ See Winsor's *America*, VII, 185; *American Historical Review*, I, 24.

they were planning to detach that colony from the general movement of the Revolution, and might perhaps have succeeded if Cornwallis had not been defeated at Yorktown.

At the North the Loyalists were often very roughly handled by excited Sons of Liberty, who thought that tar and feathers fitted them better than anything else. The state authorities (1776) banished the more obstinate Tories and confiscated their property, in some cases threatening them with imprisonment or death if they returned. Several thousand of the extreme Tories enlisted on the British side. With their Indian allies they ravaged parts of New York and Pennsylvania.

Eventually great numbers of Loyalists, probably more than a hundred thousand in all, were forced to leave the United States. Those going from the North generally took refuge in Nova Scotia and Canada, while those who left the southern states settled in the Bahamas and West Indies. In many cases they left valuable estates; men of wealth and high social standing fled with their families with nothing to depend upon but British army rations and the hope of receiving aid from the king or Parliament. After the war was over Parliament voted them an indemnity of several millions of pounds, and tried, but without success, to induce the United States to restore their confiscated estates.

204. Finances of the Revolution. The total amount of hard money in the colonies at the beginning of the Revolution has been roughly estimated at \$6,000,000. The average annual expenses of the war were about \$20,000,000; hence the specie on hand, could the whole of it have been used, would not have met the demands for more than a few months.

The country looked to Congress for help; but Congress had neither money nor credit—for what foreign government or foreign capitalist would loan anything to thirteen rebellious states? Congress might indeed have levied a tax on the colonies, but did not dare take that step for fear of insurrection. In this dilemma it determined to call the printing press to its aid and strike off a few millions of paper money.

It began (1775) with a modest issue of \$2,000,000; this was quickly used up and the cry came for more. More followed, until finally the bills known as "Continental currency" were issued by the wagonload. Long before the close of the war the total amount so issued had reached over \$240,000,000. There it stopped, for the single reason that Congress found it was useless to print any more worthless promises to pay.¹

By the beginning of 1777 many people refused to take the Continental currency on a par with silver. Congress resolved that they should take it, and declared all who declined to do so "enemies" of the United States. The result was that merchants who refused to sell their goods for paper money sometimes had part of their stock seized or their shops shut up. A still more heroic method of treatment was adopted when Congress empowered Washington to arrest and imprison those business men who were regarded as foes to our public credit.

Congress next tried the experiment of endeavoring to fix the prices at which all provisions must be sold, and also to decide what wages in Continental money should be paid for a day's work. This proved a failure, and so did the scheme of calling on the states for "requisitions," or money to carry on the war. Finally, in order to get food for the army, Washington was authorized to seize supplies of beef, pork, flour, and other necessities, and to give the owners a receipt of seizure, which would be a claim for payment. This plan created so much friction that it had to be given up like the others.

Fortunately, Burgoyne's surrender gave us a certain standing in Europe, and we obtained loans and gifts, chiefly from France, amounting in the aggregate to about \$12,000,000. Then again our little navy and our numerous privateers captured some large supplies of military clothing and arms from English transports. The French army and navy stationed at Newport paid for all the supplies they purchased here in hard money; this made it possible for Robert Morris to borrow specie in aid of our army.

¹ See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 34-48.

By the spring of 1780 a government paper dollar would pass for only two or three cents. Creditors fled when they saw debtors coming prepared to pay up old scores with bundles of Continental bills, and even Washington, who made it a duty to cheerfully take the paper money for debts contracted during the period of depression, wrote that he would not take the stuff in settlement of contracts made before the war.

A little later, the bills ceased to circulate at all. Henceforward no one would touch them, and when a man wished to express his utter contempt for a thing, he said emphatically, "It's not worth a Continental!"

205. The battle of Bunker Hill (1775). While Congress was engaged in preparing for war, General Gage resolved to seize the heights of Bunker Hill, in Charlestown, overlooking Boston.

But before Gage got ready to move, Colonel William Prescott, with a force of about 1200 men, later increased to 1500, was on his way to the hill. The Americans worked all night, and when the sun rose on the seventeenth of June (1775), Gage was astonished to see Colonel Prescott leisurely walking on the bank of earth which his men had thrown up on the crest of the hill.

"Will he fight?" asked Gage of a man who knew Prescott well. "He will fight," was the answer, "as long as a drop of blood remains in his veins." "Then," said the British commander, "the works must be carried."

In the afternoon Howe, with about 3000 veteran troops, led the attack. The day was intensely hot, and the British had to charge up a steep slope covered with tall grass and divided into fields by stone walls and fences.

Powder was scarce with the Americans and their officers ordered them not to waste it. "Don't one of you fire," said Putnam, "until you see the white of their eyes." The men obeyed orders, and when they did fire it was with terrible effect. The British fell back, rallied, made a second attack, and were again repulsed.

After a long delay Howe made a third assault up the fatal hill. This time he succeeded. Firing their last round of ammunition, but still fighting desperately with the butt ends of their muskets, Prescott's little army slowly retreated.

They were driven from their works, not because they had been defeated, but because they no longer had powder and ball to keep up the battle. It was a costly success for the British, since in an hour and a half they had lost more than a thousand men; our loss was likewise very heavy, and among those who fell was the lamented Warren.

The king, disappointed with Gage's management of the war, recalled him and made General Howe (§ 200) commander in chief of the British forces in America. Howe was a brave officer, but he was half-hearted in the contest. He hoped to negotiate a peace and reunite the mother-country and the colonies more firmly than ever.

206. Washington takes command of the Continental army; action of Congress; expedition against Canada. Washington reached Cambridge early in July (1775), and at once took command of the Continental army. On New Year's Day (1776) he raised the flag of the united British American colonies; — it consisted of the British flag with thirteen stripes added, one for each colony.

In the meantime Congress brought forth a Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of taking up Arms¹ (July 6, 1775), but expressly added, "We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent states." Two days later, Congress sent a petition to the king² beseeching him for relief and wishing him a long and prosperous reign. His only reply was a proclamation³ declaring the colonies in a state of open rebellion.

While in camp at Cambridge Washington learned that Carleton, the commander of the British force in Canada, was planning a descent into New York, where he hoped to get the help of the Tories or Loyalists (§ 203) and of the Six Nations (§ 136).

¹ See Macdonald's Select Charters, etc., No. 76. ² Ibid., No. 77. ³ Ibid., No. 79.

To offset that movement General Schuyler, aided by General Montgomery, was ordered to make an attack on Montreal. The expedition started in the autumn (1775) from Fort Ticonderoga, but Schuyler fell sick and the command devolved on Montgomery. He descended Lake Champlain, took Fort Chambly, St. John, and Montreal. He also captured a large quantity of ammunition, part of which he sent to Cambridge, much to the delight of Israel Putnam, whose constant cry had been, "Ye gods, give us powder!"

Benedict Arnold had been sent (1775) with a small force from Massachusetts to cross the pathless wilderness of Maine to join Montgomery and make a combined attack on Quebec. Before Arnold reached Canada he had lost more than a third of his men from sickness, exhaustion, and desertion. At length, after eight weeks of hardship and suffering, the brave commander with his sadly diminished little army came in sight of Quebec. There was snow on the ground and the weather was bitterly cold. His men were half-naked, starving, and barefooted, for their clothes had been torn off by the thorn bushes, and in the agonies of hunger they had devoured even their moccasins.

On the last day of 1775 Montgomery and Arnold attempted with their feeble forces to storm "the strongest city in America." Montgomery was killed at the head of his troops and Arnold was severely wounded; but unfortunately for himself and for his country, his wound did not prove fatal; had it done so his memory would have been revered as that of a valiant soldier and true patriot. The assault on Quebec proved a failure. In the following summer our men were driven out of Canada and forced to retreat to Crown Point on Lake Champlain.

207. Washington drives the British out of Boston (1776); attack on the Carolinas. General Knox had dragged, by the aid of ox teams and sleds, more than forty cannon all the way from the captured fort at Ticonderoga (§ 199) to Cambridge. Now that Washington had both powder and heavy guns, he was determined to force Howe to give up Boston or fight.

Early in March (1776) the American commander, by a sudden night movement, seized Dorchester Heights (now South Boston), overlooking Boston on the south. Rufus Putnam erected the works and got the cannon in position. Washington now held both the British army and the British fleet at his mercy. As Howe did not care "to pay a Bunker Hill price" for Dorchester Heights, he decided to give up the town. On March 17 (1776) the British sailed for Halifax, taking with them more than a thousand Tories (§ 203).

Washington entered Boston on the following day. The enemy had left it never to return. Believing that Howe would endeavor to strike his next blow at New York, Washington now prepared to transfer the Continental army to that point.

But before Howe evacuated Boston he sent General Clinton (§ 200) by sea to make an attack on North Carolina. There Sir Peter Parker, with a fleet from Great Britain, bringing a land force under Lord Cornwallis, was to join him. Clinton expected that the Tories of North Carolina (§ 203) would aid him in conquering the colony; but the North Carolina patriots rose, and attacking the Loyalists at Moore's Creek (February 27, 1776) completely routed them.

This defeat of his Tory allies changed Clinton's plans, and Parker's fleet having arrived, he sailed south to attack Charleston. Charleston harbor was defended by a fort of palmetto logs on Sullivan's Island. Colonel Moultrie, with the help of such heroes as Sergeant Jasper, held the fort and defended it with such desperate courage that the British were forced to retire with heavy loss.

The patriots of Georgia—a colony where the Tories were numerous—were one in spirit with the patriots of the Carolinas. They said, "Britain may destroy our towns, but we can retire to the back country and tire her out."

208. The war for colonial rights becomes a war for national independence; "Common Sense." Up to the beginning of 1776 the Americans had been fighting in defense of their rights as

Phila^d. July 5. 1775

Mr Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament,
and one of that Majority which has
doomed my Country to Destruction —
— You have begun to burn our Towns,
and murder our People. — Look upon
your Hands! — They are stained with the
Blood of ^{your} Relations! — You and I were
long Friends: — You are now my En-
emy, — and

I am,

Yours,
B Franklin

loyal subjects of George III. Their object was not to overthrow the legitimate authority of the king but simply, as Congress declared, to resist "the claim and exercise of unconstitutional powers to which neither the crown nor Parliament were ever entitled."

If they were rebels, then the leading members of Parliament—such men as Burke, Pitt, and Fox, who were battling for political reform in England—were also rebels. The main difference was that the Americans fought with guns because they had no parliamentary votes, while the Whigs in Parliament fought with votes because they had no need of guns.

But after the opening of 1776 there were unmistakable signs that men's minds were rapidly moving toward independence. The positive refusal of the king to grant any measure of redress gave great impetus to this movement.

Early in January (1776) Thomas Paine published his remarkable pamphlet entitled "Common Sense." "Nothing," said he, "can settle our affairs so expeditiously as an open and determined declaration for independence." These vigorous words gave expression to the thoughts of thousands. Edition after edition of the pamphlet was called for. It converted multitudes to the belief that the safety and welfare of America demanded a full and final separation from the mother-country.

A few months later, the news came that the king had resolved to hire a large body of German troops to help put down the American rebellion (§ 201). Then Congress resolved that "every kind of authority under the said crown should be totally suppressed."

209. The Declaration of Independence; Articles of Confederation. The climax was reached on June 7 (1776), when Richard Henry Lee of Virginia offered the following resolution in Congress: "Resolved, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, *free and independent* States." John Adams of Massachusetts seconded the resolution. This momentous measure was debated for two days. John Adams, Lee, and other

prominent men urged its immediate adoption ; John Dickinson, Edward Rutledge, and other members from six of the middle and southern colonies objected. They were stanch patriots, but they thought that the resolution was untimely and unwise. Jefferson says that the debate showed " that the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem," and that " it was thought most prudent to wait a while for them."

Meanwhile, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston were appointed a committee to draft a Declaration of Independence. A second committee, consisting of one from each colony except New Jersey, was chosen to report Articles of Confederation¹ for the government of the new republic.

On July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence² was agreed to, and was then signed by John Hancock, president of Congress. The members of Congress signed it on August 2. The Declaration not only marked the birth of the United States as a nation, but it made the natural rights of man its corner stone.

The Americans had not sought separation from the mother-country. George III and his " friends " (§ 185) forced them to take the decisive step. The Declaration stated the reasons for this action in an indictment of the king containing twenty-seven counts.³

Washington ordered the Declaration to be read to every brigade of the Continental army in and around New York City. That night the gilded lead statue of George III which stood on Bowling Green was pulled down to be run into bullets. Henceforth the Americans were determined to prosecute the war until Great Britain should acknowledge them a separate and independent people.

210. The British forces at New York ; offers of pardon ; battle of Long Island. When General Howe arrived with his army from

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 2.

² Ibid., No. 1.

³ See Declaration of Independence, Appendix, ii, iii.

And for the support of this declaration]
we mutually pledge to each other our
lives our fortunes, & our sacred honour.

John Penn John Hancock John Hart
Wm. Paine
Edw. M. Hooper Saml. Adams
Step. Hopkins Thos. Mifflin Geo. Clymer
Thos. Mifflin Charles Carroll of Carrolltown Bridge Gerry
Roger Sherman Saml. Huntington
Wm. Whipple Josiah Bartlett Benj. Franklin
Geo. Taylor Richd. Stockton
Wm. Williams John Morton
Oliver Wolcott Jas. Witherspoon Geo. Ross
Thos. Stone Samuel Chase Robt. B. Patterson
George Wythe Matthew Thornton
Gran. Lewis Thos. Jefferson Mary Harrison
Lewis Morris Abra. Clark Phil. Livingston
Arthur Middleton Jas. Hopkinson
Geo. Walton Cortney Braxton James Wilson
Richard Henry Lee Thos. Mifflin
Benjamin Rush John Adams Robt. Morris
Lyman Hall Joseph Hewes Button Gwinnett
Francis Lightfoot Lee
William Ellery Edward Rutledge Jas. Smith

Halifax (§ 207), he found Washington in possession of New York City and Brooklyn; he therefore encamped on Staten Island. General Howe's brother, Admiral Howe, arrived soon afterward with a fleet bringing heavy reënforcements. In accordance with instructions from the British government, the Howes issued a circular offering to receive the submission of all rebels who should throw themselves on the king's mercy. This second attempt at conciliation on the part of Great Britain failed as completely as Lord North's had done the year before (§ 197). As Washington said, the Americans felt that they were simply defending their rights, and "having committed no fault, they needed no pardon."

It was now evident that the war must go on. Washington's entire force consisted of less than eighteen thousand men, of whom only about eleven thousand reported for duty. These raw recruits were poorly armed; some, in fact, had no arms at all, and had never handled any weapon more dangerous than a pitchfork. On the other hand, Howe commanded a body of veterans splendidly equipped, and nearly thirty-two thousand strong.

The English commander's plan of campaign was based on the maxim, "Divide to conquer." His object was to get possession of the Hudson. This would give the British control of the waterway to Canada and would effectually cut off New England from the middle and southern states.

Washington, fully alive to this danger, was determined to hold New York and maintain the military unity of the colonies. To prevent the enemy from ascending the Hudson he had erected Fort Washington on the upper part of the island of New York, with Fort Lee on the opposite shore. General Greene was ordered to hold the important position of Brooklyn Heights, commanding New York on the south. Unfortunately, Greene fell sick and Washington was obliged to give the command to General Putnam, who had never examined the defenses on Long Island. Putnam's entire force was only eight thousand men. Howe saw that if he could get possession of Brooklyn Heights,

he could drive Washington out of New York, just as Washington, after he got possession of Dorchester Heights, had driven him (§ 207) out of Boston.

The English commander sent twenty thousand regulars to dislodge Putnam. The latter, while holding his intrenchments, could spare only four thousand to oppose the enemy's advance. The odds were five to one in favor of the British; hence they easily won the battle of Long Island (August 27, 1776).

During the progress of the battle Washington crossed over from New York to Brooklyn Heights with reënforcements. He decided that retreat was the only prudent course. Taking advantage of a heavy fog, which rested on Long Island but did not touch the opposite shore, he succeeded in getting the entire army safely across to New York. When the sun appeared, Howe stretched out his hand to take the "nest of rebels," but found to his disgust that the nest was empty.

211. Washington driven out of New York; loss of Forts Washington and Lee. A few weeks later (September, 1776), Howe landed a strong body of troops in New York. He stopped to taste some of Mrs. Robert Murray's old Madeira, and so just missed the chance of capturing Putnam's division. While the gallant British commander was enjoying the society of that patriotic lady and her charming daughter, Putnam hastily retreated to Harlem and joined Washington. Mrs. Murray had "saved the American army."

Howe gradually pushed the Americans as far north as Northcastle. Washington then crossed over to New Jersey, leaving General Charles Lee with seventy-five hundred men to defend Northcastle, and sending Heath with three thousand men to hold the Highlands at West Point.

Howe obtained plans of Fort Washington (then under command of General Greene) from a traitor within its walls. The British general surprised and took the works (November 16, 1776). Washington witnessed the battle from the west bank of the Hudson and wept like a child, it is said, when he saw his men

bayoneted by the Hessians while begging for quarter. Now that Fort Washington was taken, Fort Lee, which Greene held, was as useless as one half of a pair of shears without the other half. Before he could evacuate it he was surprised, and barely managed to escape.

212. The retreat across New Jersey (November 21 to December 8, 1776); Washington crosses the Delaware. Washington at once (November 21, 1776) began his famous retreat across New Jersey. If worst came to worst, he might hope by crossing the Delaware to save his army and also to save Philadelphia. He had ordered Lee (§ 201) to join him without delay, but that false-hearted officer deliberately disobeyed. He was plotting to get the chief command for himself.

Lord Cornwallis (§ 207) pursued Washington's little army so closely that the British would sometimes be entering a town at one end just as the Americans were leaving it at the other; but by rapid marching and by destroying bridges Washington managed to keep out of the enemy's clutches.

On December 8 (1776) Washington reached Trenton. He seized every boat and scow on the river from Philadelphia for seventy miles upward, and then crossed the Delaware. Cornwallis came up to the bank of the river just in time to see the last boat load of patriots push off from the shore.

A few days later, Lee was captured in New Jersey. He had moved there with his army, but with no intention, as he later admitted, of joining Washington. Lee's force managed to escape the British and unite with Washington; but many of the newcomers were "fit only for the hospital."

213. Victory at Trenton; Robert Morris; victory at Princeton. While Cornwallis, who had moved to Princeton, was waiting for an opportunity to cross the river and attack Philadelphia, he left Colonel Rahl with a force of Hessians to hold Trenton. On Christmas night (1776) Washington, with less than twenty-five hundred men, secretly recrossed the Delaware, then full of floating ice, and fell on the enemy early in the morning at Trenton.

Rahl had not slept off the effects of his numerous bowls of Christmas punch, and Washington completely surprised him, capturing between nine hundred and a thousand prisoners, besides large quantities of arms and ammunition.

It was a little battle, but it was a great victory because it had great results. It kindled new hope in the hearts of dispirited and despairing patriots, and it completely upset Howe's plans.

The only drawback to the joy of the American commander was the pressing need of money, of hard cash (\$204), not depreciated or worthless Continental bills, to secure new enlistments. In this emergency Washington wrote to his friend Robert Morris of Philadelphia, asking him to send as much silver as he could raise. Morris set out before it was light on New Year's morning (1777), and went from house to house, rousing his friends from their beds and begging them to lend him all the coin they could spare. In this way he got \$50,000, which he forthwith sent to Washington.

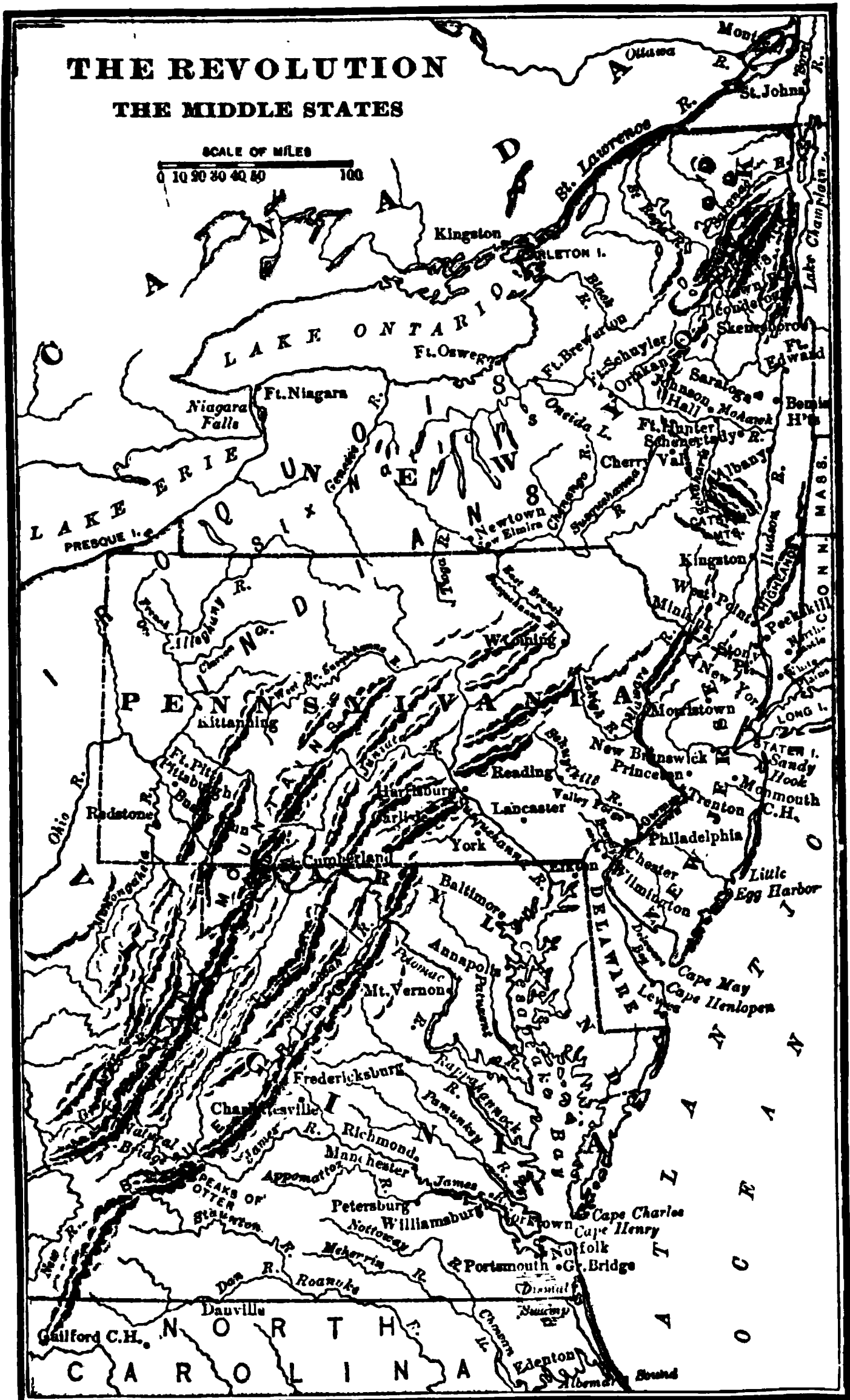
Cornwallis, having left part of his force at Princeton, hurried south in the hope of catching the Americans at Trenton. Washington's case seemed hopeless; behind him was the broad Delaware full of broken ice, while before him Cornwallis had gathered his troops for battle.

The British did not reach Trenton until nearly sundown (January 2, 1777), and the night threatened to be foggy. Cornwallis decided to postpone the attack until the next day. He went to bed in high spirits. "At last," said he, "we have run down the old fox, and we will bag him in the morning."

But "the old fox" did not wait to be bagged. Leaving his camp fires burning brightly, Washington crept stealthily out of his intrenchments, slipped around Cornwallis' sleeping army, and marched rapidly on Princeton. There (January 3, 1777) he surprised and completely routed the British line. Washington then advanced to the heights of Morristown and went into winter quarters. Frederick the Great considered the movements of Washington during these ten days, December 25, 1776, to

THE REVOLUTION

THE MIDDLE STATES



January 4, 1777, the most brilliant of any recorded in the annals of military history.

214. Plans of Lord Germain; Washington baffles Howe; Howe sails for Philadelphia. The American commander spent the winter at Morristown reorganizing his army.

Lord Germain of the English cabinet had the general control of the British forces in America. He now resolved to make a determined effort to get possession of the Hudson. The following plan was agreed upon: (1) Burgoyne was to move down from Canada early in the coming summer (1777), take Ticonderoga, and advance directly on Albany. (2) Another British force, starting from Canada, was to land at Oswego, New York. They were to secure the aid of the Six Nations and of the Tories; then they were to capture Fort Stanwix (near Rome) on the upper Mohawk and, moving down the Mohawk Valley, join Burgoyne at Albany. (3) Howe was to send a division of his army up the Hudson, capture the American forts in the Highlands, and advance and join forces with Burgoyne. This scheme, if successful, would give the English entire control of the state of New York.

By a mischance Lord Germain's dispatch from London, ordering Howe to coöperate with Burgoyne, did not reach the British commander until it was too late for him to be of service.

Howe had wasted nearly three weeks (June 12-30, 1777) in endeavoring to march across New Jersey to strike Philadelphia, the rebel capital. Nothing hindered the British general's movements but Washington's little army. Washington took such strong positions that the enemy did not dare attack him, and if they left him in their rear he could cut off their supplies. Constantly harassed by our troops, Howe finally fell back in disgust to Staten Island.

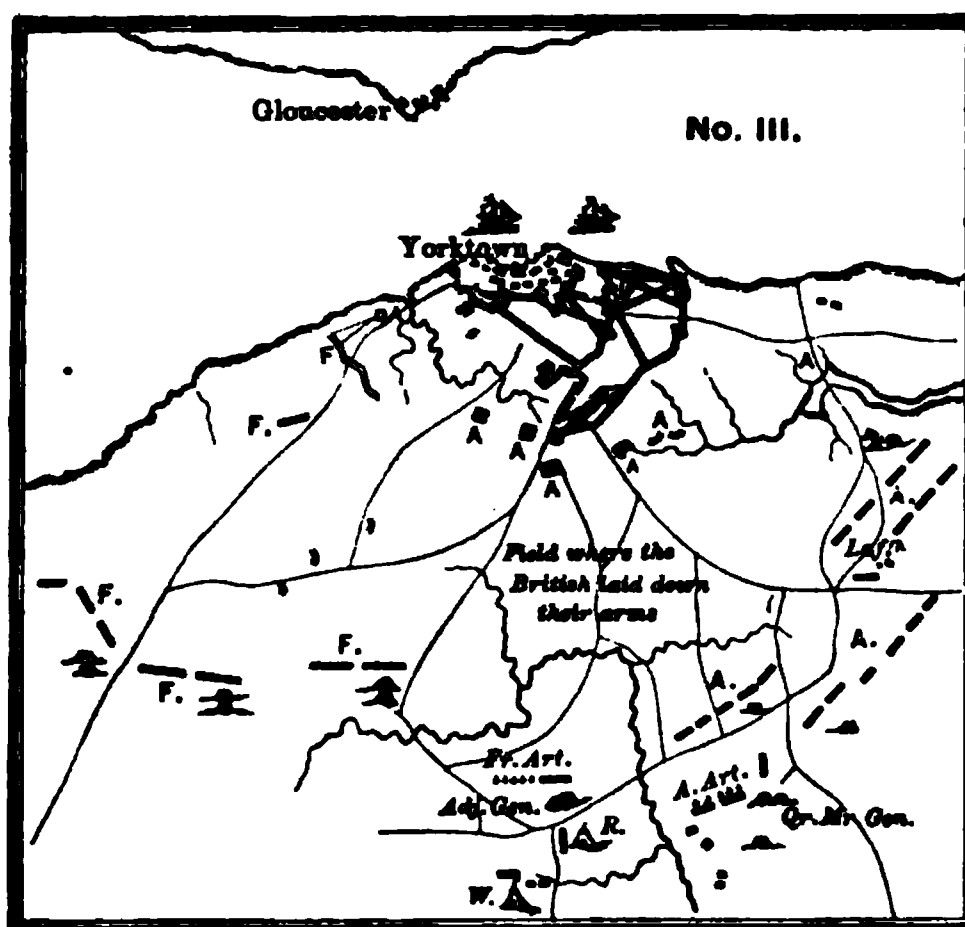
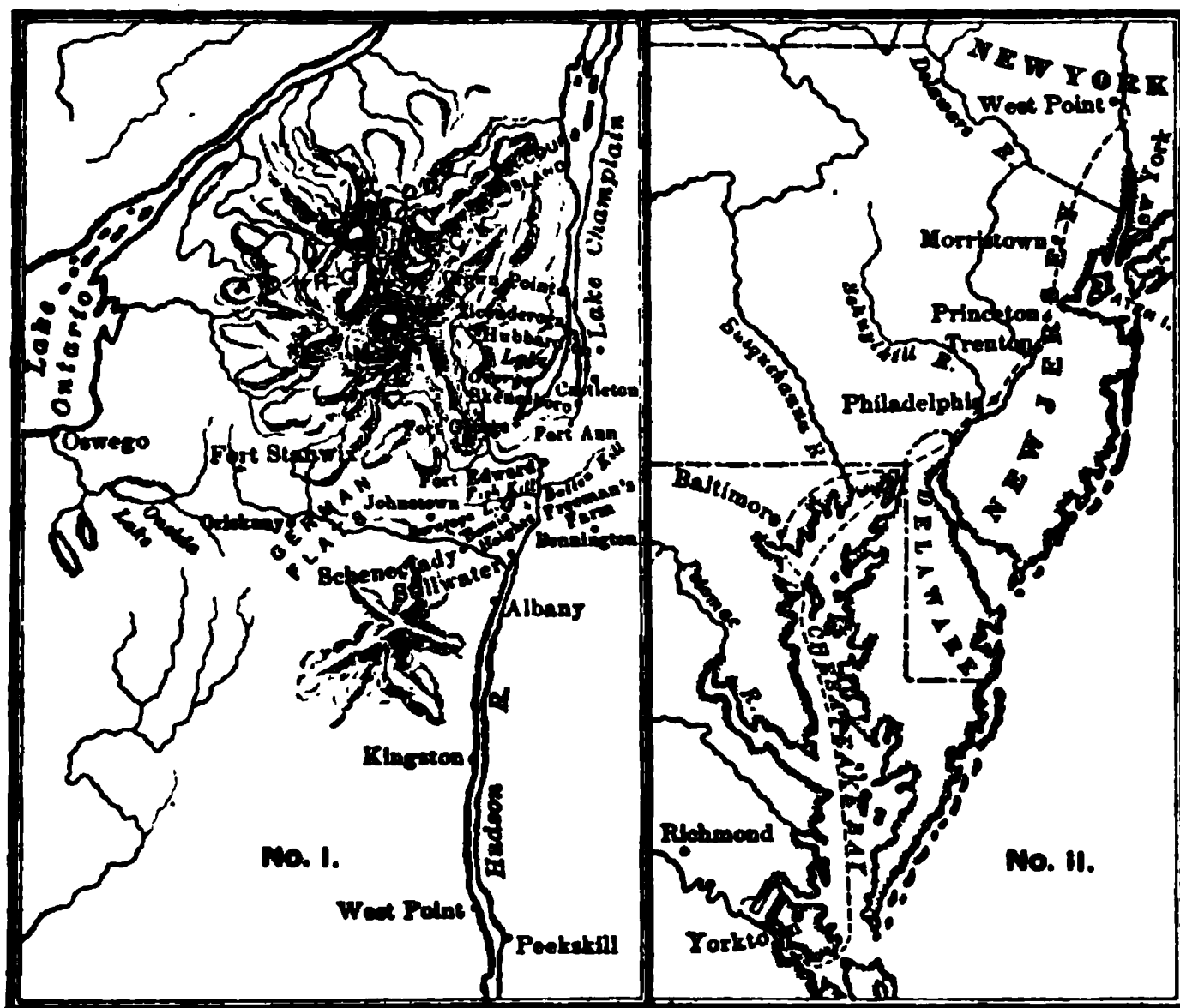
Late in July (1777), having left Clinton to hold New York, Howe started with a large fleet to reach Philadelphia by sea. He found the Delaware obstructed; for this reason he landed his troops (August 23, 1777) at the head of Chesapeake Bay, sixty miles from Philadelphia.

215. The British enter Philadelphia ; Valley Forge ; Burgoyne's advance to Fort Edward. Washington met the advancing British force at Chad's Ford on Brandywine Creek (September 11, 1777). The Americans were small in numbers and were defeated with heavy loss. Howe entered Philadelphia in triumph about a fortnight later.

Soon afterward Washington attacked (October 4, 1777) the British force encamped at Germantown (now a suburb of Philadelphia). A dense fog prevailed, and two of our brigades fired at each other in the belief that they were attacking the enemy ; the confusion that ensued caused our defeat. Early in December Washington retreated to the hills of Valley Forge, about twenty miles from Philadelphia, where he took up his winter quarters (1777-1778).

But if the British had succeeded in getting possession of the capital of the American republic, on the other hand they had met with terrible disaster in the North. According to orders (§ 214), Burgoyne, with a force of nearly eight thousand men, including some four hundred Indians, moved upon Ticonderoga and captured it (July 5, 1777). He then advanced against General Schuyler (§ 206), who stood between him and the Hudson. Schuyler felled trees across the only road through the forest, destroyed fifty bridges and causeways, and by damming up a creek converted a part of the British line of march into a deep swamp. When at last, after a march of twenty-four days, the British general reached Fort Edward, Schuyler abandoned it, and pushing on across the Hudson took up his position at Bemis Heights, about twenty miles above Albany.

216. Burgoyne gets his left wing clipped at Bennington. Burgoyne now sent (August 16, 1777) a thousand or more Hessians and Indians to make a raid on the supplies which the Americans were reported to hold at Bennington, Vermont. But Colonel John Stark of New Hampshire and Seth Warner of Vermont stood ready with a body of farmers in their shirt sleeves to give the invaders a warm reception. Less than a hundred



MAP No. I. Burgoyne's campaign. MAP No. II. Washington's advance from New York to Yorktown. MAP No. III. Yorktown: A, A, A, American forces; F, F, F, French army; W, Washington's headquarters; R, Rochambeau's headquarters; Laf., Lafayette

out of the thousand Hessians ever got back to Burgoyne, and the Indians fled for their lives, shouting "The woods are full of Yankees"; thus the British general got his left wing effectually clipped. Washington called the victory at Bennington "a great stroke." It prevented Burgoyne from getting the supplies he sorely needed and cut off all communication between him and the garrison he had left at Ticonderoga.

217. Burgoyne gets his right wing clipped at Oriskany and Fort Stanwix. Burgoyne's right wing, under St. Leger, who was advancing from Oswego (§ 214) against Fort Stanwix (near Rome), fared no better. General Herkimer met the enemy at Oriskany (August 6, 1777), a few miles from the fort. A terrible hand-to-hand fight ensued. Herkimer received a mortal wound which brought him to the ground. He ordered his men to place him with his back to a tree; then, lighting his pipe, the hero of Oriskany continued to direct the battle until reinforcements came up from Fort Stanwix and the enemy fled from the field.

St. Leger, however, was besieging Fort Stanwix, which he was determined to take at any cost. Congress had recently (June 14, 1777) adopted the stars and stripes as the banner of the American Republic, and a rudely made national flag floated defiantly over the fort. It was the first time our colors had been displayed in battle on land (§ 224), and the British general swore that he would carry the flag away with him.

Benedict Arnold with twelve hundred men was then advancing to relieve the garrison of Fort Stanwix. Arnold managed to send forward reports which represented him as marching at the head of several thousand well-armed troops. The Indians of St. Leger's force, thinking that Schuyler's whole army was about to swoop down, fled in a panic. St. Leger then (August 22, 1777) retreated to Oswego and sailed for Canada.

218. The first battle of Bemis Heights (or Saratoga); the second battle; results. General Gates, a scheming politician, had been sent by Congress to supersede Schuyler and fight

- **Burgoyne's center.** Gates intrenched himself at Bemis Heights (September 12, 1777) on ground selected by Benedict Arnold and fortified by Kosciusko (§ 201).

Burgoyne was anxious to reach Albany, but not daring to leave the American forces in his rear, he advanced and attacked them (September 19, 1777). Both armies fought desperately; neither could claim a victory; but as the British lost two men to our one, their advance was checked.

The second battle (October 7, 1777) was even more desperately contested than the first. Morgan with his famous sharpshooters opened the fight on our side. Gates did not show himself on the field, as in fact he had not done in the previous battle. Arnold had quarreled with Gates and had thrown up his command; but he now put himself at the head of his former division and rushed on to victory amid the cheers of the men for their old leader.

Burgoyne fell back to Saratoga, six miles distant, and there (October 17, 1777) surrendered. This was the first great victory gained under the stars and stripes. We took nearly six thousand prisoners and a large quantity of arms. When the news reached London it moved Pitt, now Lord Chatham, to declare in Parliament, "My lords, *you cannot conquer America.*" Then he added, "If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country I never would lay down my arms — never — never — never!"¹

Burgoyne's surrender was the turning point of the Revolution.² It had three momentous results: (1) it completely broke up the plans of the British government (§ 214) respecting the war; (2) it secured for us the open aid of England's old and powerful enemy, France; (3) it inspired the whole Continental army with new hope.

219. Treaties with France; Valley Forge. The news of Burgoyne's surrender filled England with consternation and France

¹ See C. K. Adams' Representative British Orations, I, 120, 125, 126.

² See Creasy's Decisive Battles of the World.

with delight. In the spring (May 2, 1778) a messenger arrived from the French capital bringing two treaties, — one of commerce and good will, the other of defensive alliance, securing to us the help of a French fleet. Franklin, who acted as our chief agent in Paris, had achieved a diplomatic triumph. He fought for us in France as sturdily and steadily as Washington fought for us at home.

America resounded with rejoicings over the glad tidings; Lafayette grasped Washington's hand and shed tears of joy. Washington ordered a salute of thirteen guns to celebrate the event, and the hillsides of Valley Forge echoed with the enthusiastic hurrahs of the Continental army as they cheered the king of France.

Meanwhile our men at Valley Forge were in wretched plight. They had just passed through a winter of unparalleled hardship and suffering. Out of eight thousand troops nearly three thousand were "barefoot and otherwise naked." Steuben said, "No European army could be kept together a week in such a state." Washington wrote to Congress that unless relief came the army must either "starve, dissolve, or disperse in order to obtain subsistence"; but John Adams declared that Congress was "torn to pieces with disputes about office."

The truth is that our men were sacrificed to the mismanagement or the timidity of Congress. There was no lack of provisions or of coarse clothing in the country, and at the very time the Continental army was freezing and starving on the bleak hillsides of Valley Forge the enemy's forces in Philadelphia, as elsewhere, could buy from the farmers all the food and fuel they wanted.

220. The Conway plot; Steuben's services; English peace commissioners; battle of Monmouth. While the American commander was pleading for help for his men, Conway (§ 201), inspector general of the army, was plotting with Gates to secure Washington's overthrow. Fortunately, the correspondence between them leaked out and the conspiracy ended in ignominious failure.

CONTINENTAL AND STATE MONEY

Baron Steuben (§ 201) was then appointed to Conway's place. Steuben had learned the art of war under Frederick the Great. He drilled the men day after day, swearing in German and in broken English at their awkward maneuvers, until he trained these plain farmers and farmers' sons to move with the precision of military machines.

Sir Henry Clinton (§ 200) now (May 18, 1778) succeeded Howe in command of the British forces. England, alarmed at the French treaty, made a third and last attempt at conciliation (§§ 197, 210), and sent over peace commissioners. They were empowered to offer the people of the United States exemption "forever from direct taxation by Great Britain," full power "to govern themselves," representation in Parliament,—in fact, almost everything short of separation and actual independence.¹ Congress rejected the offer and the commissioners replied by a proclamation threatening a war of devastation and terror.

Clinton knew that the French fleet was on its way to America; fearing that it might blockade Philadelphia, he proceeded to evacuate that city and move to New York.

Not having ships enough to transport his army of seventeen thousand men, he resolved to march across New Jersey. Washington, with a force about equal to that of the British, followed the retreating enemy. He overtook them at Monmouth (June 28, 1778). The treacherous Lee (§ 212), who had been exchanged and had returned to us, wanted to secure the retreat of the English "on velvet." He tried to persuade a council of war not to attack the enemy. His attempt failed; Washington ordered him to begin the fight. Instead of obeying orders he fell back. At this critical moment the commander in chief rode up. "What is the meaning of all this, sir?" demanded Washington in a terrible voice. Lee stammered out an excuse. Washington ordered him to the rear, rallied the retreating men, and drove the British from the field.

¹ See Hildreth's *United States*, III, 239, 248; Almon's *Remembrancer*, 144; see also Patrick Henry's stirring letter in *Hart's American History by Contemporaries*, II, No. 203.

This was the last important battle fought at the North. Had Lee done his duty, it might perhaps have been the last battle of the Revolution.

A court-martial convicted Lee of "an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat," and suspended him "from any command in the armies of the United States" for one year. Later, Congress dismissed him from the army and he died in disgrace.

221. Prospects of the Revolution (1778); Tory and Indian raids; Washington retaliates. The prospects of the success of the Revolution now looked decidedly brighter. In future the British must not only fight us but fight our French allies besides.

Clinton established his headquarters in New York City and Washington extended his lines from the heights of Morristown, New Jersey, to the Highlands of the Hudson.

During the summer and autumn of 1778 bands of Tories (§ 203) and Indians of the Six Nations devastated Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania (July 3, 1778), and Cherry Valley, New York (November 10, 1778). The cruelties perpetrated in these raids were so horrible that even Brant, the Mohawk leader, was shocked; he said, "I have those with me who are more savage than the savages themselves."

Washington (1779) sent General Sullivan to retaliate. He totally destroyed the Indian settlements of the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas in western New York.

222. The expedition of George Rogers Clark (1778-1779); Kaskaskia. While these events were occurring in New York, George Rogers Clark¹ of Virginia had undertaken no less a task than the conquest of the country northwest of the Ohio. That vast wilderness was then held by the British forts at Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia. All but Detroit, which was under the command of the British Colonel Hamilton, were at that time garrisoned by French and half-breeds in the pay of the English.

¹ See Winsor's *Westward Movement*, ch. viii; Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*, II, ch. ii, iii; Thwaites' *George Rogers Clark*.

The whole region was then claimed by Virginia as part of its original charter domain (§ 40). Aided by Patrick Henry, then governor of that state, Clark collected a small body of frontiersmen as resolute as himself. These hardy pioneers recognized no authority higher than that of Virginia. They proposed to fight on their own responsibility and for their own ends, quite independent of either Washington or Congress.

Embarking at Pittsburg (June 26, 1778), they dropped down the Ohio a distance of nearly a thousand miles through the unbroken forest, and landed at a point in what is now southern Illinois. Clark and his men then marched across the country to Fort Kaskaskia (July 5, 1778). A dance was in progress at the fort when Clark entered it unperceived. When he was discovered there was a shout of alarm. "Keep on with your merriment," said Clark, "but remember that you now dance under Virginia, not Great Britain."



MAP SHOWING THE FORTS AT DETROIT, KASKASKIA, AND VINCENNES, WITH THE LINE OF CLARK'S MARCH

223. Cahokia; Vincennes; Clark takes the fort; con-

quest of the Northwest. Clark won the good will of Father Gibault, the French Catholic priest at Kaskaskia, and through his influence the French garrisons at Cahokia and at Vincennes took the oath of allegiance to the republic and hoisted the American flag.

Meanwhile Colonel Hamilton (§ 222) had retaken Vincennes. Clark with a little band of tenscore men at once set out from Kaskaskia to get it back again. It was a winter march (February 7-25, 1779) of about two hundred miles. The latter part of the way lay across the "drowned lands" of the Wabash. The men, nearly dead from hunger, had to wade for miles through water breast deep and filled with floating ice.

After a sharp fight Clark took the fort, and (February 25, 1779) soon hoisted the stars and stripes in triumph. When the flag of the republic rose above the fort this time it rose to stay, for it marked the end of British authority in that section forever. The Virginia hero and his followers had conquered the whole Northwest below the British fort at Detroit.

224. Captain Paul Jones ; the British on the Hudson ; Anthony Wayne. A few months later came glorious news from Captain Paul Jones, the first man to hoist the stars and stripes on an American war ship (§ 109). With his little fleet of three vessels — one a half-rotten old hulk — he had captured (September 23, 1779) two British men of war, the *Scrapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough*, off the east coast of England. Thousands of excited people watched the progress of the battle from the promontory of Flamborough Head. At length they saw the English ships strike the red ensign of St. George to a man whom they loudly denounced as a rebel and a pirate.

But the British before radically changing their war plans were determined to make one more effort to obtain control of the Hudson. They succeeded in getting possession (June, 1779) of the half-finished American works at Stony Point and Verplanck's Point. Anthony Wayne led a midnight expedition (July 15, 1779) against the first-named fort and took it at the point of the bayonet. It was a very brilliant victory ; but we were not strong enough to hold the works permanently.

225. British successes in the far South ; Charleston taken (1780). The British now determined to transfer active military operations to the far South. They hoped in that quarter to receive the assistance of the Loyalists (§ 203).

An expedition sent by sea had already captured Savannah (December 29, 1778), and Augusta was next taken. Washington

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK'S LETTER

Colonel Clark's Compliments to Mr. —
Hamilton and begs leave to inform
him that C. Clark will not agree
to any other Terms than that of Mr.
Hamilton's Surrendering himself and
Garrison, Prisoners at Discretion —

If Mr. Hamilton is Desirous of
a Conference with C. Clark he will
meet him at the Church with Capt.
Helms —

Feb 24th 1779 — Clark

sent General Lincoln to the South, but he failed to drive the enemy out of Augusta. In a similar attempt on Savannah he was badly defeated (October 9, 1779), and the gallant Pulaski (§ 201) was killed.

Early the next spring (1780) Clinton sailed to attack Charleston, — Lincoln's headquarters. After a siege of six weeks the town surrendered (May 12, 1780). Clinton took more than five thousand prisoners and property valued at nearly \$1,500,000. The British commander in chief returned to New York in June (1780). He left Cornwallis with a force of seven or eight thousand troops to hold Charleston and subdue the state.

Cornwallis issued a proclamation warning all inhabitants of South Carolina that if they did not return to their allegiance to the king they would be treated as rebels; in other words, he threatened to hang them. The brutal Colonel Tarleton had massacred a party of these rebels on the banks of the Waxhaw, and a bitter partisan struggle — a civil war, in fact — now began between patriots and Tories (§ 203).

226. Gates appointed commander at the South; the battle of Camden. The most important point in the interior of South Carolina was Camden. It was a great center for roads and was considered "the key between the North and South." Washington had sent De Kalb (§ 201) with a small body of men to aid the patriots of South Carolina in recovering Camden and other points in the interior. Washington hoped to secure the appointment of Greene to the general command of the southern department, but Congress disregarded his wishes and appointed (June 13, 1780) Gates (§ 218).

Gates joined De Kalb at Hillsboro, North Carolina. He had about three thousand men fit for duty, and he insisted that this "grand army," as he called it, should at once march on to Camden, where Cornwallis, unknown to the American general, had arrived.

Gates' men arrived tired out, sick, and hungry; but he at once opened the battle of Camden (August 16, 1780). De Kalb's

soldiers fought desperately, but most of the militia "fled without firing a shot." This was not strange, for raw recruits will seldom stand against the attack of regular troops. "Two thirds of the army," says Gates, "ran like a torrent." Gates himself got away as fast as his horse could carry him, and did not fully stop until he arrived at Charlotte, sixty miles away. From Charlotte, Gates, still running away from his army, sped on to Hillsboro, North Carolina. This singular retreat ended his military career.

227. The treason of Benedict Arnold. This disaster at the South was followed in the North by the most startling and the saddest event of the war, — the treason of Benedict Arnold.

Notwithstanding Arnold's impetuous bravery and his splendid success as a soldier (§ 218), Congress seemed to grudge him the honor he had fairly earned. When at last Congress tardily promoted him (November 29, 1777) to the rank of senior major general, Washington called it "an act of necessary justice."

Two years later, while in command in Philadelphia, Arnold was charged with fraudulent dealing and with other "illegal and offensive acts." At his own urgent request he was tried by court-martial (December 19, 1779). No criminal intention was proven, but the court sentenced him to receive a reprimand from the commander in chief. When he administered it Washington chose words which seemed rather to compliment than rebuke the offender. Yet at that very time Arnold was secretly carrying on a treasonable correspondence with Clinton.

The next summer (1780) Arnold sought and obtained the command at West Point, — the most important American post on the Hudson. His object in getting the position was to turn it over to the enemy. The price for which he sold himself and betrayed his country was the promise of an appointment as colonel in the British army (with the brevet of brigadier general) and something over \$30,000 in cash.

Fortunately for the American cause, the plot to surrender West Point was discovered through the arrest of André, the British officer by whom Arnold was sending plans of the fort to Clinton.



THE REVOLUTION THE SOUTHERN STATES

to the
University of
Alaska

On his way back from West Point André was stopped by some of our men and held as a spy. Arnold learned of his capture and instantly fled to the British lines.

André was tried by court-martial and hanged, while the man who had used him as his tool issued a proclamation urging all American soldiers to follow his own traitorous example. Later, he led marauding expeditions into Virginia and burned Richmond; his last blow was directed against the towns of New London and Groton on the coast of his native state of Connecticut. Arnold died in London nearly twenty years after the United States had achieved its independence. The motto on his family crest was the single word "Glory"; long before he died he erased that motto with his own hand, and in its place wrote the word "Despair."

228. Dark days; light at the South; victory at Kings Mountain (1780). Arnold's treason marks what was perhaps the darkest period of the Revolution. The enemy, victorious at the South, were ravaging Virginia at will, and the republic was bankrupt. Continental money had sunk so low in value that a soldier's pay amounted in fact to only thirty-three cents a month, and a colonel's pay would not buy oats for his horse.

The winter which followed (1780-1781) was one of terrible severity, and the men suffered even worse hardships at Morristown than they had at Valley Forge (§ 219). Poorly clothed, half-fed, and miserably paid, a part of them rose in revolt. Clinton tried to tempt them to desert, but they rejected his offers with scorn, saying, "We will not turn Arnolds."

But in this period of gloom a gleam of light flashed out in the South. In the autumn (1780) Cornwallis sent Major Ferguson, a brave and efficient officer, to cut off a body of patriots then retreating from Georgia to the highlands of North Carolina. Suddenly Ferguson found that he was in danger of being cut off himself by a body of mountaineers and backwoodsmen.

The British commander fell back to Kings Mountain, a high ridge on the boundary line between the Carolinas. There he

took his stand, declaring that not all the rebels outside of the bottomless pit could drive him to retreat.

The little American force, calling itself the "army of the West" attacked the British on all sides (October 7, 1780). Ferguson had fewer men, but had the advantage of position. He and his soldiers fought like tigers, driving the Americans back again and again; but our final assault was successful, Ferguson was killed, and the enemy surrendered.

The victory proved to be the turning point of the war in the South. Cornwallis fell back to Winnsboro, South Carolina, to wait for Clinton to send reënforcements. Many of the Carolinians, encouraged by the patriot victory, joined Marion's (§ 135) ranks and did excellent service in the cause of liberty.

229. Greene takes command in the Carolinas; disposition of his forces; battle of Cowpens. Washington now sent General Greene to the South. He arrived (December 7, 1780) at Charlotte, North Carolina, to take command of his "shadow of an army," — for his whole force fit for duty amounted to only eight hundred men.

Greene divided this "shadow" into two nearly equal parts. One of them he led to a strong position at the base of Cheraw Hill. There they could coöperate with Marion and threaten Cornwallis' communication with the coast. The other division Greene sent westward under Daniel Morgan, "then the best commander of light troops in the world." Morgan was to threaten the British garrisons at the important posts of Ninety Six and Augusta.

Cornwallis, after he received reënforcements, had nearly five thousand well-equipped troops; but he found himself between two fires, — Greene and Marion on one side and Morgan on the other. The British commander now sent Colonel Tarleton (§ 225), "his right arm," with over a thousand troops to crush Morgan or compel him to retreat. The two forces met (January 17, 1781) at the cattle pastures called the Cowpens, a little south of Kings Mountain.

Tarleton was completely routed and lost more than two thirds of his men. This defeat struck Cornwallis as hard a blow as Burgoyne had received at Bennington (§ 216). The battle of Kings Mountain had clipped one wing of the British army; now Morgan had clipped the other.

230. Greene's retreat; Steele's Tavern; the race for the Dan. Morgan, knowing that Cornwallis with the whole British force would soon be in pursuit of him, now retreated northward. Greene sent his men forward to join Morgan's in North Carolina. Cornwallis, by a rapid movement, crossed the Catawba, scattering the American militia that had gathered there to oppose his passage.

With a heavy heart Greene rode on to Steele's Tavern at Salisbury. "What! alone, General?" asked his friend, Dr. Read, as the American commander dismounted. "Yes," answered Greene, "tired, hungry, alone, and penniless." Mrs. Steele, the landlord's wife, heard the reply. She set a smoking hot breakfast before the weary soldier, then cautiously shutting the door behind her, she held out a little bag of silver to him in each hand; "Take these," said she, "for you need them, and I can do without them."

A portrait of George III was hanging over the fireplace — placed there when Americans loved to call him their king. Greene turned the face of the picture to the wall and wrote on the back of it, "Hide thy face, George, and blush."

A few days later, the men that Greene had sent forward united with Morgan's at Guilford Court House (now Greensboro), North Carolina. Knowing that Cornwallis was in hard pursuit of him, Greene himself hurried forward with his force to cross the Dan. The American commander won the race and succeeded (February 14, 1781) in crossing the stream then swollen to a torrent by heavy rains. The British came up just as the last boat had reached the opposite bank. Cornwallis found an unfordable river in front of him and not a boat to be had.

231. Battle of Guilford Court House (1781); Cornwallis' retreat to Wilmington; Hobkirk's Hill; Ninety Six; Eutaw Springs. Greene, having obtained reënforcements, now had nearly twice as many men as Cornwallis; but they were largely raw recruits, wretchedly armed, and short of provisions, while the force under Cornwallis was made up of veterans. The American commander recrossed the Dan and (March 15, 1781) fought the battle of Guilford Court House (Greensboro). Cornwallis won the day, but lost so many men that he was forced to retreat to Wilmington, where a British fleet had established a depot of supplies.

A little later, Greene astonished Cornwallis by suddenly moving back to South Carolina to fall on the British force left there in charge of Lord Rawdon. This was too much, and Cornwallis wrote (April 23, 1781), "My situation is very distressing." Finally, not knowing what else to do, he decided to advance into Virginia and unite with the British forces there.

Shortly afterward, Greene met and fought Rawdon (April 25, 1781) at Hobkirk's Hill, just outside of Camden. Rawdon gained the day, but as Major Henry Lee and Marion had cut his communication with Charleston, the British commander had to abandon Camden and retreat. Greene summarized his experiences in a letter to Washington, saying, "We fight, get beat, and fight again." He next began the siege of the British post at Ninety Six, but failed to take the fort, and shortly after fell back to the hills of Santee to refresh his men.

The southern campaigns of the Revolution, below Virginia, ended with the engagement at Eutaw Springs (September 8, 1781). Greene said of this battle, "It was by far the most obstinate fight I ever saw." Both sides claimed the victory. Practically Eutaw resulted in success for the Americans, for the British, unable to hold the field, fled to Charleston and shut themselves up there.

Greene had never gained a victory in the South, yet, following Washington's example, he had exhausted and baffled the enemy.

More than this, with the help of Marion, Sumter, and other partisan leaders, he had recovered possession of the Carolinas.

232. Cornwallis enters Virginia ; ravages the country ; Lafayette's movements ; Yorktown. Cornwallis, in pursuance of his plan (§ 231), had reached Petersburg, Virginia (May 20, 1781), and had increased his force to about seven thousand men. The British commander was confronted by Lafayette (§ 201), who was waiting for Wayne to arrive with reënforcements.

Cornwallis (May 20 to June 26, 1781) sent out a force of a thousand cavalry, mounted on Virginia race horses, to ravage the country. They seized or destroyed about \$15,000,000 worth of property.

The British commander laughed at Lafayette and boastingly wrote, "The boy cannot escape me." It so happened, however, that "the boy" intercepted Cornwallis' letter and not only managed to escape him but seriously harassed all his movements. At length, acting in obedience to what he considered imperative orders from Clinton, Cornwallis, with his seven thousand troops, retired (July 30, 1781) to the peninsula of Yorktown.

233. Washington prepares to attack Cornwallis ; what the French did. Washington had been planning an attack on New York. He now pressed De Grasse, who commanded a powerful French fleet in the West Indies, to come to his help. De Grasse decided that he would sail not for New York but for Chesapeake Bay. This fact changed Washington's plans (August 17, 1781), and with the coöperation of the French commander he resolved to strike Cornwallis instead of Clinton.

Count Rochambeau's army of four thousand French regulars had been stationed at Newport, Rhode Island, since 1780. The count now moved to the vicinity of New York to act with the Continental army in its attack on Yorktown. Less than six months had passed since the American commander expressed grave doubts whether he could manage to keep the army together for the summer. He then wrote, "We are at the end of our

tether . . . now or never deliverance must come." At last deliverance had come.

Washington contrived, as he said, to completely "misguide and bewilder" Clinton, who was made to believe that the Americans were getting ready to attack New York. At length, when everything was prepared, Washington suddenly broke camp (August 19, 1781). Leaving Heath with four thousand men to hold West Point, he set out with his combined French and American army of six thousand troops to march across the country.


But when the great movement was actually in progress, and part of the force had reached Philadelphia, a formidable obstacle arose. The men demanded their pay. Washington begged Robert Morris (\$ 213) to raise some "hard money" for him. Morris borrowed \$20,000 of Count Rochambeau; the sight of the bright silver coin put the Continental army in good humor and smoothed the way onward. Fortunately, too, just at this juncture Colonel Laurens arrived at Boston with 2,500,000 francs given by the French king to the American cause.

By this time Clinton had discovered Washington's real object, but it was too late for him to help Cornwallis. When the combined French and American armies arrived at the head of Chesapeake Bay, French transports (September 17, 1781) conveyed them to Yorktown. Here Washington was joined by Lafayette's men, by a body of Virginia militia, and by three thousand French soldiers furnished by De Grasse. His total force numbered nine thousand Americans and seven thousand French.

234. The siege and fall of Yorktown (1781). On the water side the powerful French fleet effectually cut off Cornwallis from all hope of help or of escape in that direction.

On the land side the British general saw himself hemmed in by a force of sixteen thousand, or more than double his own army. The besieging force began at once (September 30, 1781) to throw up works. Hour by hour they crept nearer to the doomed town. On the tenth day (October 9, 1781) Washington himself applied the match to the first American battery.

*this third Day of September, in
and near City of New York —*

John Jay —


Reduced Copy of the Signatures and Seals of the English and American Commissioners who signed the
Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the United States, 1783

From that time onward, for more than a week, a circle of sixty cannon and mortars rained an incessant storm of shot, shell, and red-hot balls against the defenses of Cornwallis. The British general could make but a feeble reply; his stock of artillery ammunition was fast running short, and his half-completed fortifications were crumbling to pieces. Of his garrison only a little over three thousand men were fit for duty; the rest were lying sick or wounded in hospital, or were worn out by fatigue.

On October 17 (1781) Cornwallis sent out a white flag and asked for terms. It was exactly four years since Burgoyne had surrendered at Saratoga (§ 218). The next day, October 18 (1781), the British garrison with colors cased marched out between the lines of the American and French forces, which formed an avenue more than a mile in length. The captive army moved with slow and solemn steps, their drums beating the quaint but highly appropriate tune of "The World's Upside Down."

235. Effect of the news of the surrender of Cornwallis in England; treaty of peace (1783). When the news of the surrender reached London, Lord North, the English prime minister, threw up his arms as though a cannon ball had struck him, and cried out wildly, "O God, it is all over!" He was right, for although desultory fighting continued for a time, yet the fall of Yorktown really ended the war.

Both sides had long been weary of the struggle. The spring after Cornwallis surrendered, the House of Commons resolved to "consider as enemies to his majesty and the country" all who should urge the further prosecution of the war against the Americans.

Before the close of that year a provisional treaty of peace was made (1782). On the 19th of April, 1783, just eight years to a day after the battle of Lexington, Washington issued an order to the Continental army declaring the War of the Revolution at an end. The soldiers had received no pay for a great length of time and they were in sore need of money; but Congress, as Washington said, sent them home "without a farthing in their pockets."

In making the final treaty of peace the main points which we demanded were : (1) the full recognition of the independence of the thirteen states ; (2) the recognition of the Mississippi River as our western boundary ; (3) the recognition of our right to fish on the banks of Newfoundland. The English, on the other hand, wished (1) to limit our western boundary to the line of the Alleghenies ; (2) to shut us out from any part of the cod fisheries ; (3) they insisted on our making compensation to the Tories for their loss of property.

Our commissioners, Adams, Franklin, and Jay, refused to accept these conditions, but agreed that the last demand should be referred to the legislatures of the states, with a recommendation that they give it favorable consideration. The result was that when the final treaty¹ was signed at Paris, September 3, 1783, it fully recognized all the chief points which we claimed, namely : (1) the independence of the American Republic ; (2) the Mississippi River as our western boundary ; (3) our right to fish on the banks of Newfoundland.

236. Articles of Confederation ; Maryland and the western land claims. Meanwhile the United States had adopted (1781) the plan of confederation² first reported to Congress in 1776 (§ 209).

Congress voted (1777) to accept the proposed constitution,³ but several of the states found serious objections to it. In order that the Articles of Confederation should go into effect, it was necessary that all of the states should formally ratify them. Finally, all agreed to do so except Maryland. She positively refused unless the seven states which claimed western territory (§§ 40, 173) should cede their claims to the United States for the general good.

For a long time none of the states claiming western lands would agree to give them up. This difficulty threatened to prevent the adoption of any regular system of national government.

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 3.

² See Hart's American History told by Contemporaries, III, Nos. 37-41.

³ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 2.



At length, however, New York offered to surrender her claim. Connecticut and Virginia had already virtually promised to do the same. On the day that New York made her offer Maryland signed the Articles, thus making the Confederation complete (March 1, 1781).

The whole immense northwestern territory, extending to the Mississippi, was now practically secured to the nation. This fact greatly strengthened the bonds of the new republic and promised to guarantee its permanency and its growth. Later (1787-1802), North Carolina and Georgia ceded their western territory (see map facing page 226) to the United States, but with the provision that slavery should not be prohibited in the ceded territory. Congress accepted this stipulation without debate. South Carolina, having but a very narrow strip to cede, made no conditions, since the land she gave would of necessity be incorporated with the slave states.

237. The ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory (1787). After New York, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut had completed their cessions of land (1781-1787) the Congress of the Confederation took action. By the famous Ordinance of 1787, "the Magna Charta of the West," it erected a government for the territory northwest of the Ohio.¹

Among other provisions that ordinance enacted: (1) "that no one should ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments in said territory"; (2) that schools and the means of education should be "forever encouraged"; (3) slavery was absolutely barred out, but slaves escaping from their masters in the states and taking refuge in the Northwest Territory were to be seized and returned to their owners.

By the third provision this celebrated ordinance, so highly praised by Daniel Webster, did two opposite things: it secured an enormous area to freedom, but it first granted national recognition and protection to the existence of slavery; (4) finally, the

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 4; Hart's American History told by Contemporaries, III, No. 46.

ordinance provided that all states formed from this territory should be admitted on an equal footing in every respect with the thirteen original states.

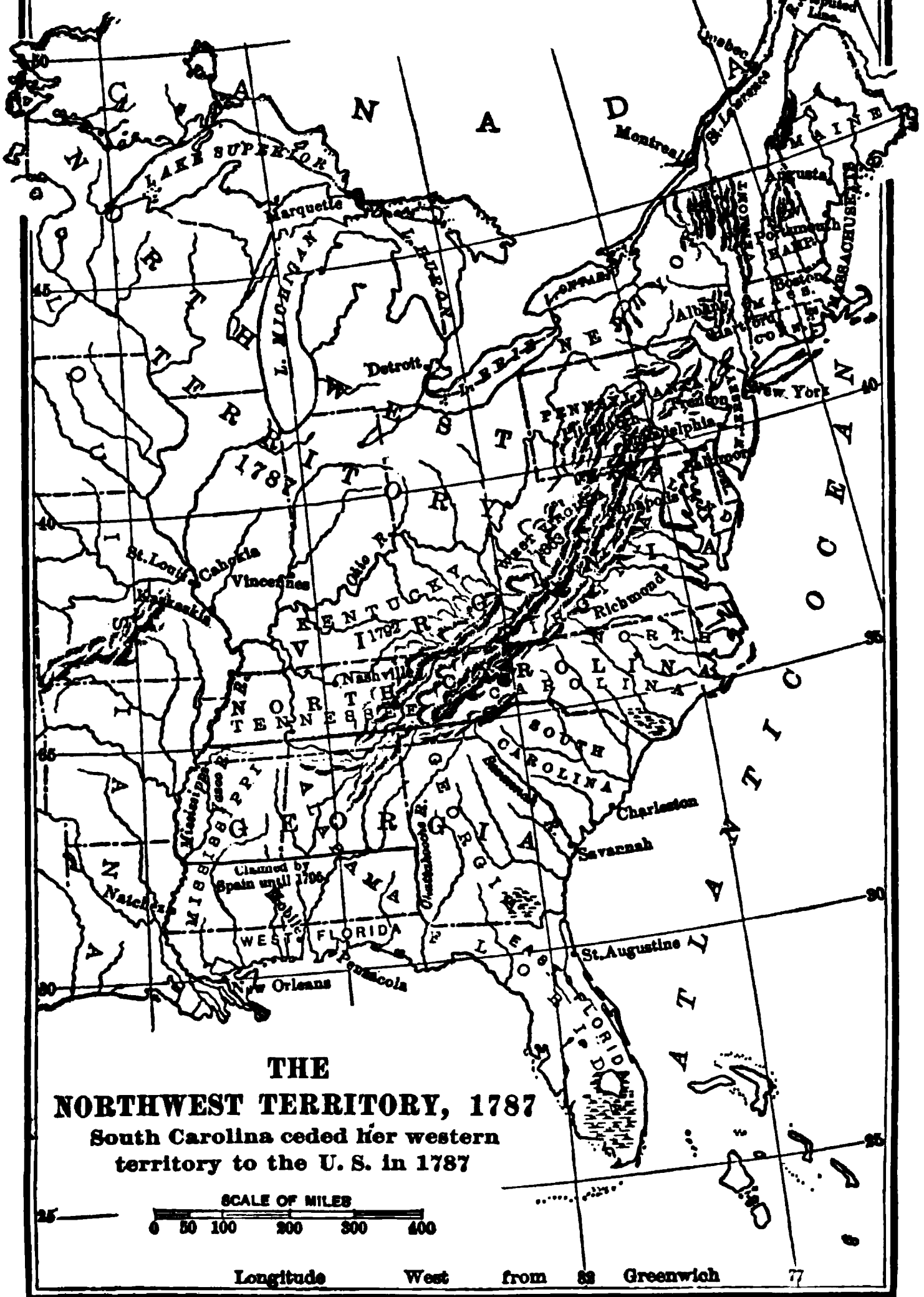
From that magnificent domain, embracing about 270,000 square miles, the five great and powerful states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin (together with eastern Minnesota) were formed between the years 1803 and 1848.

238. Chief provisions of the Articles of Confederation (1781). The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union¹ (§§ 209, 236) bound the states (1) to "enter into a firm league of friendship with each other"; (2) all votes in Congress were to be cast by states, and each state, whatever its number of delegates, was to have but "one vote"; (3) Congress reserved the power of declaring war and peace, and of negotiating treaties; (4) Congress, on appeal, was to decide all disputes between the states; (5) the regulation of commerce and the raising of revenue and taxes were left entirely to the control of the separate states; (6) the power to coin and issue money was shared with the states by the general government; (7) Congress had authority to appoint a Committee of the States to manage the general affairs of the nation when the national Legislature was not in session; (8) the final article declared that the union thus formed should be "perpetual," and forbade that any change should hereafter be made in the above constitution "unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislature of every state."

239. What the Confederation accomplished; weakness of the government. The strong point of the Confederation was that it early recognized the absolute necessity of a union of the states. Under this union, imperfect as it was, the Congress of the Confederation did some good and lasting work. (1) It made the treaty of peace with England (§ 235) and several other treaties with European powers; (2) it enacted the ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory (§ 237); (3) under the Confederation

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 2.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY was divided into the five following states (with Minnesota east of the Mississippi): 1. Ohio, admitted 1803; 2. Indiana, admitted 1816; 3. Illinois, admitted 1818; 4. Michigan, admitted 1837; 5. Wisconsin, admitted 1848. (See note on map of U. S. 1783.)



THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY, 1787
South Carolina ceded her western territory to the U. S. in 1787

North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia took the first steps toward ceding their western territory to the nation (§ 236).

On the other hand, it had fatal defects.¹ It was not a government established by the people, but simply a league of sovereign and practically independent states. To those sovereign states the people felt that they owed everything, to the national government they owed nothing. Under this Confederation, Congress consisted of a single House which represented the states and the states only. The national government had no president; it was "a body without a head." Congress could advise, request, implore, but it could not command.

In this last point lay the utter weakness of the whole system. It was an attempt to reconcile contradictions, — to grant power and at the same time to withhold it. The national government could make treaties, but could not compel their observance. It could borrow money, but could not guarantee that a single dollar of the debt would ever be paid. It could recommend taxation, but could not enforce it. It could enact laws, but could not punish those who refused to obey them. It could make war, but could not raise a single soldier to fight for the defense of the country. In short, as Judge Story has aptly said, "Congress could declare everything, but could do nothing." Its whole attitude was that of a suppliant.

While the Revolution was in progress the pressure of the war forced the separate states to stand by each other; but as soon as that pressure was removed, the states, like a barrel that had lost its hoops, threatened to fall to pieces.

240. State of the country under the Confederation. When peace was made, Thomas Paine wrote in the last number of his *American Crisis*, "The times which tried men's souls are over." It was a great mistake, for the next five years under the Confederation were full of distress, doubt, discouragement, and tendencies to disunion.

¹ See Fiske's *Critical Period of American History*; Hart's *American History* told by Contemporaries, III, Nos. 37-41.

Instead of presenting a bold, united front to the world, we exhibited the pitiful spectacle of thirteen little discordant republics bound together with "a rope of sand." Hamilton said, "There is scarcely anything that can wound the pride or degrade the character of an independent nation which we do not experience;" and Washington declared that we were moving upon "crutches" and tottering to our fall.¹

241. Attempts of Congress to raise money; quarrels about trade. The first sign of this fatal weakness was seen when the government made an attempt to pay the soldiers of the Revolution a part of what was due them. Congress was "penniless and powerless." It called on the states to contribute; some responded, others did not. All national demands for money were followed by a like result. Out of over \$6,000,000 called for (1782-1786), Congress obtained only \$1,000,000.

An attempt was made (1782) to amend the Articles of Confederation so as to give the government power to levy a five-per-cent duty on imported goods. This measure was proposed in order that the nation might get means to discharge a part of its debt. The assent of all the states was required; all gave their consent but Rhode Island. She refused, mainly on the ground that the proposed duty would fall too heavily on the chief importing states, of which she was then one.

Later (1786), the project was revived in a more limited form. New York then refused unless she could appoint her own collectors. This proviso killed the plan, and Congress had to go on as best it could with an empty treasury.

The country was anxious to make a commercial treaty with England, but that power refused to negotiate with a nation which was a nation only in name. Then quarrels sprang up about foreign and domestic trade. New England wished to exclude all exports and imports by British ships, but the southern states, having no ships of their own, demanded why they

¹ See Washington's Circular Letters to the Governors of the States (1783) in the Old South Leaflets, No. 15.

should be asked to give the monopoly of the carrying trade to the North.

The states which had no seaports had to pay tolls to the states where the goods were received. New Jersey was like a cask tapped at both ends; she paid toll at New York and at Philadelphia. North Carolina was in a similar predicament.

New York laid a tax on the New Jersey and Connecticut market boats. New Jersey retaliated by taxing the lighthouse which New York had built at Sandy Hook on the Jersey shore. Connecticut towns took their revenge by boycotting New York and refusing to send any more butter, eggs, and early vegetables to that city.¹

242. Scarcity of Specie; Shays' rebellion (1786). At the same time the whole country was distressed by the need of "hard money." There was no mint; with the exception of a few pennies, the only coins in circulation were worn and clipped foreign pieces. Most of the states kept their printing presses busy manufacturing "soft money." These notes were constantly falling in value. Massachusetts refused to issue irredeemable paper promises to pay, and her country people felt the lack of specie all the more keenly.

The total public and private debts of the commonwealth averaged about \$200 for every taxpayer. Many farmers who had fought in the Revolution could not satisfy their creditors. They might have boxes full of worthless Continental paper currency in their attics, but they saw their cattle driven off by order of the courts and their homesteads sold by foreclosure of mortgages.

In Worcester County and the counties west of it the situation became desperate. Excited crowds declared that all property should be held in common, since all had fought to save it. Then came the cry: "Down with the civil courts!" "Down with the wicked lawyers!" "Hurrah for 'soft money' and plenty of it!"

¹ See Fiske's *Critical Period in American History*.

Mobs began to obstruct the sitting of courts. Finally, Daniel Shays, who had been a captain in the Continental army, led more than a thousand armed men to Worcester (1786), took possession of the courthouse, and dispersed the judges.

Later (1787), he attempted to capture the United States arsenal at Springfield; blood was shed and the state government was believed to be in serious peril. But the governor sent a strong force against Shays (1787) and the rebellion collapsed. Jefferson, who was then in France, made light of the whole matter. He declared that "a little rebellion now and then is a good thing . . . and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical world."¹ But Washington and all friends of order who were on the spot had been greatly alarmed. They feared that the insurrection would spread to other states, and they knew that Congress was practically helpless. Shays' rebellion, however, had one good result: it emphasized the need of a strong federal government, and thus helped to ensure the framing of a new and more efficient constitution.

243. Trouble in the West; threats of secession; Jefferson's letter. In the West trouble of a still more dangerous kind arose. Spain closed the Mississippi and vowed that she would keep it shut until she secured a more satisfactory boundary line for her American possessions in the south (§ 267). A Kentucky flat-boat man, disregarding the Spanish decree, started boldly down the river with a load of hardware. The Spanish authorities at Natchez stopped him, seized both his boat and cargo (1786), and left him to get back home on foot through the wilderness as best he could.

The impetuous spirit of the Kentucky settlers was roused. They swore that if the river was not opened they would raise an army of backwoods riflemen, who would force their way through and drive the Spaniards into the sea.

John Jay thought that we should not really need the use of the river for many years. He advised Congress to make a

¹ See Jefferson's Works, II, 267.

treaty with Spain and give up all claim to the navigation of the Mississippi for a quarter of a century. This proposition set the country in a blaze. Indignation meetings were held by the Kentuckians. Many threatened that if Jay's advice was taken they would secede from the Union and form an alliance with Great Britain. On the other hand, there were New England men who vowed they would secede if Jay's advice was not taken. In this emergency Congress stood alarmed, helpless, and ashamed.

Jefferson, then in Paris, wrote (1787) to Madison, saying: "I never had any interest westward of the Alleghenies, and I never will have any, . . . but I will venture to say that the act which abandons the navigation of the Mississippi is an act of separation between the eastern and the western country." The question was not settled until 1795, when a treaty was made with Spain (§ 267).

To these difficulties we must add the financial muddle. Many of the states perpetrated frauds in their issue of worthless paper money. This constituted another peril which was undermining the Confederation.

244. The Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia (1787). Meanwhile Virginia and Maryland had a dispute over the navigation of Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac. The commissioners appointed to decide the controversy failed to agree. Finally, it was recommended that a convention should be held at Philadelphia "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation."

The convention met for business May 25, 1787. It was a body composed of men who would have done honor to any nation. All the states were represented except New Hampshire which sent delegates later, and Rhode Island which sent none at all. Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, and Madison were among the fifty-five members.¹ Washington was chosen to preside. Jefferson, then in France, called it an "assembly of

¹ See the Constitution, with an introduction and with the names of the thirty-nine signers, in the Appendix, page vi.

demigods." The delegates sat with closed doors, keeping their proceedings secret. They decided that instead of revising the Articles of Confederation they would draw up an entirely new constitution.¹

245. Conflicting opinions in the Convention. The Constitutional Convention represented widely different ideas and interests.

1. A part of the delegates emphasized the necessity of national sovereignty. They urged that all the chief powers, including the control of foreign trade, should be centralized in the general government. Others vehemently opposed this, and insisted on state sovereignty. Their plan was to grant the nation the least possible power, but to reserve the utmost possible to the separate states.

2. There was next the conflict respecting state representation. On this point the large and the small states could not agree. The former naturally demanded representation based on population; the latter demanded that all representation should be equal, so that the vote of the small states should count for as much as that of their more powerful neighbors.

3. Finally, the great slave-holding states insisted that all slaves should be counted in making up the basis of representation in Congress. The northern states, on the other hand, contended that only the white population should be counted. There was also a serious difference with regard to the foreign slave trade. The great majority of the states wished to prohibit it, but the South Carolina and Georgia delegates absolutely refused to vote for the Constitution unless that trade should be kept open. Their motto was, "No slave trade, no Union." New England merchants who were engaged in bringing cargoes of negroes from Africa strongly supported South Carolina.

246. The three great compromises of the Constitution. The debate on the above-mentioned points was so violent that it

¹ See Johnston's American Orations, I, 9-44; Hart's American History told by Contemporaries, III, Nos. 54-75.

twice threatened to break up the convention. The conflict was finally settled by three great compromises.

1. It was agreed that the national government should be invested with powers of the first importance. It was authorized to regulate foreign commerce, levy taxes, and impose customs duties; to declare war, equip armies, and call out the militia to suppress insurrection and enforce the laws of the Union. Finally, it was to have authority to make all laws necessary for carrying into execution the powers conferred upon it. There was to be a Supreme Court, with a number of lower federal courts, to interpret and apply the provisions of the Constitution and the laws enacted by Congress. To make this authority effective the executive power was vested in a President of the United States, who was made commander in chief of the army and navy.

On the other hand, it was agreed (by later action) that all "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the states are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." The question where supreme power resided, whether in the nation or in the individual states, was not explicitly settled, nor was anything said respecting the right of a state to withdraw from the Union (§§ 247, 273, 355).¹

2. It was decided that Congress, instead of consisting of a single House, should be divided into the Senate and the House of Representatives. Representation was to be equal in the Senate, — each state to have two members, — while in the House of Representatives it was to be based on population.

3. It was agreed in making up the basis of direct taxation and representation that five negroes should be counted as equal to three whites, because it was assumed that the productive labor of negroes and of whites would stand in that ratio. It

¹ See Macy's *Civil Government*, ch. xxxix, on the "Silences of the Constitution"; Johnston's *American Politics*, ch. i; Gordy's *Political History of the United States*, I, 79; Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, I, ch. iii et seq. In general, see Elliot's *Debates on the Constitution*, I.

was assumed that African bondage was a temporary system. For this reason, Madison tells us, the expressions "slave" and "slaves" were not used in the Constitution; but, as John Quincy Adams said, they were neatly hidden under the "fig leaves" of the words "person" or "persons held to service or labor."¹ Slavery was to be protected by a fugitive-slave provision, and the importation of slaves was not to be prohibited by Congress before 1808. This kept the negro supply open for twenty years.

247. The convention adopts the new Constitution; action of the states; the first presidential election. When the great work was completed (September 17, 1787) and the last of the thirty-nine delegates who were present were signing the Constitution, the white-haired Franklin rose. Looking at a figure of a half sun painted on the back of the President's chair, he said: "I have often and often in the course of the session looked at that sun without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a *rising* and not a setting sun."

But the sun did not rise without a cloud. The country was divided between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists. The former advocated the Constitution on the ground that the republic needed a strong government. The latter, among whom were such men as Patrick Henry,² Richard Henry Lee, and Samuel Adams, opposed it because they feared that such a government would be fatal to the individual liberty and welfare of the states and of the people. Massachusetts was won only after a tremendous struggle; Madison, Randolph, and John Marshall gained the adhesion of Virginia; Alexander Hamilton, by his speeches³ and by the power of that remarkable series of papers called the *Federalist*,⁴ fought the victorious battle in New York.

The Constitution was finally accepted by a small majority; but most of the states which then voted to come under the

¹ See the Constitution in the Appendix, vii, x, xiv.

² See Johnston's American Orations, I, 24.

³ Ibid., I, 30.

⁴ See Old South Leaflets, No. 12.

"new roof" demanded that it should speedily receive important amendments. Virginia expressly qualified her acceptance of the Constitution by asserting the right of the people to resume the powers they had delegated to the general government. New York did the same.¹

North Carolina and Rhode Island, fearing that their issues of paper money might be curtailed by the proposed Constitution, rejected it. The Articles of Confederation were still in force. They could not be altered or set aside except by the action of the "legislatures of *every* state" (§ 238). But notwithstanding this provision, when eleven states had ratified the new Constitution the Congress of the Confederation declared it in force (September 13, 1788).

Thus by a peaceful revolution a majority of the states quietly overturned the old form of government. They withdrew from the first Union (in which North Carolina and Rhode Island still remained) and established a new and "*more perfect* Union," but just how perfect time alone could determine. The two above-named states stood out by themselves until the recently adopted Constitution went into operation, when at length they decided (1789, 1790) to join the majority; and so the last two pillars in the new "temple of liberty" were triumphantly set up. Many years later, John Quincy Adams declared that the Constitution was "extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant nation."

The aristocratic spirit of the colonial period (§ 184) made itself felt, and in certain important respects the new frame of government was not a democratic instrument. It did not give the people the direct power of electing the President of the United States or the members of the Senate.² In fact, "the Constitution was the work of men who had a vivid sense of the danger of democracy."

Since it went into operation the Constitution has been modified in three ways: (1) by amendment (§ 251); (2) by the

¹ See Elliot's *Debates on the Constitution*, I, 327.

² See the *Constitution*, Appendix, xi (Art. II, Sect. 1); vii (Art. I, Sect. 3).

interpretations and decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States (§ 275); and (3) by political usage respecting broad or strict construction (§ 256).

The first presidential election had already taken place. As the Constitution then stood (before the adoption of the twelfth amendment (§ 279) in 1804),¹ the person receiving the highest number of electoral votes was declared President and the one receiving the next highest was to be Vice President. Under the restrictions then existing (§ 174) only one in twenty of the population could vote; as a rule, the landless man could not cast a ballot, and he could not hope to hold any high office;² at present at least one in four of the population of the United States has the right to vote.³ Washington was unanimously elected President of the United States, and John Adams was chosen Vice President.

248. Summary. The American colonists began the Revolution (1775) to obtain their constitutional rights as loyal subjects of the English crown. The contest soon developed (1776) into the War for Independence.

During the first part of the Revolution the government of the United States was in the hands of the Continental Congress. Later (1781), a "league of perpetual friendship" was formed between the states under the name of the Articles of Confederation, and the Congress of the Confederation took the management of the affairs of the national government.

Owing mainly to its lack of needful executive and coercive power the "league" failed to give satisfaction. To remedy this defect and to form "*a more perfect Union*," our present Constitution was framed and put in operation by eleven of the thirteen states (1789); shortly afterward the two remaining states decided to ratify it and thereby entered the new Union.

¹ See the Constitution, Appendix, xi (Art. II, Sect. 1) and xvii (Art. XII).

² See Thorpe's Constitutional History of the United States, I, 68, 77, 82, 93-97; II, 476.

³ See Professor Thorpe in Harper's Magazine, November, 1897, 838.



THE UNION, NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT¹

(1789-1861)

For authorities for this chapter, see footnotes and the classified list of books in the Appendix, page xxiv.

GEORGE WASHINGTON (FEDERALIST), TWO TERMS (1789-1797)

249. The inauguration; tasks of the new government; state of the nation. Congress began to assemble in March, 1789, in Federal Hall, New York. Washington's inauguration (§ 247) took place April 30, on the balcony of the hall. At its close the bells of the city rang out a joyous peal; the cannon on the Battery fired a salute, and the crowd in the streets shouted, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!"

The President and Congress had formidable tasks before them. It was their duty to set up and start the machinery of the new government. The outlook was doubtful if not threatening.

¹ See, in general, on this section, Hildreth's *United States* (1789-1820), IV-VI; Winsor's *America*, VII; McMaster's *United States* (1789-1829), I-V; Adams' *United States* (1801-1815), I-IX; Rhodes' *United States* (1850-1861), I-III; Schouler's *United States*, I-V; Bryant and Gay's *United States* (rev. ed.), IV-V; Wilson's *United States*, III-IV; Hart's *Epochs of American History*, III-IV; Scribner's *American History Series*, III-IV; Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries*, III-IV; Macdonald's *Select Documents*; Johnston's *American Politics*; Gordy's *Political History of the United States* (rev. ed.) (1789-1828), I-II; Von Holst's *Constitutional History of the United States*, I-VIII; Benton's *Debates of Congress* (1789-1850), I-XVI; Benton's *Thirty Years' View* (1820-1850); Thorpe's *Constitutional History of the American People*; Woodburn's *American Politics*; Merriam's *American Political Theories*; Stanwood's *The Presidency*; Snow's *American Diplomacy*; McKee's *National Conventions and Platforms*; Johnston's *Representative American Orations* (Woodburn), I-III; Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*; Semple's *American History and its Geographic Conditions*; Wright's *Industrial Evolution of the United States*; Harper's *Encyclopædia of United States History* (rev. ed.), 10 vols.

A majority of the states virtually demanded the prompt amendment of the Constitution as the price of their allegiance to the Union (§ 247). The nation was deeply in debt and had neither revenue nor credit. It was necessary that we should be able to defend our rights against foreign attack and to maintain domestic order, but the army had been disbanded and we did not possess a single war ship. Great Britain had excluded American commerce from the British West Indies and had declined to make a commercial treaty with us or to send a minister to this country. Furthermore that power refused to give up Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Mackinaw, and other fortified posts, on the ground that we had not fully carried out our treaty pledges (§ 235). At the South, Spain denied our right to the free navigation of the Mississippi (§ 243). She refused to recognize the southern boundary of the United States and she even claimed a large part of the territory held by the state of Georgia (see map facing page 250). West of the Alleghenies the Indians were restless, and in the Ohio country they were preparing to attack the whites.

On the sea the Barbary pirates shut the Mediterranean against our commerce ; every American vessel which approached the Straits of Gibraltar did so at the risk of losing both crew and cargo.

This condition of affairs at home and abroad gave rise to many perplexing questions ; but before Washington retired from office (1797) they had all been settled in a manner which secured peace, at a time when peace was, of all things, most essential to the welfare of the nation.

250. Executive Department ; the Cabinet ; the Supreme Court ; the tariff ; tonnage and excise. The first work accomplished by Congress was the establishment of the departments of State, the Treasury, and War.

Washington chose his cabinet officers from opposite political ranks. He appointed Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury ; Knox, Secretary of War ; Jefferson, Secretary of State ; and Randolph, Attorney-General. The first two were Federalists, the last two Anti-Federalists (§§ 247, 256).

Congress, by the Judiciary Act, organized the Supreme Court of the United States — “the sleeping giant” and guardian of the Constitution — and also established the inferior federal courts.

Washington appointed John Jay, Chief Justice. The court over which he presided was intrusted with the highest power granted to any tribunal in the Republic, — that of determining, on appeal, the constitutionality of the acts of Congress and of the laws of the states (Appendix, page xiii). Speaking of the services of the Supreme Court, Webster said that without it the Constitution “would be no Constitution, the government no government.”

The most urgent of all questions before Congress was, How to raise a revenue? Should it be obtained by direct tax* or by imposing a duty on imported goods? The decision was in favor of the latter method, and an act was passed (1789) establishing the first tariff. The preamble declared that the tariff was “for the support of the government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures.” The average duty imposed was very low, — less than nine per cent. No very decided changes were made in these rates until the War of 1812;¹ the duties were then doubled (§ 299).

Congress next passed (1789) a tonnage act which levied a tax of six cents per ton on vessels built and owned in the United States and engaged in foreign trade, thirty cents on vessels built in America but owned abroad, and fifty cents per ton on all other merchant vessels entering our ports. Finding that the payment of the entire public debt would require a larger revenue, Congress enacted (1791) a law which imposed an excise duty of from nine to thirty cents a gallon on whisky and other distilled spirits (§ 263).²

From all sources the government obtained a total annual revenue of about \$4,000,000, — a sum then regarded as ample for meeting the expenses of the nation.³ Since that date the revenue

¹ See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 80.

² See Macdonald's *Select Documents*, No. 8.

³ See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 110, 111.

has increased more than a hundredfold, and the demands on it have multiplied in like ratio.

251. Amendments to the Constitution. A majority of the states had called for certain amendments to the Constitution (§ 247). Congress adopted twelve, ten of which were ratified by the states before 1792. They practically formed a Bill of Rights "for the more efficient protection of the people" (Appendix, page xvi).

The first of these amendments (Appendix, page xvi) is especially noteworthy. It secures freedom of speech and of the press (§ 272), the right of petition, and the free exercise of religion. Finally, it expressly forbids the establishment of a national church. The leading powers of Europe had always considered such a church indispensable to their existence; the founders of the American Republic were the first to create a government entirely independent of any creed or form of worship.

The tenth amendment (Appendix, page xvii) ranks in importance with the first. It reserves to the states, or to the people, all "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states." Later, the eleventh amendment, provoked by a decision of the Supreme Court¹ of the United States (Appendix, page xvii), restricted the power of the federal courts with respect to the states. The twelfth amendment, relating to the election of the President and Vice President of the United States, was ratified in 1804 (§ 279). Although many hundreds of amendments to the Constitution were proposed in the course of the next sixty years, none were adopted until the period of Reconstruction, when three were added (1865-1870) to protect the negro (§ 523).

252. Hamilton's report on the public debt. Early in 1790 Hamilton (§ 250) made his report on the public debt.² He divided it into three classes: (1) the foreign debt; (2) the domestic debt; (3) the state debts.

¹ See Abstract of Constitutional Decisions (*Chisholm vs. Georgia*), facing page 266.

² See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 6; Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 89.

The first amounted to nearly \$12,000,000. It represented, in the main, money which we had borrowed during the Revolution from France, Spain, and private capitalists in Holland. The domestic debt of \$42,000,000 was the amount which the nation owed to citizens of the states. Finally, there were the state debts, estimated at \$21,500,000.

The entire national and state obligations footed up \$75,500,000. Hamilton called this total "the price of liberty." He recommended the government to make provision for the payment of the whole sum, principal and interest, believing that strict honesty would prove to be the best possible cement for binding the new Union solidly together.

253. Debate on Hamilton's proposition. Congress agreed without dissent to the first part of the Secretary's scheme. It was not only willing but anxious to pay every dollar which we had borrowed abroad; but many prominent men thought it unwise to offer to discharge the full amount of the domestic debt. It was ridiculed by the opposition as a scheme for "the relief of the well to do." The certificates of this debt had fallen to fifteen cents on the dollar, and had been largely bought up by speculators, who would be the only ones to profit by their redemption. The supporters of Hamilton's measure contended that the government should keep its contract to the letter, no matter who held the certificates. By so doing, said they, we shall put our credit on a firm foundation, and teach future investors in our national securities not to sacrifice them. After protracted debate this argument prevailed, and Congress decided to pay both the foreign and the domestic debt.

The great final contest was over the question of the assumption of the state debts. The Northern States owed the larger part, and were generally in favor of shifting the responsibility of payment to the shoulders of the national government. The Southern States, which owed far less, declared that Congress had no right to assume these debts and thereby compel the people of the South to help clear off obligations which they had never incurred.

They furthermore contended that it was very doubtful whether the Constitution authorized such an act, which they thought would dangerously encroach on the right and responsibility of the states to manage their own affairs. The advocates of Hamilton's policy replied that the proposed measure was necessary for the common good and for the complete establishment of the public credit.

254. "Logrolling"; funding the debt. Eventually the dispute was settled by compromise. While the discussion was going on, the question of the location of the national capital was under debate. New York wanted it on the Hudson; Pennsylvania, on the Delaware; Maryland and Virginia, on the Potomac. At a dinner given by Jefferson, Hamilton found an opportunity to settle the state-debt and the national-capital questions at one stroke by bringing into play the backwoods custom: "You help me roll my log, and I will help you roll yours."

Two Virginia members of Congress promised to vote for the assumption scheme on condition that a sufficient number of northern votes should be cast to secure the passage of a bill permanently locating the national capital on the Potomac. This bargain was faithfully carried out. Certain northern members of Congress voted for an act which established the headquarters of the federal government at Philadelphia for ten years (1790-1800) and then fixed them permanently at Washington; on the other hand, certain southern members voted for the assumption of the state debts. Both measures were successfully carried through.

This last act completed the adoption of Hamilton's plan. The whole public debt was funded¹ by issuing new bonds bearing six per cent interest, and pledging the chief part of the revenue and all of the money received from the sale of government lands at the West for their gradual redemption. In three years these new bonds rose to par, and the credit of the United States was established at home and abroad.

¹ See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 89.

255. Bank of the United States ; the mint. Hamilton next recommended the establishment of a National Bank¹ similar to the Bank of North America chartered by the Congress of the Confederation (1781), but which soon became a state institution, and which still exists at Philadelphia.

There were then (1791) but three banks in the entire country, and their notes had no circulation outside the cities in which they were situated. Most of the people of the states had never even seen a bank bill. Hamilton urged that the best interests of the government and of trade demanded a sound national paper currency, which would pass from hand to hand and be used throughout the Union.

His project roused a hot debate. Some members of Congress denounced the measure as a scheme for enriching a few greedy capitalists at the expense of the mass of the people. Others declared that it was a political plot for establishing an aristocratic institution intended to pave the way to a "monarchy."

The most serious objection came from Madison and his followers. They denied that the Constitution gave Congress power to charter such a bank. The friends of the measure replied that the power, though not specifically granted, was clearly implied in the necessary right of collecting a revenue and paying off the public debt, both of which measures demanded a national currency. The bill finally passed by a large majority. Washington consulted his cabinet in regard to signing it. Jefferson² and Randolph opposed the measure as unconstitutional; Hamilton³ and Knox approved it. Hamilton's arguments prevailed, and the Bank of the United States was chartered for twenty years (1791-1811). It had its head office at Philadelphia, with numerous branches. It began business with a capital of \$10,000,000; one fifth was subscribed by the government, and the remainder by individuals. The bills of the Bank were redeemable in coin, and were receivable for all payments due the United States.⁴

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 9 and 21. ² Ibid., No. 10. ³ Ibid., No. 11.

⁴ See Dewey's Financial History of the United States, p. 23.

The Bank advanced money to the government in anticipation of taxes, received public deposits, and helped collect the revenue.

The following year (1792) the first national mint was established at Philadelphia (§ 242). It issued coins (1793), beginning with a hundred and fifty tons of coppers, on the admirable decimal system recommended by Jefferson. The Spanish dollar divided into one hundred parts was taken as the monetary unit. A double standard was adopted, and fifteen ounces of silver were declared equal in value to one ounce of gold. The coinage of both metals was made free and unlimited (page 566, note 1), and remained so until 1873 (§ 528). The intention was to maintain strict parity of value between them, neither of which was then mined in the country. But the market value of an ounce of gold was found to be somewhat greater than that of fifteen ounces of silver, and in 1834 Congress changed the ratio to sixteen to one.¹

256. Rise of political parties; Federalists versus Republicans. The heated discussion over the establishment of the National Bank (§ 255) gave rise (1792-1794) to two regularly organized political parties, — the Federalists led by Hamilton, and the Republicans, by Jefferson. The Federalists were succeeded by the National Republicans (1828), the Whigs (1834), and by the Republicans (1854) of the present time; the Jeffersonian party soon (1796) took the broader title of Democratic-Republicans; in time this official party name was popularly shortened to that of Democrats (1828).

Jefferson declared that he and Hamilton were pitted against each other "like two fighting cocks"; but both heartily supported the Constitution. Their opposition sprang originally from their different interpretation of that instrument. The Federalists, or "broad-construction" party led by Hamilton, held that the Constitution conferred on the government every "implied power" necessary to its action and that nothing was expressly reserved to the states. The Republicans, or "strict constructionists," led by Jefferson, contended that the safety of the people demanded that

¹ See Dewey's *General History of the United States*, 101.

the government should be bound by the very letter of the Constitution, and that every power, which was not specially granted to Congress or to the federal authorities, should be reserved to the states.

In this controversy each party could appeal to the Constitution itself for support. The Federalists triumphantly cited what has been called the "elastic clause," which confers on Congress powers of very extensive range (Appendix, page x, last paragraph of § 8). The Republicans confidently quoted the tenth amendment, which lays emphasis on the powers reserved to the states (Appendix, page xvii). Time, however, showed that the party in office, whatever might be its politics, was generally inclined toward "broad construction." On the other hand, the party not in office usually tended toward "strict construction" (§§ 281, 285, 290, 328).

Socially Hamilton and Jefferson stood in strong contrast. Hamilton, like Adams, believed in restricting the exercise of political rights to "the rich, the well born, and the able"; Jefferson was opposed to all class privileges, and declared that he put his reliance in "the good sense of the people." Hamilton was an aristocrat who admired the stability of the English constitution; Jefferson, a democrat who sympathized with the French Revolution and its proclamation of "the rights of man." The violent Republicans said that the Federalists were galloping toward monarchy, and nicknamed them "Monocrats"; the violent Federalists called their opponents "Mobocrats," and declared that they were hurrying toward anarchy at breakneck speed.

Both parties speedily invoked the aid of the press. Fenno's *Gazette* defended the Federalists, while Freneau's *Gazette* fired broadsides in behalf of the Republicans. It was the beginning of the modern era in which government by newspaper has come to play so conspicuous a part.

The political issues for many years related largely to such economic questions as the Acquisition of Territory, the Tariff, the United States Bank, and Internal Improvements. Later, the question of the extension of slavery came to the front.

257. Debate on slavery ; the first fugitive-slave law. Meanwhile the Quakers and Abolitionists of Pennsylvania had presented petitions to Congress praying for the suppression of the foreign slave trade and for the adoption of measures tending to emancipation. These petitions caused intense excitement. Congress, after an angry and prolonged debate, resolved that it had no constitutional authority to prohibit the importation of negroes (§ 246) before 1808 (Appendix, page x, § 9) or to interfere with slavery in the states.

Three years afterward (1793), Congress enacted the first law for the recovery of fugitive slaves.¹ It was based on a provision of the Constitution (Appendix, page xiv, § 2). A slave arrested in Massachusetts was rescued and set at liberty. Later, in Vermont, a judge refused to send a slave back unless his master could produce "a bill of sale from the Almighty." An attempt was made in Congress to prevent the presentation of abolition petitions, on the ground that they would "drive a wedge into the Union" which would split off the Southern States. But it was impossible to stop the discussion of this burning question, which was destined to go on until finally settled by secession and civil war.

258. The first census (1790) ; the West ; anthracite coal ; manufactures ; the "Oregon Country." The first census (1790) reported a total population of nearly 4,000,000, including more than 650,000 slaves. Nearly the whole of this population was east of the Alleghenies ; but pioneers from the states had long been crossing the mountains and making scattered settlements in the western wilderness (§ 137) ; Pittsburg (§ 169) was then a thriving town of about two hundred houses. Washington saw the importance of opening water communication with the West, and used every means in his power to accomplish the great work.

Manasseh Cutler appears to have done more than any one else toward securing the freedom clause in the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory (§ 237). He succeeded in purchasing 5,000,000 acres of government land for the

¹ See Rhodes' United States, I, 24 ; Gordy's Political History of the United States, II, 395, 400-401 ; Benton's Debates, I, 417.

new Ohio Company (§ 164), and General Rufus Putnam (§ 207) went out with a band of New England emigrants, who began the settlement of Marietta (1788). Late in the same year the building of another group of log huts, farther down the river, marked the beginning of the city of Cincinnati. Speaking of the beautiful Ohio Valley, Washington said, "If I was a young man, I know of no country where I should rather fix my habitation." By 1796 the great

THE UNITED STATES, 1790-1800

movement westward had increased to such a degree that a thousand flatboats loaded with eastern merchandise passed Marietta that year on their way down the Ohio.¹

Hard coal had already been accidentally discovered (1791) at Mauch Chunk Mountain in Pennsylvania (§ 143). The first attempts to use this coal for fuel completely failed, and in Philadelphia it was taken to mend the roads. Later experiments proved that this black stone would burn, and it came slowly into use for manufacturing and heating purposes.

¹ See Winsor's *Westward Movement*, 175.

With few exceptions the chief industry of the United States was agriculture. Washington in his first message (1790) earnestly recommended the encouragement of manufactures; for he saw that if we had to depend on Europe for goods, England would be able to hold the United States in subjection to her mills and factories. Hamilton took the same view and in his famous report¹ on that subject (1791) he declared that, since reciprocity of free trade was not then to be expected, it was the duty of Congress to stimulate the establishment of manufactures by a system of protective duties and bounties; but no decided action was taken until after the War of 1812.

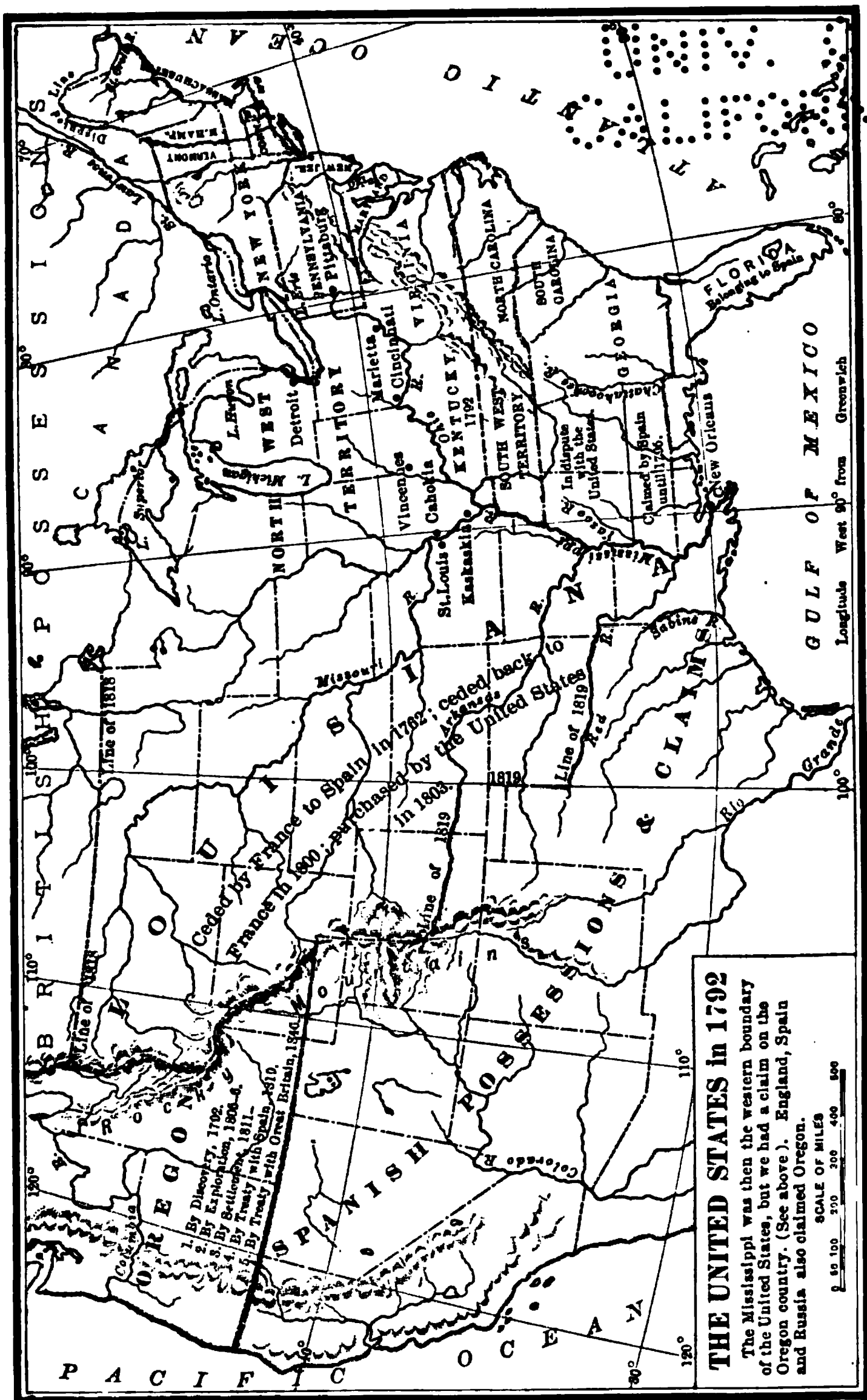
Commerce was thriving, and every American vessel was in demand. New England shipowners were not only making fortunes in the India trade, but were opening up a traffic in furs between the northern Pacific coast and China. Captain Robert Gray of Boston, one of the pioneers in that trade, first carried the American flag (1790) around the world. Two years later (1792), he was the first white man to enter that great river of the West which he named the Columbia; thereby securing to the United States its original claim to the "Oregon Country."

259. The cultivation and manufacture of cotton; the cotton gin (1793). Before Washington entered office Tench Coxe of Philadelphia urged southern planters to turn their attention to cotton raising. In England improved machines for making cotton cloth had created an immense demand for the raw material, which was then obtained from the East and the West Indies.

A few bags of cotton had been exported (1784) from Charleston to Liverpool, but planters found rice and tobacco their most profitable crops. Several cotton mills had been built in New England, but their rudely constructed machinery gave little promise of success.

Subsequently Samuel Slater, a young Englishman, came to this country and, working from memory alone, set up (1790) for Almy & Brown of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, faithful copies of the best cotton-spinning machines used in the English factories.

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 12.



U.S. AIR FORCE
AIR FORCE

The next question was how to obtain an abundant supply of American cotton. The southern planters were ready to furnish it, provided some quick and efficient means could be found for separating the seed from the fiber. When done by hand this process was tedious and expensive, as it took a negro an entire day to clean a single pound for market. In 1793 Eli Whitney of Massachusetts invented the cotton gin, which would clean a thousand pounds of cotton in a day.

His machine wrought an industrial revolution at the South, and produced economic and political results which were felt throughout the Union. (1) It "trebled the value of land" at the South, caused an enormous rise in the price of negroes, and stimulated rapid settlement of the Gulf States. (2) It made cotton the "king" of southern staples. In ten years' time we were supplying our own demands and exporting 50,000 bales besides; yet this was only the beginning. (3) Cotton culture encouraged the building of a great number of factories at the North and gave employment to fleets of vessels engaged in the carrying trade. (4) On the other hand, it killed the hope of gradual emancipation, which the "Fathers of the Republic" had cherished (§§ 45, 176), since it interested both southern and northern capitalists in the profits of slave labor and encouraged the flagrant violation of the law prohibiting the continuance of the importation of slaves (§§ 246, 257) after 1808. The result was that, in time, Whitney's invention contributed powerfully to make the maintenance and extension of slavery for many years the most prominent and the most dangerous question in our political history.

260. Fears of disunion; second presidential election. Washington's first term of office was now drawing to a close. He was eager to retire to Mount Vernon. "I would rather," said he, "take my spade in my hand and work for my bread than remain where I am." But Hamilton and Jefferson, though bitter political opponents (§ 256), united in begging him to stand for a second term. Hamilton thought that the Union was not yet "firmly established"; Jefferson feared secession and civil war. He

declared in his letters that a "corrupt squadron" of Federalists in the eastern states had formed a plot to overthrow the Republic and set up a monarchy on its ruins. He wrote to Washington: "The confidence of the whole country is centered in you. North and South will hang together if they have you to hang on."

Moved by these entreaties Washington consented to become a candidate. There was no formal nomination. He was again unanimously elected (1792); John Adams became a second time Vice President; but a majority of the new House of Representatives were Jeffersonian Republicans.

261. News from France; Proclamation of Neutrality (1793). Shortly after Washington's second inauguration (1793) news arrived that the French Revolutionists had declared war against Great Britain. In the course of our own Revolution we had made a treaty (1778) with France (§ 219), which bound both nations to an offensive and defensive alliance. By its terms we guaranteed Louis XVI his possessions in the West Indies and pledged ourselves to shelter French privateers.

Subsequently Louis XVI was guillotined and the Revolutionists set up a new government. Now that the French monarchy had been overturned, the question arose whether we were still bound by the treaty we had made with the late king. Were we under obligations to take up arms in defense of the French Republic, or should we declare ourselves neutral?

An immense number of our people, especially the Republicans, naturally sympathized with the movement in France which, following our example, had established a commonwealth based on the "rights of man." The victories gained by the soldiers of the French Republic were celebrated in Boston and Philadelphia with the wildest enthusiasm. The tricolor was displayed side by side with the "stars and stripes," bands played alternately "Yankee Doodle" and the "Marseillaise," and cakes stamped "Liberty and Equality" were distributed to processions of gayly dressed school children.

Washington felt the gravity of the crisis—a word might involve us in a second war with Great Britain before we had fully

recovered from the war for independence. The President called a cabinet meeting — the first on record — to consider what action should be taken. It seemed probable that in such a juncture Hamilton and Jefferson would take opposite sides (§ 256); but after a prolonged discussion it was unanimously determined that we should remain strictly neutral. A few days later, Washington issued (1793) a Proclamation of Neutrality¹ announcing that decision.

The Republican opposition press (§ 256) denounced the Proclamation in the most violent terms. Their journals accused the President of deliberately breaking a solemn treaty with a friendly power that had helped us in our direst need. They declared that Washington had usurped authority delegated to Congress, that he hated Republican institutions, and was ambitious to make himself king. On the other hand, Washington had such a horror of these "brawlers against the government" and such deep distrust of their patriotism that he suggested that it might be expedient to exclude them from the army of the United States.² Henceforth, for some years, America was divided between a French party and an English party, — one shouting for liberty, the other for order. Worn out with the abuse which the extreme Republicans heaped upon him, Washington exclaimed that he would rather be in his grave than be President.

262. "Citizen" Genet. Shortly after the Proclamation of Neutrality was issued (§ 261) "Citizen" Genet, the minister from France, had arrived (April 8, 1793) at Charleston. He was a self-sufficient young man, fully conscious of his own importance. He seemed to regard the United States not as an independent power, but rather as an appendage to the French Republic. Without waiting to consult Washington, he forthwith issued commissions to privateers which began capturing British vessels off our coast; he recruited men for the French service; and asked for the immediate payment of our debt to France, although

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 13.

² See Washington's Works (Ford), XIV, 104; Lodge's Washington, II, 256.

that payment was not yet due. Many people hailed Genet with delight, and numerous so-called "Democratic Clubs" were organized in imitation of the French Revolutionary Clubs.

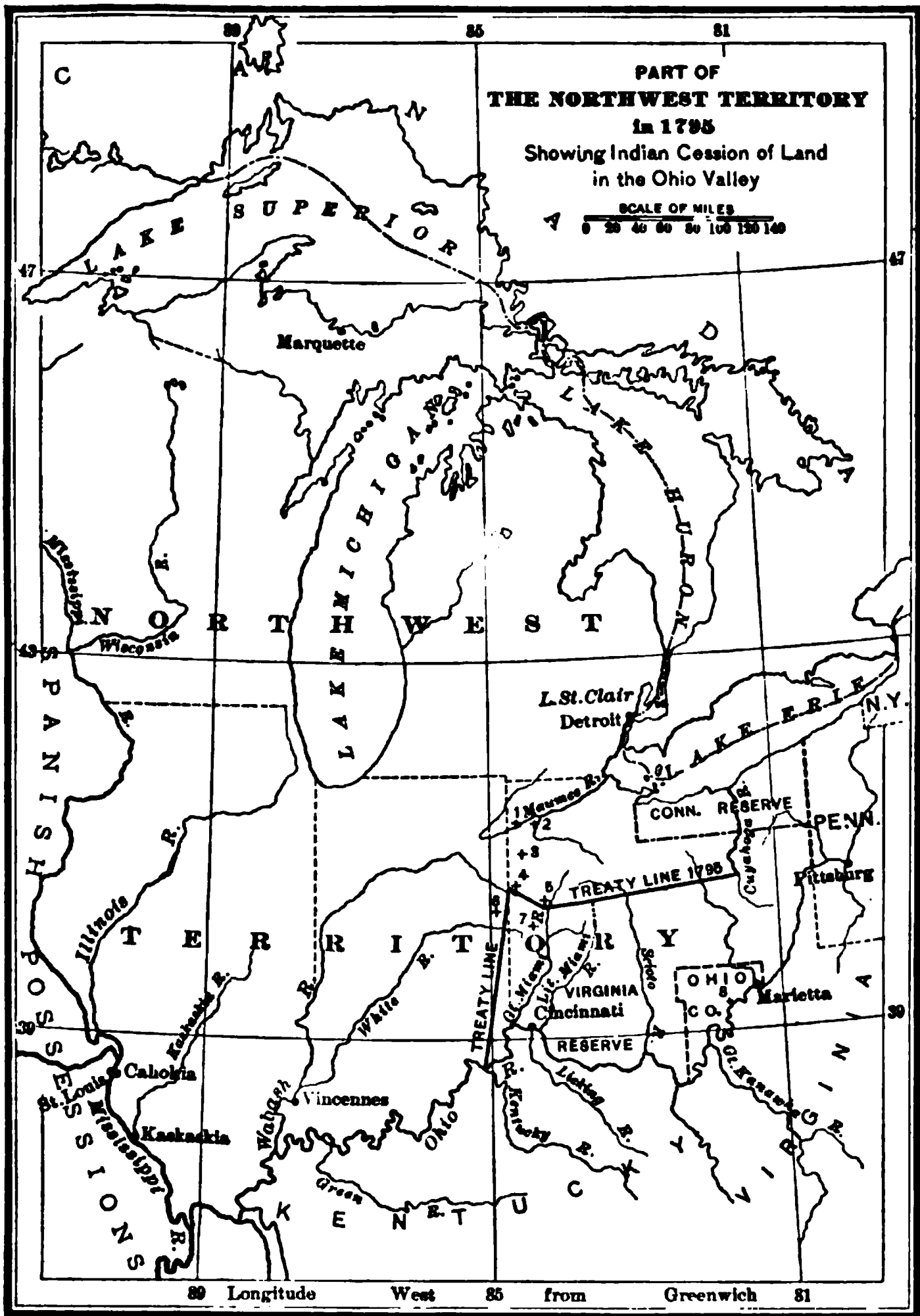
The government stopped Genet's privateers and warned him not to fit out any more. He was told that he must respect the Proclamation of Neutrality. In his rage he publicly accused the administration of having basely abandoned the cause of France. He threatened to appeal to the people as the true sovereigns in America, in the belief that thousands of eager hands were ready to drag Washington from his house and force him to resign. The President met Genet's mad threats by demanding and obtaining his recall (1794). A reaction speedily set in against the hot-headed Frenchman, and his influence subsided as rapidly as it had risen.

263. The Whisky Insurrection; Wayne's victory over the Indians. Not long after Genet's recall the government resolved to take decided measures for enforcing the excise duty (\$ 250) in western Pennsylvania, where there was a great number of small distilleries. In that section of the state, transportation over the mountains was exceedingly difficult, and the farmers found it more profitable to have their grain distilled into liquor than to try to haul it in bulk to eastern markets. Coin was so scarce among the people of that part of the country that whisky was generally used for currency, — a gallon jug of it passing for a shilling. The excise duty of nine cents a gallon (\$ 250) bore with great hardship on the whole population of the district. They denounced the tax as unconstitutional and oppressive, and drove the excise officers out of the country.

Washington feared that the rioters might threaten "the very existence of government."¹ He accordingly dispatched (1794) an army of 15,000 militia to enforce the law. The troops crossed the Alleghenies and restored order without bloodshed. It was an effective object lesson of the strength of the national government.

In the meantime an Indian war was raging in the "Ohio Country." General Harmar had been defeated, and the next year

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 15.



1. Fort Wayne; 2. Fort Defiance; 3. Fort Adams; 4. Fort Recovery; 5. Fort Loramie; 6. Fort Greenville; 7. Fort Jefferson; 8. Fort Harmar. The Connecticut and the Virginia Reserves were portions of the original land claims of those States which they reserved when they ceded their territory northwest of the Ohio to the United States.

The Ohio Company (see § 258) held an immense tract bordering on the river. Connecticut ceded her Reserve to the United States in 1800; Virginia did the same in 1852. By the Treaty of 1795 the Indians ceded all lands east and south of the treaty line shown in map, and sixteen smaller tracts — the sites of forts and trading posts — west and north of the line.

(1791) General St. Clair, who succeeded him, saw his own army cut to pieces. Washington then sent out Anthony Wayne, of Revolutionary fame (§ 224), to conquer a peace. The savages had risen with the determination to kill or expel every white settler. They now found that they must get the better of "the chief that never slept." Late in the summer of 1794 Wayne gained a decisive victory at Fallen Timbers. The next year the Indians signed a treaty of peace at Greenville, by which they gave up all claim to about 25,000 square miles of territory. This treaty opened the greater part of what is now the state of Ohio to settlement.

264. Danger of war with England; impressment of sailors. Besides the anxiety caused by the Indians there was serious danger of trouble with England. Since that country and France had been at war (§ 261) both nations had ordered their cruisers to capture American vessels found carrying provisions to either belligerent. These decrees threatened to destroy a large part of our foreign commerce. England as "mistress of the seas" could of course do us more harm than France, and hence the feeling rose higher against her.

But we had another grievance for which England was alone responsible; this was her assumption of the right of search and impressment. The English navy was so short-handed that press gangs made a business of kidnapping men in the English ports, and the royal government issued orders to seize British sailors found in the merchant service anywhere on the open ocean. Thousands of these sailors, tempted by the high wages we offered, had shipped on our vessels, and in many cases had become American citizens.

England denied the right of these men to leave her service or to swear allegiance to the American flag, and claimed them as her subjects. British men-of-war constantly stopped our merchantmen and mustered their crews on deck for examination. Often it was a difficult matter to tell an English sailor from an American. Generally speaking, the search was simply a farce, and His Majesty's officers carried off as many able-bodied seamen as they wanted without troubling themselves about any question of nationality.

265. The sixty days' embargo; the Jay treaty (1795). The excitement over the action of England was so great that Washington feared the country would drift into war. To protect our vessels from seizure in case hostilities should be suddenly declared, he induced Congress to declare a sixty days' embargo (1794). Before the embargo expired Washington sent Chief Justice Jay (§ 250) to London to endeavor to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce (§ 249) with Great Britain.

The five points we especially wished to secure were: (1) the renunciation, by England, of the assumed right of search and impressment; (2) the surrender of the frontier forts held by the English (§ 249); (3) the grant of unrestricted trade with the British West Indies (§ 249); (4) the recognition of the right of neutrals to claim, as we did, that free ships make "free goods," and were, therefore, exempt from seizure; (5) damages for negroes carried off by the British armies at the close of the Revolution (1783), and compensation for the injury our commerce had since received.

Jay succeeded in making a treaty; but it only partially covered the ground, and the commercial articles in it expired, by limitation, in 1806. The treaty,¹ as Jay signed it, provided: (1) that Great Britain should, by June 1, 1796, give up the posts she held on our frontier (§ 249); (2) that she should make compensation for all American vessels which she had seized unlawfully; under this clause our merchants eventually received more than \$10,000,000 in damages; (3) Great Britain agreed to open her ports in the West Indies, but only to vessels of less than seventy tons burden. These were all the concessions that England would make; she positively refused to pay a copper for the negroes she had carried off, to listen to our claim that free ships should make free goods, or to relinquish her assumed right of search and impressment.

In return for such grants as we obtained we bound ourselves to (1) pay all debts due British merchants at the outbreak of the American Revolution; (2) to renounce the transportation

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 14.

to Europe of West India products, and furthermore, of American cotton, of whose growing importance, as an export (§ 259), Jay seems to have known nothing.

266. Action on the Jay treaty ; excitement of the people. The Senate of the United States in secret session accepted the treaty as a whole, but struck out the article by which we renounced our right to unlimited transportation and exportation, and with it the privilege of West India trade which was part of that article. England agreed to the change.

The Chambers of Commerce of New York and Boston approved the action of the Senate, but large numbers of people throughout the country vehemently condemned the treaty, declaring that England had got the oyster and had left us the shell. The Republicans, generally, insisted that for us to be at peace with England meant our being at peace with the enemy of France and with the friend of tyranny. In Philadelphia an infuriated mob burned a copy of the treaty and guillotined an effigy of Jay. In New York, Savannah, Charleston, and Portsmouth there were similar riotous demonstrations.

When it was learned that Washington had actually signed (1795) the obnoxious treaty, the excitement rose to its highest pitch. The extreme journals of the Republican press accused the President of treason, threatened him with impeachment, and ridiculed him as the "stepfather of his country." Later, the House of Representatives threatened to refuse to appropriate the money necessary to carry out the terms of the treaty ; but Fisher Ames, in what was practically his dying speech,¹ persuaded them to accept it. Then a reaction set in, and eventually many of those who had denounced Jay's work most fiercely admitted that, all things considered, he had done well in keeping us from war.

267. Algiers ; treaty with Spain ; Washington's farewell address ; presidential election ; new states. In the autumn (1795) we made a treaty with Algiers, at heavy cost, by which we bought the release of American sailors held in slavery in Africa and secured

¹ See Johnston's *American Orations*, I, 112.

the temporary right of pursuing our commerce in the Mediterranean without molestation (§ 249). In taking this humiliating course we simply followed the example of European nations that had long paid tribute to these notorious pirates.

A little later, we negotiated a very important treaty (1795) with Spain. By it we secured: (1) the Florida boundary (§ 249) as claimed by the United States (see map facing page 252 and Appendix, page xxx); (2) the free navigation of the Mississippi, — a point in dispute which had once threatened to dissolve the Union (§ 243); (3) the “right of deposit,” or storage, at New Orleans for American exports and imports.¹

The following year (1796) Washington issued his farewell address.² He warned his fellow-countrymen of the danger of sectional jealousy, and of parties divided by geographical lines, and urged the people to devote all their strength to the preservation of the Union.

At the presidential election (1796) the electors, without any previous nomination, chose two bitter political opponents, namely, John Adams, Federalist, with Thomas Jefferson, Republican, as Vice President. The ballot stood 71 to 68, and, as Adams obtained only a bare majority, the opposition dubbed him the President of three votes. The closeness of the contest showed how much the Democratic-Republican party had gained. A scurrilous Philadelphia paper dared to congratulate the people on the retirement of Washington, and denounced him as the man who had “debauched” and “deceived” the nation. But the mass of the people remained unflinchingly loyal to the great leader who had secured our independence, and who in all things sought to establish the lasting welfare of the American Republic.

During Washington's administration three new states, Vermont (1791), Kentucky (1792), and Tennessee (1796), had been added, making the total number sixteen, namely, eight free and eight slave states. The admission of these states was especially significant in two respects: (1) it showed that Congress had adopted

¹ See Hildreth's *United States*, IV, 569.

² See *Old South Leaflets*, No. 4.

the policy of endeavoring to balance the slave and the free states in their division of political power; (2) the first two of these new states had framed constitutions which practically established "manhood suffrage." That fact stood out in striking contrast to the restricted suffrage which still generally prevailed in the original thirteen states' (§§ 174, 247); it was significant of the democratic tendencies of the time.¹

268. Summary. The administration of Washington organized the new government on a broad and permanent basis. It funded the public debt and thereby established our national credit at home and abroad. It forced the Indians to come to terms, and so threw open the Ohio Country to peaceful settlement. It admitted the first three new states to the Union. It maintained neutrality with the hostile powers of Europe, and by treaties negotiated with England, Algiers, and Spain it secured the evacuation of the British forts on our frontiers, unrestricted commerce with the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the acknowledgment of the southern boundary claimed by the United States. The invention of the cotton gin opened up new fields of industry, but fastened slavery on the South and made its maintenance and extension for many years one of the chief objects with a large body of the people.

JOHN ADAMS (FEDERALIST), ONE TERM (1797-1801)

269. Inaugural address; trouble with France; the "X.Y.Z." Papers. The political opponents of Mr. Adams (§ 256) accused him of "an awful squinting" toward "a monarchy." He declared in his inaugural address (§ 267) that the Constitution had always impressed him as "a result of good heads prompted by good hearts," that it had established the system of government which he had ever "most esteemed," and which he believed best reflected the "power and majesty of the people."

¹ See Thorpe's *Constitutional History of the American People*, I, 201-202.

The divided administration of Mr. Adams (§ 267) had no sooner entered office than trouble broke out with France. The ratification of the Jay treaty (§ 266) had thrown the French authorities into a violent rage; they accused us of truckling to England, and retaliated by ordering the confiscation of American ships carrying English goods even when not "contraband of war." This action virtually annulled the treaty of 1778 (§ 219), which had stipulated that "free ships should make free goods." They furthermore decreed that American sailors found on English naval vessels — though impressed into the British service — should be considered pirates, liable to be hanged.

Not satisfied with these extreme procedures, the French Directory ordered our minister, C. C. Pinckney, to leave Paris, and threatened to subject him to police supervision while he remained. This action forced him to retire to Holland.

In the hope of preserving peace, the President appointed C. C. Pinckney, Elbridge Gerry, and John Marshall to treat with France. Talleyrand, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, did not receive our commissioners officially, but sent three emissaries to confer with them privately. Talleyrand's agents had the effrontery to tell the American envoys that certain passages in President Adams' speech to Congress had offended the Directory, and that they must be satisfactorily explained away or toned down. They next demanded a loan from the United States to the French Republic. Finally, they told our envoys that they would be expected to make the members of the Directory a handsome present. "We must have money," said they, "plenty of money." They intimated that unless a quarter of a million of dollars was promptly handed over to them, orders would be given to French frigates to ravage the American coast. The American commissioners transmitted full reports of these astounding demands to President Adams. He sent (1798) copies of the dispatches to Congress, but substituted the letters "X.Y.Z." for the names of Talleyrand's three agents; hence the title, the "X.Y.Z." Papers.¹

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 16.

270. The American war spirit roused; France yields. The publication of the "X.Y.Z." dispatches was like the falling of a spark in a powder magazine. The war spirit was roused. President Adams said, "The United States is not scared"; he furthermore declared: "I will never send another minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honored, as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation."

Everywhere the cry was heard, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!" A few Republican newspapers ventured to suggest that we might as well buy peace from France as buy it from the Algerine pirates (§ 267), but no heed was given to them. Congress appointed Washington commander of a provisional army and, notwithstanding strong opposition, voted (1797) to complete without delay the three frigates *United States*, *Constellation*, and *Constitution*, which were then on the stocks.

The first of these ships was launched that year (1797). It was the beginning of the modern American navy. Orders were given for the construction of twelve additional men-of-war, and commissions were issued to the commanders of several hundred private armed vessels. Intercourse with France was suspended, the treaty of 1778 (§ 219) was pronounced void, and the streets rang with the new songs of "Hail Columbia" and "Adams and Liberty."

War, though not formally declared, had actually begun. The French had captured several hundred American vessels. This gave rise to the first "spoliation claims" made later by citizens of the United States against France.¹ In 1799 Commodore Truxton of the *Constellation* captured a French frigate and gained the victory over another. When France saw that America was not to be bullied into purchasing peace, the adroit Talleyrand denied that he had authorized the demands which his agents had

¹ By the treaty of 1800, made between the United States and France, our government assumed the settlement of the "spoliation claims," but nothing was done in the matter until 1891.

insolently made for a loan and gifts (§ 269), and pledged his government to receive any minister we might think proper to send.

Without consulting his cabinet Adams at once dispatched commissioners to Paris. The extreme Federalists were bitterly opposed to his making any concessions whatever to a nation that they considered to be a political ally of their opponents, the Republicans. They now indignantly declared that the President had humiliated the United States by sending the commissioners. The excitement over this incident split the Federalist party and helped to bring about its overthrow.

The commissioners negotiated a treaty of peace, and the President said later: "I desire no other inscription over my grave-stone than 'Here lies John Adams, who took upon himself the responsibility of peace with France in the year 1800.'"

271. A new naturalization act; the Alien and the Sedition Acts.¹ Meanwhile, the French Revolution and the reaction against it in Europe had driven thousands of refugees to our shores. We were glad to welcome many of these men; but others who came were agitators and anarchists. They put liberty and law to shame and, like the wild ass of the desert, rushed madly about kicking at everything.

To meet this state of things Congress passed a new naturalization act (1798). It required fourteen years' residence (instead of five) for admission to citizenship and ordered all foreign residents to be registered.

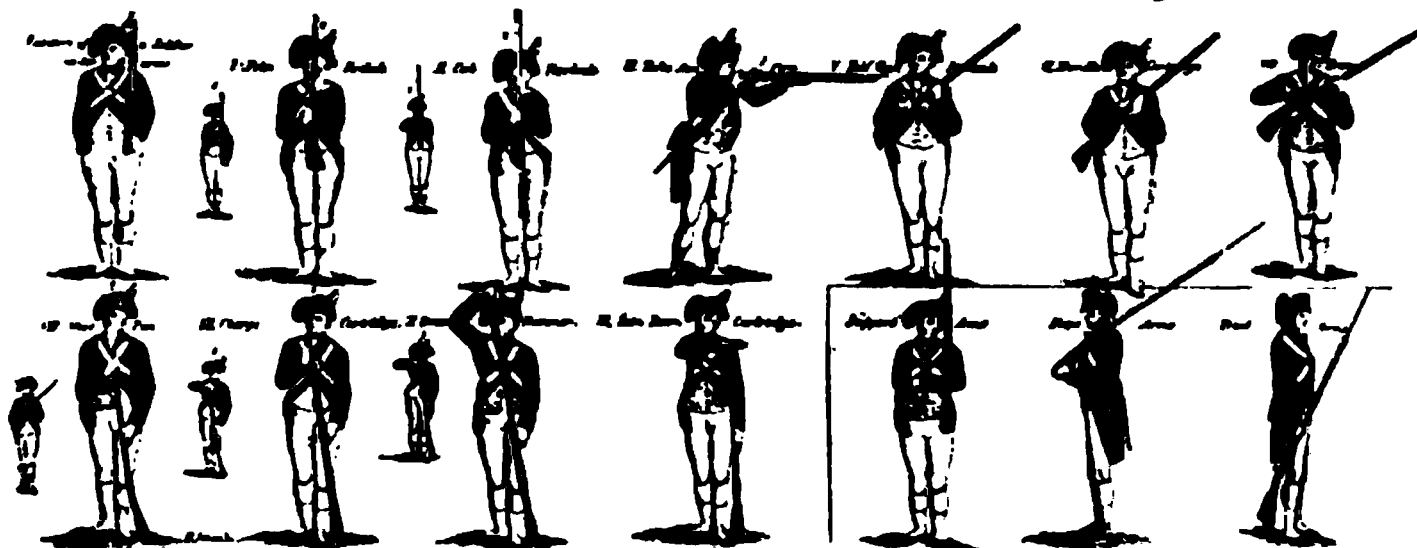
This stringent legislation, repealed in 1802, was followed by the Alien Act² (1798), limited to two years' duration. It was directed mainly against French residents, or "renegade aliens," who were suspected of plotting to overthrow the government. It empowered the President to banish, without trial, all aliens whom he believed to be dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States. Should such persons refuse to obey the order to leave

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, Nos. 17, 18, 20.

² The Alien Act, mentioned above, must not be confounded with the Alien Enemies Act of 1798, which still remains on the statute books; see Macdonald, No. 19.

TO ALL BRAVE, HEALTHY, ABLE BODIED, AND WELL
 DISPOSED YOUNG MEN,
 IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD, WHO HAVE ANY INCLINATION TO JOIN THE TROOPS,
 NOW RAISING UNDER
 GENERAL WASHINGTON,
 FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE
 LIBERTIES AND INDEPENDENCE
 OF THE UNITED STATES,
 Against the hostile designs of foreign enemies,

TAKE NOTICE,



THAT Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday at Spotswood in Middlesex county, attendance will be given by Lieutenant Reatting with his music and recruiting party of company in Major Shute's Battalion of the 11th regiment of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Aaron Ogden, for the purpose of receiving the enrollment of such youth of spirit, as may be willing to enter into this HONOURABLE service.

The ENCOURAGEMENT at this time, to enlist, is truly liberal and generous, namely, a bounty of TWELVE dollars, an annual and fully sufficient supply of good and handsome cloathing, a daily allowance of a large and ample ration of provisions, together with SIXTY dollars a year in GOLD and SILVER money on account of pay, the whole of which the soldier may lay up for himself and friends, as all articles proper for his subsistence and comfort are provided by law, without any expence to him.

Those who may favour this recruiting party with their attendance as above, will have an opportunity of hearing and seeing in a more particular manner, the great advantages which these brave men will have, who shall embrace this opportunity of spending a few happy years in viewing the different parts of this beautiful continent, in the honourable and truly respectable character of a soldier, after which, he may, if he pleases return home to his friends, with his pockets FULL of money and his head COVERED with laurels

GOD SAVE THE UNITED STATES

(1799.)

the country, they might be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three years. This act was never enforced, but several hundred Frenchmen took alarm and set sail for Europe.

Congress next passed the Sedition Act (1798), limited to less than three years and directed mainly against the opposition press. It punished, by a fine not exceeding \$2000 and by imprisonment not exceeding two years, any person convicted by jury of the following offenses: (1) of having written or published "false, scandalous, and malicious" statements with intent to bring the President or Congress into contempt; (2) of exciting against them "the hatred of the good people of the United States"; (3) of stirring up "sedition within the United States." The act granted the accused the right of giving "in evidence in his defense the truth of the matter contained in the publication charged as a libel"; this privilege, as we have seen (§ 69), was not granted by the common law. The act furthermore provided that the jury might "determine the law and the fact." These two measures received the support of every leading Federalist, Washington included, except John Marshall.

272. Opposition to the Alien and the Sedition Acts. A multitude of petitions, signed largely by Republicans, were at once sent to Congress praying for the immediate repeal of this legislation.¹ The petitioners declared that the Alien Act violated the Constitution by depriving the states of their right to admit foreigners (Appendix, page x, § 9), and by denying trial by jury (Appendix, page xvi, Art. VI). They called for the repeal of the Sedition Act on similar grounds. They considered that it was in direct conflict with the first amendment to the Constitution which guaranteed the freedom of the press (Appendix, page xvi), though Judge McKean of Pennsylvania had pointed out the fact that the liberty of the press "consists in laying no previous restraint upon publication, and not in freedom from censure for criminal matter when published."²

¹ See Johnston's *American Orations*, I, 131.

² See Hildreth's *United States*, V, 167.

The Alien Act remained a dead letter ; but the Sedition Act was vigorously enforced in a number of instances. The two most notable cases (1798) were those of Matthew Lyon, a Republican member of Congress from Vermont, and secondly, that of the proprietor of the *Vermont Gazette*. Lyon was accused of having charged President Adams with "ridiculous pomp" and "selfish avarice." He had also publicly read a letter from abroad in which the writer wondered why Congress did not send the President to a "madhouse." Lyon was convicted, sentenced to four months' imprisonment, and condemned to pay a fine of \$1000. The proprietor of the *Gazette* made some sharp comments on this sentence, and he was fined and sent to the same "Federal Bastille" where the unfortunate Lyon had nearly frozen in his cell. When their sentences expired both offenders received an enthusiastic public reception from those who regarded them as martyrs in the cause of Republican liberty.

273. The Kentucky and Virginia nullification resolutions.¹ In the South the opposition to the Alien and the Sedition Acts took a very serious form. Jefferson, under a pledge of "profound secrecy," drew up a series of resolutions which the Legislature of Kentucky adopted, with some slight changes (1798). He believed that the makers of these two laws deliberately intended to violate the Constitution, overthrow the Republic, and prepare the way for the establishment of a monarchy. The Kentucky Resolutions declared that whenever "the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force." Virginia followed with resolutions drawn by Madison, who had been one of the foremost Federalists (§ 244), but who had now gone over to the Republicans.

They affirmed that when the federal government exceeds its authority, the "states" (Madison was careful to use the plural) have the right "to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil." Both sets of resolutions professed entire loyalty to the Republic ; but both distinctly declared that they regarded the Union simply

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, Nos. 20-23.

as a "compact" made between "sovereign states," and that no "common judge" existed to determine disputes between them and the national government.

Kentucky and Virginia appealed to their fourteen sister states to sustain them. Seven replied.¹ They denied the right of a state to sit in judgment on a federal law; and Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, and Vermont declared that the Supreme Court of the United States alone had authority to decide whether an act of Congress was or was not constitutional.

The following year (1799) the Legislature of Kentucky reaffirmed its original resolutions in stronger form, and declared its conviction that "nullification" was the "rightful remedy"; but having stated this principle, the Legislature prudently added, "This commonwealth will bow to the laws of the Union." Many years later (1852, 1856), the Democratic party indorsed these resolutions in its political platforms (§§ 418, 431).

After Jefferson's death South Carolina did actually proceed (1831) to nullify an act of Congress; but Madison then was the first to protest against the "colossal heresy" of a state's presuming to set the federal government at defiance.

When South Carolina reaffirmed the Virginia and Kentucky nullification resolutions she simply acted in the same spirit shown by Pennsylvania in 1810, by Connecticut in 1812, by the Hartford Convention in 1814, by Ohio in 1821, by Georgia in 1828 (§§ 310, 319, 340, 416). Later, many northern states practically nullified an act of Congress—the Fugitive Slave Act—when they passed their "Personal Liberty Laws."²

274. Death of Washington; the new national capitol; the presidential election. Near the close of the century (1799) the country was called to mourn the sudden death of Washington. In announcing this to Congress, John Marshall spoke of him, in Lee's words, as the man who stood "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens."³

¹ See Elliot's *Debates on the Constitution*, etc., IV, 558.

² See E. P. Powell's *Nullification*. ³ See Marshall's *Life of Washington*, V, 766.

The next Congress assembled (1800) in the unfinished national capitol which was rising on the banks of the Potomac, in the city named in honor of the great leader who had gone to his reward.

The Federalist party was rent by dissensions (§ 270). In the presidential election the candidates of both parties were now nominated, for the first time, by Congressional caucuses. This custom was henceforth kept up until 1824. Adams and C. C. Pinckney, the rival Federalist candidates, received a smaller number of electoral votes than Aaron Burr and Jefferson, the Democratic-Republican (§ 256) candidates, each of whom received seventy-three electoral votes. This tie threw the election into the House of Representatives (Appendix, page xi), which was strongly Federalist, but which could not agree to unite on either Adams or Pinckney. After balloting for a week, ten votes were cast for Jefferson and four for Burr; under the Constitution, as it then stood (§ 247), this made Jefferson President and Burr Vice President of the United States.

275. The "midnight judges"; fall of the Federalists. It was known that the next Congress would have a large Democratic-Republican majority. The Federalist Congress, then in session, passed (1801) a Judiciary Act creating eighteen new judges for federal circuit courts. During the last few weeks of his presidency Mr. Adams was busy signing commissions for these judges, whom he selected from his own party. It was currently reported that he was occupied in this work up to the last hours of the last night of his administration, and the opposition nicknamed the men he had chosen "the midnight judges." Jefferson declared that the defeated Federalists had "retreated into the judiciary as a stronghold." From that "stronghold" he was determined to dislodge them (§ 279).

The office of Chief Justice having become vacant, President Adams appointed John Marshall, a man of "majestic intellect," to that position. He held it with honor to himself and to the nation for the next thirty-five years. His masterly decisions on constitutional points favored the "broad-construction" theory

LEADING CONSTITUTIONAL CASES

Decided by the Supreme Court of the United States (1793-1835)

When Chief-Justice Marshall took his seat in the Supreme Court of the United States in 1801, "the nation, the Constitution, and the laws were in their infancy." Judge Story says that scarcely more than two or three questions of constitutional law had ever engaged the attention of that Court.

Of these the case of *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1793) was the most important. The Court, Chief-Justice Jay presiding, then

John Marshall.

asserted its right to hear the suit, on appeal, of a citizen of one State against another State, and to enter judgment against that State; but the right was promptly taken away by the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution (1798) (§ 242).

I. Chief-Justice Marshall's first important constitutional decision was made in the case of *Marbury v. Madison* (1803). The Court then declared that Congress was powerless to enact a law conflicting with the Constitution. This decision has never since been questioned.

II. Sixteen years later the case of *McCulloch v. Maryland* was argued (1819). The Court then took its stand in the most positive manner on the "broad construction" (§§ 256, 277) of the

Constitution. It declared that it possessed full authority to annul a State law which conflicted with the "implied powers" of the Constitution and with those of the Federal government.

III. Later in the same year, the Court by its decision in the Dartmouth College case (1819) limited the power of a State to set aside a contract.

IV. In a fourth leading case, that of *Cohens v. Virginia* (1821), the Court asserted its right to hear suits brought on appeal from the State courts, and to act as a final tribunal in such cases. In rendering this decision Chief-Justice Marshall incidentally took occasion to condemn the doctrines of nullification and secession. He declared that the United States has the right to control all individuals or State governments within its boundaries.

V. Finally, in the case of the *American Insurance Co. v. Canter* (1828), the Court declared that "the Government possesses the power of acquiring territory, either by conquest or by treaty."

These, and kindred decisions,¹ extending over a space of more than thirty-four years, fully entitled Chief-Justice Marshall² to be called "the second maker of the Constitution," for he, more than any other man of his day, created "constitutional government, as we now understand that term." Finally, as Judge Landon remarks, "It is plain now that we are largely indebted to the Court for our continued existence as a nation, and for the harmony, stability, excellence, and success of our Federal system."

¹ Several of these decisions (as in that of *McCulloch v. Maryland*) upheld the powers of Congress, e.g. *Osborn v. the Bank of the United States*. Others (as in *Cohens v. Virginia*) asserted the jurisdiction of the Court, e.g. *Martin v. Hunter's Lessees*. Finally, a number of others (as in the Dartmouth College case) set aside State laws which conflicted with the Federal Constitution, e.g. *United States v. Peters* or the Olmstead case, *Fletcher v. Peck*, and *Gibbons v. Ogden*. See a classified list of these cases in McMaster's "United States," V, 412.

In some of the last-mentioned decisions the States "struck back," and declined to recognize the jurisdiction of the Court. Thus Georgia (1831-1832) positively refused to abide by its decision or to obey its mandate (§ 340). That State took the ground that it had sovereign power to annul all laws and ordinances made by the Cherokee Indians within its borders, and to cut up their territory and annex it. The Supreme Court of the United States denied that Georgia could constitutionally exercise such power, and the State defied its authority. President Jackson not only took no steps to uphold the Court, but was reported to have said: "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it." See Von Holst's "Constitutional History of the United States," I, 448-458.

² See Magruder's "Life of Marshall"; Van Santvoord's "Lives of the Chief-Justices of the United States"; Dr. Henry Hitchcock's lecture on Chief-Justice Marshall in the Political Science Lectures of the University of Michigan for 1889; Carson's "History of the Supreme Court of the United States," and Landon's "Constitutional History of the United States" (revised edition).

(§ 256); the importance of these decisions gained for him the title of the "second maker" of the Constitution (see an abstract of these decisions opposite, page 266).

The passage of the Alien and the Sedition Laws (§ 271), joined to Adams' peace policy toward France (§ 270), sapped the strength of the Federalist party, and with the election of Jefferson it fell, never to rise again as a national power.¹ That party had never trusted the mass of the people and had never been trusted by them; but none the less it had done a great and lasting work. It had organized the federal government. Hamilton, Adams, and Marshall were among its leaders, and Washington sympathized largely with their views. They were conservatives, and deemed it prudent to make haste slowly; but they have never been surpassed in devotion to what they believed to be the highest welfare of the American Republic.

276. Summary. The principal events of Adams' administration were: (1) the difficulty with France, represented by the "X.Y.Z." Papers, followed by a short war and ending with a treaty of peace; (2) the passage of the new Naturalization Act, followed by the Alien and the Sedition Acts; (3) the Kentucky and Virginia Nullification Resolutions; (4) the death of Washington, and the fall of the Federalist party.

THOMAS JEFFERSON (DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN), TWO TERMS (1801-1809)

277. Jefferson and "political revolution." Jefferson (§ 256) regarded his election (§ 274) as a "political revolution." It was, he said, "as real a revolution in the principles of our government as that of 1776 was in its form." The Federalists had held control for twelve years; for the next forty years the opposite party was to stand at the helm and, in Jefferson's words, put the ship on her "Republican tack." Henceforth there were to be "no

¹ See Hart's American History told by Contemporaries ("The Wail of a Federalist Organ"), III, No. 105.

more coaches-and-six, no more court-dress, no more levees," or "half-monarchical state," as in the days of Washington, but only plain democratic simplicity.

The inauguration ¹ at what was called the "palace" — in reality a "palace in the woods" — was the first which took place in the permanent capital of the nation. The new President delivered a masterly address in which he endeavored to conciliate the defeated party. It marked the transfer of power from the conservative Federalists who had successfully organized the government to the Democratic-Republican party. The first believed in the "broad construction" of the Constitution (§ 256), in limited suffrage, and laid stress on national sovereignty; the second advocated "strict construction" (§ 256) and favored manhood suffrage (§ 267); Jefferson, its founder, was a zealous advocate of state rights, or what was later called state sovereignty (§ 273).

These opposite political tendencies were personified in the President elect and Chief Justice Marshall (§ 275) as they met face to face on the 4th of March, 1801, one to administer, the other to take, the oath of office (Appendix, page xii). Jefferson, as a Democrat, was "bent on restricting the power of the national government in the interests of human liberty"; Marshall, as a Federalist, was resolved to enlarge that power "in the interests of justice and nationality."

278. The United States in 1801; material obstacles to union. The second census (1800) showed an increase of over thirty-five per cent (§ 258). It reported the total population of the United States, including nearly 900,000 slaves, at a little over 5,300,000, or less than the single states of New York or Pennsylvania have to-day. The entire country west of the Alleghenies was popularly known as the "Wilderness"; it had perhaps 500,000 settlers. They belonged to the pioneer class; they had the log-cabin virtues; they were full of energy, self-reliance, and indomitable daring. In a very large degree those qualities have made America what it is to-day. The West attracted a steady stream of emigrants, but

¹ See Johnston's *American Orations*, I, 155.

the region was so vast that Jefferson thought it might require a "thousand generations" to fill it. Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Knoxville, and Louisville were slowly gaining ground. Nashville was then the farthest outpost in the southwest. In the northwest less progress had been made, and it was not until three years later (1804) that Fort Dearborn was erected as a frontier defense on the ground where Chicago now stands.

Facilities for travel and transportation had not essentially improved since Columbus first set foot on the shores of the New World. Only three roads had been cut through the forest to the West. The northern route led to Pittsburg, the middle route to the Kanawha, a branch of the Ohio, the southern to, and through, the Cumberland Gap. These roads, which had originally been "blazed" trails, were of the roughest sort. In point of time it was actually farther from New York City to the Mississippi than it is now from New York to Japan. The long mountain range which separated the eastern from the western settlements seemed to many the geographical limit of the Republic. Nature had apparently allied the West with the Mississippi, and, unless canals could be cut between the Atlantic states and the section beyond the Appalachians, it was difficult to see how both could be held together under a single central government.

Statesmen like Fisher Ames did not hesitate to declare, "Our country is too big for union"; and Jefferson, notwithstanding his ardent patriotism, said, "Whether we remain in one confederacy or form into Atlantic and Mississippi Confederations I believe is not very important to the happiness of either party."

279. Appointments to office; repeal of Federalist laws; admission of Ohio. Jefferson had no sooner come into power than he was beset with applications for office. His first intention was to let those who held positions remain undisturbed. "Probably," said he, "not twenty will be removed, and those only for doing what they ought not to have done." But a little later he felt that he must yield to pressure and give his own party "a due participation of office," from which, he declared, they had been wholly excluded.

The only way to do this was to remove a certain proportion of Federalists ; for, said he, "few die and none resign." He declared that as soon as he had secured to the Republicans "their just share," he should make no more appointments for party purposes, but "gladly return" to that state of things when the only questions respecting a candidate would be: "Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?"

In the course of the first fourteen months the President made only sixteen removals without showing cause, and in the whole course of his administration he made, according to Von Holst, but thirty-nine. Other authorities claim that this estimation is far too low ; and Jefferson himself stated in 1803 that out of 316 offices only 130 continued to be "held by Federalists."

In its turn Congress proceeded to pass the sponge over the slate of recent Federalist legislation. It repealed the Judiciary, Naturalization, and Excise acts (§§ 275, 271, 250). The obnoxious Alien and Sedition Laws had already expired by limitation (§ 271). Congress next passed the twelfth amendment to the Constitution (Appendix, page xvii). It changed the form of the presidential election to that which has ever since been followed.

Early in 1803 the admission of Ohio raised the total number of states to seventeen. Like two of the three new states which had preceded it (§ 267), Ohio declared in favor of a system of pure "manhood suffrage." The old states were meanwhile reconstructing their constitutions on the same broad lines. The change was in the direction of Jefferson's principle of trusting everything to "the good sense of the people" (§ 256). It meant that the time was coming when the votes of the masses, rather than those of the select few, would control the destinies of the Republic.¹ In fact less than two generations later the property qualification for the elective franchise had been practically abolished throughout the Union.

Congress made a grant of school lands to the state of Ohio, which was the first of the kind in our history. It marked the

¹ See Gordy's Political History of the United States, II, 338-340; Thorpe's Constitutional History of the American People, I, ch. iii, vii.

beginning of that wise policy "by which public education became an essential part of Commonwealth organization." In the West, the State took upon itself the responsibility of giving to all children the advantage of public instruction.¹

280. Spain cedes Louisiana to France; we purchase the province (1803). Not long after Jefferson's inauguration news was received that Napoleon had forced Spain to cede Louisiana (§ 172) to

THE UNITED STATES IN 1803 AFTER THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA,
WITH BOUNDARY OF 1819 (§ 318)

West Florida, as far eastward as the Perdido River, was claimed as part of the purchase. In 1802 Congress added all that remained of the Northwest Territory (§ 237) to Indiana Territory (see map facing page 268). The "Oregon Country" was held jointly with Great Britain

France. This change hemmed us in between two powers hostile to each other, — Great Britain on the north and France on the south and west. Jefferson fully realized the gravity of the situation. He wrote to Chancellor Livingston, our minister at Paris, saying that although we had always regarded France as our "friend," yet we could no longer do so if she held New

¹ See Thorpe's Constitutional History of the American People, I, 229, 230.

Orleans. The possession of that spot, added Jefferson, makes her "our natural enemy." Through New Orleans, said he, the produce of three eighths of our territory "must pass to market. France, placing herself in that door, assumes to us the attitude of defiance."

It was the intention of Bonaparte to establish a military despotism at New Orleans. "From that moment," said Jefferson, "we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation." Much as he disliked war, he declared that, rather than abandon our claim to the free navigation of the Mississippi and see the western states severed from the Union, we would draw the sword on France and "throw away the scabbard."

But the President hoped to come to an amicable understanding with Bonaparte. "Peace," said he, "is our passion." Monroe was dispatched to Paris to join Livingston. The commissioners were instructed to offer as high as \$10,000,000 for New Orleans and the East and West Floridas, or at any rate to secure, if possible, the permanent "right of deposit" (§ 267) at New Orleans. Before Monroe reached his destination Bonaparte had resolved to renew the war with England (§ 264), and to our amazement offered to sell us not only New Orleans but the entire province of Louisiana. The commissioners negotiated a treaty¹ of purchase for \$15,000,000. Thus at one stroke of the pen (1803), as Jefferson declared, we "more than doubled the area of the Republic." The purchase has been called the greatest single real-estate transaction recorded in modern history. It practically settled the question of the United States becoming a continental power. Out of the magnificent domain we then acquired, have been carved twelve states and two territories.

The boundaries of Louisiana were not clearly defined, and it was a question whether Texas or any part of West Florida was included in the purchase. The treaty, as it was finally agreed upon, gave us absolute control of the Mississippi and secured

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 24.

to us the whole region west of that river and north of Texas as far back as the Rocky Mountains. Eventually the area of our new territory was found to be nearly 1,172,000 square miles. Later (1810), we relinquished all claim to Texas and seized West Florida. The foreign population of Louisiana held a number of thousand slaves at New Orleans and St. Louis. The purchase treaty virtually recognized their legal right to such property and guaranteed that all free white inhabitants of the territory should be incorporated as citizens of the Union. The Territorial Act of 1804 confirmed these rights.¹

281. Question of the constitutionality of the Louisiana purchase. Jefferson, as the leader of the "strict-construction" party (§ 256), admitted that the Constitution did not authorize the government to purchase new territory, yet he felt constrained to sign the treaty. He believed that the preservation of the Union depended on keeping the navigation of the Mississippi open. There was no time to discuss questions of limitations of authority, and the President resolved, as he said, "to shut up" the Constitution until the acquisition of Louisiana should be ratified; then he proposed asking the nation to justify the act by an amendment to that instrument, but the amendment was never called for. A quarter of a century later, the Supreme Court decided (1828) that the national government had the Constitutional power to acquire new territory "either by conquest or by treaty."²

Notwithstanding their sympathies with "broad construction" (§ 256), the extreme Federalists now opposed the ratification of the purchase of "an unmeasured world beyond the Mississippi." They declared that the introduction of a great number of foreigners, "through a breach of the Constitution," would destroy the existing political balance and render the New England states insignificant. Others feared that it would increase the power of

¹ See Semple's *American History and its Geographic Conditions*, ch. vi; Adams' *United States*, II, ch. ii-vi; Hosmer's *Louisiana Purchase*; Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*, III, 261; McMaster's *United States*, III, 13; *American Historical Review*, April, 1904.

² See *Abstract of Constitutional Decisions*, facing page 266.

slave representation, while at the same time it would dangerously weaken us by greatly extending the line which we must defend against foreign invasion. Finally, the question was raised whether the federal government could successfully exert its power over such an enormous territory.

282. Secession plot ; Quincy's threat ; results of the Louisiana purchase. In consequence of the purchase of Louisiana a few ultra Federalists endeavored with the help of Aaron Burr, who was then Vice President (§ 274), to organize a plot for separating New England and New York from the Union. Their purpose was to form an independent Northern Confederacy ; but the conspiracy failed to receive any substantial encouragement.

When the question of the admission of the lower part of Louisiana as a slave state (§ 280) came up for debate (1811), Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts violently opposed it in the House. He said : " If this bill passes, it is my deliberate opinion that it is virtually a dissolution of the Union ; that it will free the states from their moral obligation ; and as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, definitely to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must." ¹

Senator Grundy of Tennessee admitted, a little later, that when the recently acquired territory should become " fully peopled " the northern states would " lose their power " and would then be at the mercy of the southern section. This was the danger which the representative from Massachusetts had in mind. His speech was the first unmistakable announcement in Congress of the doctrine of secession. But Quincy in this respect practically stood alone, for Massachusetts gave its assent to the admission of the new state.

In reviewing the acquisition of the province of Louisiana, we see that it eventually had five important results : (1) it secured to us the port of New Orleans, the entire control of the Mississippi, and more than doubled the area of the United States ; (2) it strengthened the bond of union in the southwest ; (3) it gave new

¹ See Johnston's American Orations, I, 180.

force to arguments for "internal improvements," — the building of roads and canals to connect the East and the West; and, taken in connection with the acquisition of California, it later made the Pacific railway a necessity; (4) it added a foreign slaveholding population at New Orleans and at St. Louis (§ 280), and it opened up an immense field for the "conflict between slavery and freedom"; (5) finally, it weakened "strict construction" (§ 256) and encouraged the opposite interpretation of the Constitution.

283. Expedition of Lewis and Clark (1804-1806). In the spring following the purchase of the province of Louisiana, Jefferson sent out Lewis and Clark to explore the Missouri to its source and to push forward to the Pacific. The expedition started in three boats from St. Louis (May, 1804). The party spent the entire summer laboriously working their way upstream against the powerful current, their average progress not exceeding nine miles a day. At the end of the season they went into winter quarters at a point not very far above the site of the present city of Bismarck, North Dakota.

The next spring, taking an Indian woman for their guide, they set out again on their journey through the great "Lone Land." By midsummer they had passed through the wild gorge of the Missouri known as the "Gates of the Rocky Mountains," and soon afterward reached the site of what is now the capital of Montana. In August (1805) they arrived at a point where they could bestride the headwaters of that great stream which they had so long been ascending and which had seemed to them well-nigh endless.

A few days later, they stood on the "Crown of the Continent," in the midst of that wonderful knot of ridges and peaks from which rise the Columbia (§ 258), the Colorado, and the Missouri. Early in October (1805) they embarked in log canoes on the Clear Water, a tributary of the Columbia, and began to paddle their way downward toward the setting sun. In November they heard the roar of breakers through the fog; when it lifted they beheld the Pacific, — "that ocean," says Lewis, which was "the

object of all our labors, the reward of all our anxieties." On their return Clark's party struck southward and came down the valley of the Yellowstone; the joint expedition reached St. Louis in the autumn of 1806 (see map, § 405).

In the course of about two years and a half the exploring party had traveled over eight thousand miles, through a region which no white man was known to have crossed before. They had found practicable passes through the Rocky Mountains, confirmed our claim to the "Oregon Country" (§ 258), and opened the way to the valley of the Columbia and the Pacific slope. Furthermore, they furnished us with our first definite knowledge of that magnificent territory in which twelve great states, with a population of many millions, have since "arisen in the wilderness." At the same time Lieutenant Z. M. Pike explored the sources of the Mississippi (1806) and measured the lofty peak in the Rocky Mountains which now bears his name.

284. Prosperity of the country; the presidential election. When Jefferson entered office the national debt amounted to nearly \$83,000,000, and the rate of taxation was heavy; by judicious management Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, paid off a large part of the debt, and at the same time induced Congress to repeal the excise duties (§ 250). Meanwhile commerce was making rapid gains and the country generally enjoyed a high degree of prosperity.

The Democratic-Republicans nominated Jefferson (1804) for a second term; he was elected under the new system established by the twelfth amendment to the Constitution (§ 279) (with George Clinton as Vice President), by an overwhelming majority over C. C. Pinckney, the Federalist candidate, the electoral vote standing 162 to 14.

Jefferson said, "the people in mass have joined us"; the truth was that a fusion of parties had gradually taken place, the Federalists having been Republicanized, and the Republicans or Democrats Federalized.

285. Jefferson's second inauguration (1805); "internal improvements"; peace with Tripoli. In his second inaugural Jefferson

bade the people look forward to the extinction of the entire public debt. Then, he said, an amendment to the Constitution would enable Congress to expend the surplus revenue in making roads, canals, and other "internal improvements." The next year (1806) a Republican Congress, without waiting for such an amendment, appropriated \$30,000 toward constructing "a national road" from Cumberland, Maryland, to the Ohio River; but the first mile of this famous highway (§ 328) was not begun until five years later (1811). Never before had the general government undertaken any work of this kind.

Before the year closed our navy (§ 270) gained a brilliant triumph over the Barbary pirates (§§ 249, 267). When near the end of Adams' administration Captain Bainbridge was sent out (1800) to pay the Dey of Algiers his annual tribute (§ 267), that potentate treated him with such insolence that Bainbridge indignantly wrote, "I hope I shall never again be sent to Algiers with tribute unless I am authorized to deliver it from the mouths of our cannon." Shortly afterward the pasha of Tripoli declared war against us because we had not promptly met his exorbitant demands for money.

Jefferson dispatched a squadron to blockade Tripoli; the vessels drew too much water to be very effective, but Rodgers, Decatur, and Hull made themselves a memorable record. When the squadron was reënforced with lighter vessels, Commodore Preble (1805) speedily compelled the pasha to drop his demands and beg for peace; a final treaty, however, was not made with the Barbary states until a number of years later (1814).

The pope was especially pleased at the chastisement which Preble had inflicted on the Mohammedan corsairs, and declared that the American officer had done more to humble those insolent barbarians than all the Christian nations of Europe had ever accomplished.

But the most important result of the war with the pirates of the Mediterranean was that it served as a training school to our victorious naval commanders for the War of 1812.

286. The first steamboat on the Hudson (1807) and in the West (1811). We have seen (§§ 258, 278) that one of the most perplexing questions in the growth of the United States was how to secure cheap and rapid communication and transportation between the East and West. The political unity of the nation seemed to depend on the successful solution of this difficult problem. It had taken Lewis and Clark (§ 283) a full year to cross the national territory west of the Mississippi. There was something disheartening in the thought of endeavoring to bring such an unbounded wilderness under the control of a government which had its capital on the Atlantic slope, thousands of miles away. Few men of that time seriously believed that a Union so vast could be permanently maintained; certainly Jefferson did not, for one (§ 278).

But an inventor had already devised the first successful means for navigating the great rivers and inland waters of the United States. His work would go far toward making it possible to unite the two sides of the continent.

Many experiments had already been made in propelling boats by steam. At one time John Fitch and Oliver Evans seemed likely to accomplish it, but they were doomed to disappointment. Latrobe, the most eminent engineer in the country, reported as late as 1803 that nothing had been done which promised practical success. Fitch came nearest to it; but lack of capital forced him to abandon the field, and in despair he took his own life. He left this prophecy: "The day will come when some more powerful man will get fame and riches by my invention." Robert Fulton was that "more powerful man." Aided by Chancellor Livingston's purse, he built and launched the *Clermont* at New York. The vessel was a side-wheel steamboat equipped with an engine imported from England. Late in the summer of 1807 Fulton made his first voyage up the Hudson to Albany.¹

Sailing vessels usually took three days to reach that point; Fulton accomplished the journey in thirty-two hours. The

¹ See Old South Leaflets, No. 108.

problem was solved ; a vessel had at last been constructed that would push its way against wind, tide, and current. The steamboat soon began making regular trips on the Hudson, and Fulton and Livingston secured the monopoly of steam navigation in New York state for twenty years.

In 1811 Fulton launched a steamboat at Pittsburg which made the voyage to New Orleans. Within seven years from that date steamboats were carrying passengers and freight not only on the Mississippi and its tributaries, but on several of the Great Lakes. Fulton said with truth that he had given the country "the most efficient instrument yet conceived for developing the West," or, as he might have added, for maintaining the stability of the Union.

287. The Burr conspiracy. Singularly enough, while Fulton was occupied in perfecting the material means for binding the country together, a formidable plot against the nation's life was discovered. Aaron Burr, while Vice President of the United States (§ 274), challenged Hamilton, his political opponent and personal enemy, and killed him in a duel (1804). Burr was indicted for murder and fled South to escape arrest. His prospects were ruined and he became desperate. Miranda, a citizen of one of the Spanish provinces in South America, was then concocting a scheme for overthrowing the power of Spain on the American continent. Miranda's expedition may have suggested the project which Burr conceived.

Burr's plan was to raise an armed force in the Southwest, drive out the Spaniards from Mexico, and establish a great Southern Confederacy composed of the states and territories west of the Alleghenies, united with the Mexican possessions. He hoped to get the aid of Great Britain in carrying out this gigantic plot, and he appears to have had no difficulty in persuading James Wilkinson, general in chief of the United States army, to join him.¹ Burr had made the acquaintance of an Irish gentleman named Blennerhasset who resided on Blennerhasset Island in the Ohio,

¹ See Winsor's *America*, VII, 338 ; Adams' *United States*, III, ch. x-xiv.

FITCH'S STEAMBOAT, 1785

John Fitch's Letter on his Steamboat

I have given my Country a most valuable Discovery on the 30 of August 1785, for which I have desired no Congratulation, and I doubt not but common justice will induce them to do something for me, especially when they can do it for the benefit of our Language —

And this inducement which urges me to pursue this Scheme is, to put it out of the power of future Generations to make success for the present one — and if I should die in poverty, want, wretchedness and days, that my country may have no cause; and that I may have the sweet pleasure, in the contemplation of receiving real pity from future Generations

all which is humbly submitted to the Company

20th Dec^r 1790

By

John Fitch

some distance southwest of Marietta. The smooth-tongued conspirator easily induced the latter to mortgage his estate to raise money for carrying out the scheme. By this means Burr obtained boats and arms and recruited about a hundred men.

General Wilkinson, who was later charged with being Burr's accomplice, was then at New Orleans; he sent information of the plot to the President. Jefferson issued a proclamation (1806) ordering the arrest of the expedition. Burr hastily disbanded his men at Natchez and took to the woods. He was speedily apprehended¹ and was tried (1807) for treason before Chief Justice Marshall. Marshall ruled that no satisfactory evidence of overt treason had been offered, and the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty." Burr soon afterward disappeared from public life and died in obscurity in New York many years later.

288. The French and English war and American commerce. After a brief peace (§§ 261, 280) Bonaparte and George III had resumed hostilities (1803). England fought in behalf of constitutional liberty and for self-preservation; Bonaparte fought for military despotism and to extend the power of France. Fleets of English cruisers swept the French merchantmen from the seas, and thus threw all trade between France and her colonies into the hands of American shipowners. In order to prevent France from getting the relief given by our merchant vessels, England revived the "Rule of 1756." That rule declared that no European nation which shut its colonial ports against freedom of trade in time of peace (as France did in common with other mother-countries) should be permitted to open its ports to direct neutral trade in time of war.

By enforcing that regulation England hoped to destroy all commercial communication between France and her foreign possessions, and so cripple her enemy's resources for carrying on the war. This measure, however, proved ineffective, and indeed, so far as America was concerned, it actually increased our commerce. For though our merchantmen could no longer

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 25.

act as direct carriers between France and her colonies, nothing prohibited us from bringing the products of the French West Indies to the United States and then shipping them to France as American exports. By taking that course we easily evaded the "Rule of 1756" and obtained double freights on our own terms.

Later, when Spain and Holland became involved in the European conflict, the neutral ships of the United States secured a practical monopoly of the carrying trade of the world. Sir James Stephen denounced this indirect commerce carried on by American shipowners as a fraud committed under the protection of a neutral flag and as a species of "war in disguise." England then (1805) declared this trade an evasion of the spirit of the "Rule of 1756" and ordered her cruisers to put a stop to it. This decision virtually restricted American commerce to American productions.

289. British "Orders in Council" versus Napoleon's Decrees; the "Leopard" and the "Chesapeake." The next year (1806) Great Britain issued an "Order in Council," which declared the coast of Europe from Brest to the Elbe in blockade. Napoleon, who was now emperor, retorted with his Berlin Decree (1806), proclaiming a "paper blockade" of the British Isles. England retaliated by a new "Order in Council" (1807), which forbade Americans or other neutrals carrying any products to France or her allies except on two conditions. These were that such vessels should undergo search by English authorities for goods "contraband of war," or that they should enter an English port and pay duties on their cargoes. This order practically prohibited neutral trade with nearly the whole of Europe.

Napoleon at once issued (1807) his Milan Decree. It prohibited all trade with Great Britain or her colonies, and ordered the seizure of any vessel which should submit to search by England or should pay any duties to the English government. The emperor's threat, however, did not prove very serious, for the battle of Trafalgar (1805) had so crippled the French navy that they could not enforce his decree on the Atlantic.

On the other hand, English men-of-war blockaded our ports, searched every outgoing vessel, and impressed great numbers of American seamen (§ 264). Congress remonstrated and put in force (1807) a Non-Importation Act which shut out most English goods from American markets; but search and impressment continued to go on as before. As a matter of fact many sailors deserted English men-of-war when in our ports and openly entered the American service. England was determined to recover her own seamen, but stated that she had no intention of seizing ours. We declared that we had no desire to harbor or employ her runaway men; but notwithstanding these avowals, neither government found an effective remedy for the grievance of which it complained.

Finally, matters reached a climax. Vice Admiral Berkeley of the British service, having lost a number of his seamen by desertion, issued orders to stop the American frigate *Chesapeake* and search for the missing sailors. In taking this action, he declared that he recognized our right to pursue the same course toward any English man-of-war. Under these instructions His Majesty's frigate *Leopard* (1807) overhauled the *Chesapeake* and forcibly removed four seamen, one of whom was hanged at Halifax as a deserter. This outrage, said Jefferson, roused the United States to a pitch of excitement not equaled "since the battle of Lexington."

The President at once issued a proclamation (1807) ordering all British-armed vessels to leave our waters; and Congress demanded reparation for the insult to our flag. Eventually the English government restored (1811) the three surviving sailors to the decks of the *Chesapeake*.

290. The Embargo Act (1807);¹ opposition to the act in New England. It now seemed probable that both England and France would impose new and more stringent restrictions on American trade with Europe. In such a crisis war was imminent. Jefferson therefore resolved to try the effect of what he called "peaceable

¹ See Adams' United States, IV, ch. vii, xi, xii, xv.

coercion." Before news of the Milan Decree was received (§ 289) he recommended Congress to pass an unlimited Embargo Act, whereas the previous embargo (§ 265) had been in force for only sixty days. Such a measure by detaining our vessels in port would save them and their crews from capture; next, it would, it was hoped, cut off large supplies of food from both combatants and perhaps starve them into making terms with us.

Congress passed the act¹ late in 1807, and subsequently strengthened it by additional legislation (1808-1809). The embargo entirely closed our ports to all trade with foreign countries. American merchantmen were forbidden to sail. Coasting and fishing craft were permitted to go out, but only on condition that their owners gave bonds in double the value of vessel and cargo that they would not land goods or produce outside of the United States.

The opposition party denounced the suppression of commerce as suicidal. They declared that it would be far better to risk vessels and crew in foreign trade than to give up that trade altogether. They spelled the hated word "embargo" backward and so formed it into the "O-grab-me Act." They called it the boa constrictor which was crushing the life out of every American industry; and the youthful Bryant wrote a satirical poem on it, for which there was a great demand. Prices dropped ruinously; the farmer could not sell his wheat, the planter found no market for his cotton, rice, or tobacco.

But the heaviest immediate loss fell on New England, where capital was most largely invested in commercial pursuits. The once busy ports seemed smitten with a pestilence; dismantled ships rotted in the docks, merchants became bankrupt, and thousands of sailors were reduced to beggary. In a single year our exports fell off from \$49,000,000 to \$9,000,000. The customhouses were closed and the government ceased to draw any revenue from commerce. Smuggling soon sprang up on an extensive scale on the Canada and the Florida borders.

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 27.

291. The "Force Act"; Napoleon and the embargo. To stop evasion of the embargo Congress passed the "Force Act" (1809). It prohibited the loading of any boat or vessel except by permit from the collector of the port, and under the eye of a revenue officer. Furthermore, the collector had orders to seize produce or goods found in any wagons or other vehicles⁴ going toward the seacoast or toward the boundary line, and hold them until the owner gave bonds that they should not be taken out of the country. To prevent resistance the act authorized the President to employ the land and the naval forces of the United States and the state militia in carrying out the law.

In New England the "Force Act" was denounced as despotic, and the Legislature of Massachusetts virtually nullified it by declaring it "unconstitutional and not legally binding." The Federalist newspapers of Boston came out in mourning: one said, "Liberty is dead"; another took for its motto, "Resistance to arbitrary laws is duty to God." Numerous handbills were distributed, warning the people that the Constitution and the Union were destroyed, and that they must now choose between "civil war or slavery." A hundred towns in Massachusetts sent in resolutions to the General Court condemning the President and the embargo. In the other New England states the same spirit manifested itself.

Abroad the embargo failed to coerce the combatants into respect for American rights. Our minister to Paris wrote that in France it was "not felt," and that in England it was "forgotten." Napoleon declared that he positively liked it, and ironically added that he would help President Jefferson enforce it. He accordingly issued his Bayonne Decree (1808). By it he ordered the confiscation of all American vessels then found in France, Italy, or the Hanse Towns, or that should enter these ports later, on the ground that they had violated the embargo.

292. Results of the embargo; its repeal (1809); Non-Intercourse Act; presidential election. But at home the embargo had two advantageous results, — one economic, the other political. The shutting out of European goods and the prohibition of commercial

intercourse forced the capital and industry of New England to establish home manufactures. The looms of the farmers' wives were soon able to supply "two thirds of the clothing and the house linen of the United States outside of the cities," while in less than two years the number of spindles in the cotton mills increased from "eight thousand to eighty thousand." Shoe, hat, and other factories prospered; Massachusetts sent nails, and Connecticut tinware and clocks, to all parts of the country. Furthermore, many new and important industries sprang up not only in New England but in other states.

Politically the embargo pushed still farther that "broad construction" of the Constitution (§ 256) which Jefferson had temporarily adopted in the purchase of Louisiana (§ 280). Certainly it postponed war for a number of years. But whatever advantages were reaped from Jefferson's "peaceable coercion," it created dangerous irritation in the Northeast. John Quincy Adams at length (1809) told the President that the embargo could no longer be safely enforced in that quarter. He stated that he had good reason to believe that some leading New England Federalists had formed a plot to detach the northeastern states and to enter into an alliance with England.

The men who were accused of being engaged in this plot indignantly denied it; but the pressure on the government for the removal of the embargo became irresistible. Jefferson said a majority in Congress were convinced that they must choose between repeal or civil war. The result was that the law was repealed early in 1809. Congress then (1809) passed a Non-Intercourse Act¹ or partial embargo, which opened our ports to all nations except England and France. John Randolph, who led a small independent political party called the "Quids," said such a measure was simply ridiculous and like firing a pocket pistol at the Rock of Gibraltar.

In the presidential election the chief candidates were James Madison (§ 273), who was now a Democratic-Republican, and

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 28.

C. C. Pinckney, Federalist. Madison was elected, with George Clinton as Vice President; the electoral vote stood 122 to 47.

Jefferson had lost his popularity and was anxious to retire to "the shades of Monticello." "Never," said he, "did a prisoner released from his chains" "feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of power."

293. Summary. Jefferson's administration began, as he believed, a "political revolution." By his election the Republican or Democratic party came into power, and continued to hold it without a break for nearly forty years. Under Jefferson the United States effected the purchase of Louisiana, by which the area of the Republic was more than doubled, and the question of slavery extension west of the Mississippi was opened. Soon afterward the Lewis and Clark expedition explored the far West and helped to confirm our title to the "Oregon Country." Fulton's steamboat made rapid communication with the greater part of the country possible, and so materially strengthened the bonds of union which the Burr conspiracy attempted to break. Abroad the insolence of the Barbary pirates was humbled. Later, the interference of England and France with our foreign trade joined to impressment disputes led to an embargo which produced important economic and political effects. When the Embargo Act was repealed it was succeeded by the Non-Intercourse, or partial embargo, Act.

JAMES MADISON (DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN), TWO TERMS (1809-1817)

294. Temporary renewal of trade with Great Britain. Not long after Madison's inauguration (§ 292) Erskine, the English minister at Washington, announced himself "authorized to declare" that the British "Orders in Council" (§ 289) would be withdrawn on the tenth of June. Madison at once issued a proclamation which suspended the Non-Intercourse Act (§ 292) and renewed friendly relations with England. Great were the

rejoicings among shipowners and sailors. Hundreds of vessels were quickly made ready for sea, and in a few weeks upwards of a thousand American merchantmen had left our ports laden with "the accumulation of nearly two years' produce."

Three months later, dispatches came from England stating that Erskine had not followed his official instructions and that the "Orders in Council" not only remained in force but had been increased in stringency by the blockade, on paper, of the whole of France, Italy, and Holland. President Madison, angry and perplexed, found himself "under the mortifying necessity" of issuing a new proclamation (1809) reviving the Non-Intercourse Act (§ 292) against Great Britain.

295. The Macon Act; Napoleon's policy. The next spring (1810) Congress passed the Macon Act. It took off restrictions on commerce, but so far as England or France was concerned it forbade intercourse with the nation that continued to maintain measures hostile to our trade.

Napoleon, by his secret Rambouillet Decree (1810), had ordered the sale of American ships and cargoes to the value of \$10,000,000, and had thrown several hundred American sailors into prison. While the emperor was making ready to sweep this goodly sum into his "strong box" he received a copy of the Macon Act. He immediately assured our government that he loved the Americans, and pledged himself to revoke or suspend all of his decrees (§ 289) against our commerce, provided Great Britain would withdraw her "Orders in Council" (§ 289), or that the United States would cause its "rights to be respected by the English."

President Madison was so moved by the emperor's assurance that he issued a proclamation declaring all trade restrictions against France revoked. Later, when it was found that Great Britain had no intention of withdrawing her "Orders in Council," Congress reaffirmed non-intercourse with that country (§ 294). Napoleon had won his game. First, he had embroiled us anew with England; secondly, by his pretended good will he had drawn more of our ships into the trap set to catch them when

they should arrive in French ports ; finally, he kept his cruisers busy burning or plundering our vessels on the ocean.

296. Tecumseh and the "Prophet." While our relations with England and France were becoming strained almost to the war point, a decisive battle with the Indians was fought in the West. It was perhaps inevitable that conflicts should spring up between the western settlers and the aborigines. The interests of the two races clashed (§ 31). The whites were eager to get possession of the Indian hunting grounds, and many of the red men, debased by drink and harassed with debt, were ready to sell their lands for the first offer.

The better class of Indians saw clearly that unless this process could be checked the tribes must soon choose between starvation and emigration. Tecumseh and his brother, the "Prophet," two Indians of the Wabash Valley, were the leaders in a great movement of reform and reorganization. Their object was to suppress the use of liquor among their people and to create a league of all the northern and southern tribes. In this proposed Indian republic a congress of warriors was to have absolute control over all lands, so that none could be sold without their consent. As a center for this movement, Tecumseh and the "Prophet" founded a village in the territory of Indiana at the mouth of Tippecanoe Creek, a tributary of the Wabash.

297. Harrison and Tecumseh; Tippecanoe. William Henry Harrison, the military governor of the territory, had recently (1809) purchased for the United States an immense tract of land from remnants of tribes in the Wabash Valley. Tecumseh believed that this purchase had not been fairly made. He said to Governor Harrison : "You are continually driving the red people ; at last you will drive them into the Great Lake." He insisted that the recent land cession should be annulled ; in that case he pledged himself to be our faithful ally ; otherwise he threatened to begin hostilities.

Believing that war was inevitable, General Harrison, late in the autumn of 1811, advanced toward Tippecanoe village with a force

of about a thousand men. The Indians attempted to surprise him ; a battle ensued in which the attacking party was decisively defeated. Harrison then advanced and burned the deserted Indian village. At the time of the battle Tecumseh was absent in the South. When the War of 1812 began he joined the English forces in Canada. The victory of Tippecanoe was important because it effectually checked Tecumseh's project of establishing a powerful and perhaps hostile Indian confederation, and it opened up a vast region to white settlers. In this way Harrison's success proved to be an important factor in developing the West.

298. The "Little Belt"; the war party; the Henry letters. On the sea (1811) the English sloop of war *Little Belt* had attacked, either purposely or by mistake, the American frigate *President*. The *Little Belt* got the worst of the battle and barely escaped destruction. Our grievances against England were great. Aside from her exercise of search (§ 289) and her impressment of several thousand of our sailors (§§ 264, 289), she had captured since 1803 more than nine hundred of our vessels.

On the other hand, France had confiscated or destroyed American property worth many millions, and cast hundreds of our sailors into prison ; when we asked for redress Napoleon deliberately deceived and insulted us (§ 295).

Two young men in Congress, Henry Clay, Speaker of the House, and John C. Calhoun, were the leaders of a strong war party which was growing up in the South. They held with Madison that "the original sin against neutrals" lay with Great Britain. The "war hawks," as the Federalists nicknamed them, called on the country to rise in arms against the king our fathers fought. We had gained our independence on land ; they declared that the time had now come to gain it on the sea.

The President was reluctant to draw the sword, but at length yielded to pressure. In the spring of 1812 he sent to Congress a number of letters which he had bought for \$50,000 from John Henry. Henry was an Irish adventurer who asserted that Governor Craig of Canada sent him (1809) as an emissary to New

England at the time of Jefferson's embargo (§ 290). His mission then was to find out whether the Federalists favored secession from the Union.

His letters were copies, and not "honest copies," of the original correspondence with Governor Craig. They contained nothing which "compromised any one except Henry himself." But they moved the President to recommend laying an embargo, and they served to excite the war party in Congress to still greater exasperation against the policy of England.

299. Madison's "war message"; war declared (1812). Less than three months later, the President sent his "war message" ¹ to Congress. He now virtually recommended an appeal to arms. The three chief grievances cited were: (1) the impressment of American citizens into the English navy (§§ 264, 289); (2) the British "Orders in Council" (§ 289) and the establishment of "pretended blockades" by which "our commerce" had been "plundered in every sea"; (3) the belief that "British traders and garrisons" on the Canadian frontier had encouraged the recent Indian outbreak (§ 297) in the West.

When the question came up for debate in the House, the eastern and middle states, with the exception of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Pennsylvania, voted against the war on the ground that we were unprepared for it, and that it would be disastrous to the best interests of the country. All the southern and western states, which were mainly agricultural and had comparatively small commercial interests at stake, voted for it.

Thirty-four members of the opposition joined in an address to their constituents in which they stated in substance that the United States was composed of eighteen independent sovereignties united by bonds of moral obligation only, and that if we entered upon the contest with England, we did so "as a divided people." Meanwhile Congress had imposed an embargo of ninety

¹ See Macdonald's *Select Documents*, No. 29; Johnston's *American Orations*, I, 205. On the War of 1812, see Adams' *United States*, VI-VIII; Roosevelt's *Naval War of 1812*, and Gordy's *Political History of the United States*, II, ch. xiii-xvi.

days (§§ 265, 290) and on June 18, 1812, it declared the "second war of independence" against Great Britain.¹ Before the declaration reached London, English trade interests had forced Parliament to revoke the "Orders in Council" (§ 289). The war, therefore, was to be fought on the ground of impressment of American citizens. England herself admitted that this constituted a real grievance, but she refused to discontinue it.

300. The American army and navy; Clay and the invasion of Canada; the war loan. Our regular army numbered less than seven thousand men. The officers of this small force were mainly "decaying veterans" who had been appointed not for their military ability but for political reasons. Among the younger men Harrison had his Tippecanoe fame (§ 297), and Winfield Scott and Andrew Jackson were only waiting for an opportunity to make a brilliant record. The country had to depend for soldiers mainly on the state militia and on volunteers. The governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to furnish their quota of militia to serve outside their respective states, but New England contributed a very large number of volunteers.

The entire efficient navy of the United States consisted of six frigates and about a dozen smaller vessels; but some of these were the "best of their class in the world." England, on the other hand, had nearly a thousand war ships. The chief officers of our little navy were all young men, and Hull, Decatur, Rodgers, Bainbridge, and Porter had shown in the wars with the Barbary pirates (§§ 249, 285) that they knew how to give and take hard knocks. But Clay, and the war party generally, placed their main reliance not on battles at sea, but on an invasion of Canada. They believed that a majority of the Canadians would flock to our standard, and that we should speedily dictate "peace at Quebec or Halifax."

The war would demand a liberal supply of money, and Congress at once doubled the customs duties; but when the government called for loans it could not obtain anything like what it

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 30.

required ;¹ and many subscriptions were in state bank notes worth only sixty-five cents on the dollar. Later, the United States Treasury confessed itself unable to meet the interest due on the national debt. John Jacob Astor and Stephen Girard lent the government sufficient money to pay the wages of its soldiers and sailors ; but they charged exorbitant rates for the loan.

301. Hull's campaign and surrender. The campaign was opened in the summer of 1812 by General William Hull. He was a Revolutionary veteran whom Washington had commended as "an officer of great merit." Hull advanced with a force of about two thousand men, and, crossing the Detroit River into Canada, issued a proclamation declaring that he had come to restore the people of that province "to the dignified station of freemen." The proclamation had no effect on the Canadians.

After some skirmishes with the Indians, Hull fell back to Detroit. His effective force was soon reduced to about a thousand men, and he received no proper support from the government. General Brock, aided by Tecumseh (§ 296) with a body of Indians, marched on Detroit and demanded its surrender. Brock had a somewhat larger force than Hull ; but the American general was behind his works and his men stood ready to defend them. Hull, without firing a single gun or consulting his officers, gave up the fort. His object, he said, was to save the women and children of Detroit from the scalping knives of the savages. Hull had not only failed in his expedition against Canada, but he had lost the whole territory of Michigan, and Fort Dearborn (Chicago) besides. He was tried by court-martial, found guilty of cowardice and neglect of duty, and sentenced to be shot ; but the President pardoned him on account of his age and his honorable Revolutionary record.

Troops were sent to retake Detroit, but they were surrounded by the British and the Indians, on the river Raisin, in southern Michigan, and a great many of the prisoners were massacred by the savages.

¹ The government lost very heavily, since for loans of over \$80,000,000 it received but \$34,000,000, as measured in specie.

In the autumn (1812) a second attempt was made to invade Canada; but the expedition, which consisted chiefly of raw militia, was badly managed and was defeated and driven back.

302. The "Constitution" and the "Guerrière"; other American naval victories. A few days after Hull surrendered at Detroit (§ 301) his nephew, Captain Isaac Hull, commander of the frigate *Constitution*, forty-four guns, fought (August 19, 1812) the British frigate *Guerrière*, thirty-eight guns, off the coast of Nova Scotia. Admiral Farragut said, "Captain Hull was as able a seaman as ever sailed a ship." In less than thirty minutes after the engagement began the *Guerrière* struck her colors. She was so terribly cut to pieces that Hull could not tow his prize into port, so he set her on fire and blew her up. The *Constitution*, henceforth popularly known as *Old Ironsides*, came off without serious damage. Before the close of 1812 we had gained three more memorable victories at sea: the *Wasp* had captured the *Frolic*; the *United States* had taken the *Macedonian*; and the *Constitution*, the *Java*.

Speaking of the surrender of the *Guerrière*, the *London Times*, forgetful of Paul Jones' exploit (§ 224), said, "Never before in the history of the world did an English frigate strike to an American." Before the contest ended the same journal had to confess, "Scarcely is there an American ship of war which has not to boast a victory over the British flag." In fact, out of eighteen naval engagements between single vessels we gained no less than fifteen. In most cases our ships were larger than those we fought; furthermore, they generally had more men and often threw heavier broadsides; but, after all, the real secret of our remarkable victories lay in the fact that we handled our ships and guns far better than our opponents did theirs. Success in the past had made the English careless; they aimed their shot badly, while our sailors not only hit the mark but hit to kill. In these battles the enemy lost on the average about five men to our one.

The English declared that the crews of the American vessels were made up largely of deserters from the royal navy, and that

their ships had been beaten by their own countrymen fighting under the "stars and stripes." The log books, however, show that nearly all of our officers were born in America, and that not more than one man in twenty of our crews was a native of Great Britain. In the end English naval writers admitted that the American people, "rod in hand," had taught them their "first lesson" in the art of gunnery.

This series of splendid victories moved Daniel Webster to urge Congress, in his first speech in that body (January 14, 1813), to increase our navy. "If the war must continue," said he, "go to the ocean . . . ; there the united wishes and exertions of the nation will go with you."

303. The "**Essex**" in the Pacific; American privateers; the British blockade; the presidential election; the "**Chesapeake**" and the "**Shannon**." While we were gaining this series of successes on the Atlantic, Captain Porter of the *Essex* was destroying British whalers by wholesale in the Pacific. American privateers beset the coast of England to such an extent that English merchantmen did not dare leave port except under the protection of a man-of-war. Within two years we had captured more than eight hundred vessels, and before the close of the war the total number of our prizes reached twenty-five hundred.

On the other hand, the British not only captured hundreds of our merchantmen, but they kept up a strict blockade along the coast of the United States. If one of our war ships left port, it ran the risk of being taken by a superior force, and "the American flag ceased for a time to wave from any national vessel on the ocean."

Meanwhile the presidential election had occurred (1812), and notwithstanding the efforts of the peace party, Madison received 128 electoral votes to 89 cast for De Witt Clinton, his opponent. Elbridge Gerry was elected Vice President.

The first decided American defeat at sea occurred in the summer of 1813. Captain Broke of the *Shannon*, cruising off Boston, challenged Captain Lawrence of the *Chesapeake* to fight him.

Lawrence's crew was larger than Broke's, but it consisted mainly of raw men, and some of these were mutinous. Broke declared that he had long been drilling his crew into a state of "perfect discipline" with reference to such a contest. In the course of the action a large number of the officers of the *Chesapeake* were struck down, and Lawrence himself fell mortally wounded. His dying order was, "Don't give up the ship!" The command came too late, for the enemy, leaping on board the *Chesapeake*, captured the vessel (June 1, 1813) and ran up the English colors in triumph. This engagement was the last important battle of the war between single ships.

304. **Perry's victory on Lake Erie.** While these events were taking place on the Atlantic, Oliver Hazard Perry, a young man of twenty-seven, was busy preparing for the defense of Lake Erie, then held by the enemy's ships. Perry captured a British brig, bought three small American schooners, and then, by almost incredible labor, completed the construction of five more vessels from green timber which he cut on the western shore of the lake.

With this fleet of nine vessels, of which two, as Perry said, "were growing in the woods last spring," the young commander attacked the British squadron. Perry had certain advantages in the engagement. He had three more ships than the enemy; he probably had more men fit for duty; and his guns, though fewer in number than those of the English, could throw far heavier broadsides. The battle (September 10, 1813) was fought with indomitable courage on both sides.

In memory of the lamented commander of the *Chesapeake* Perry had named his vessel the *Lawrence* and had hoisted a flag bearing Lawrence's last words — "Don't give up the ship!" (§ 303). The British made this vessel the target of their fire; Perry fought until nearly every one of his men had fallen. He saw that it would be madness to remain longer in his shattered ship. The enemy had literally "hammered him out of it." Leaping into a rowboat with his brother, a boy of twelve, he pulled with splintered oars amid a storm of flying shot for the *Niagara*. Having reached



WAR OF 1812

her, he again hoisted the famous flag he had brought with him from the *Lawrence* and bore down on the enemy's fleet. The fight was renewed more furiously than ever, with the result that at length the British commander was forced to strike his colors. Perry then taking a pencil wrote on the back of an old letter this laconic dispatch to General Harrison, commander of the Army of the West: "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

It was the first entire squadron that Great Britain had ever surrendered, and she had surrendered this to Americans. The victory gave us the absolute control of Lake Erie. Perry transported Harrison's army, thirty-five hundred strong, across to Canada. The British, who had only about seven hundred men, were compelled to abandon Detroit and retreat up the Thames. Tecumseh (§ 297) with about a thousand Indians joined them on that river. Harrison completely routed the enemy and Tecumseh was killed. We recovered Detroit (§ 301), and the British never again got a foothold on the territory of Michigan. In consequence of the death of Tecumseh most of the Indian tribes in the Northwest now made haste to declare their submission to the United States.

305. Macdonough's victory (1814). The British, having captured Oswego, had dispatched a force of about twelve thousand men from Canada down the western shore of Lake Champlain. This movement was supported by a British fleet on the lake. To oppose this advance we had a small force at Plattsburg, and a few war vessels stationed on the lake. The American squadron was commanded by Captain Macdonough, a young man about Perry's age (§ 304). In this instance the British had more ships, more men, and more guns. The weight of metal which each side could throw was equal almost to a pound, but the enemy was far superior in the important matter of long-range guns.

Macdonough got his ships into an advantageous position for the fight, and then handled them so admirably that in less than three hours (September 11, 1814) he had won the day. The British army retreated to Canada and made no further attempts to penetrate the state of New York.

306. The campaign in Canada ; the " Bladensburg races " ; capture of Washington ; the " Star-Spangled Banner." Meanwhile there had been a movement on Montreal, and fighting had occurred (November 11, 1813) at Chrysler's Farm ; there had also been sharp engagements at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane (July 5 and 25, 1814). In the first instance we came off second best ; in the last two battles General Brown and Winfield Scott drove the enemy off the field ; but our forces were too small to maintain a foothold on Canadian soil.

Late in the summer of 1814 Admiral Cockburn and General Ross landed about five thousand men, mostly sailors and marines, on the banks of the Patuxent and marched on Washington. General Winder with a force of six thousand men met the enemy at Bladensburg within sight of the national capital. Five hundred of Winder's army were sailors ; most of the rest were raw militia. The sailors made a brave stand, but the militia ran, and Madison, who was with the troops, was swept along with them, in what the newspapers called the " Bladensburg races."

Later, the President fled to the Virginia woods for safety. The enemy entered Washington in triumph (August 24, 1814) ; their first act was to burn the capitol. They next entered the executive mansion, and, according to their own account, drank the king's health in the President's wine, and then set fire to the house. They then proceeded to destroy the Treasury, and most of the other government buildings. The English declared that they perpetrated this act of vandalism in retaliation for our having burned the Parliament House at York (now Toronto).

The British fleet next (September 12, 1814) moved on Fort McHenry, the chief defense of Baltimore. The fort held out valiantly against the furious bombardment ; if it fell, the chief city of Maryland must fall with it. Among those who anxiously watched the attack was Francis S. Key, a young Baltimorean, detained as a temporary prisoner by the British. When the sun rose on the second morning he saw with delight that the fort held out and that " our flag was still there." The enemy had ceased

The Star-spangled banner

O! say, can ye see by the dawn's early light
What so proudly we hail'd by the twilight's gleaming?
Whose bright stars & broad stripes, through the clouds of the fight,
O'er the ramparts we watch'd were so gallantly streaming?
And the rockets & glare - the bomb bursting in air,
Game proof through the night that our flag was still there,
O! say does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave?

O'er that shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half-conceals, half-discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full reflection new shines on the stream.
'Tis the star-spangled banner - O! long may it wave
O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave

firing and were preparing to withdraw. Taking an old letter from his pocket, Key hastily wrote on the back of it the first draught of the national song of the "Star-Spangled Banner"; the whole country was soon ringing with its patriotic strains.

307. Fort Mims ; Jackson at Tohopeka and Pensacola. While the war was going on at the East, important events were happening in the Southwest. The powerful Indian tribe of the Creeks in the Alabama country had risen against the settlers in that section. In the summer of 1813 they attacked Fort Mims, near Mobile, and massacred more than five hundred men, women, and children who had gathered there for safety. General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, rising from a sick bed, marched against the Indians and completely routed them (March 14, 1814) at Tohopeka or Horseshoe Bend, on a branch of the Alabama River.

The Spanish authorities had perfidiously permitted the English forces to land at Pensacola, Florida, and make it a base of operations for attacking Louisiana. Jackson repulsed a movement of the enemy against Mobile ; then, without waiting for orders from Washington, he pushed forward to Pensacola, took the place by storm (November 7, 1814), and drove out the British. This success left "Old Hickory," as his men called him, free to go to the defense of New Orleans, which was the real point at which the enemy was aiming.

308. New England's opposition to the war. While Jackson was throwing up intrenchments at New Orleans a movement was in progress in New England which many believed threatened a dissolution of the Union. The New England states had suffered very heavily by the war, and the commercial distress of that section could hardly be overestimated.

A strong party (§ 299) there, who were nicknamed "Blue Light Federalists,"¹ opposed the further prosecution of the contest.

¹ It was said that certain Federalists in Connecticut had given information to the British fleet by burning blue lights at the entrance to the harbor of New London. All New England Federalists who opposed the war were now called "Blue Light Federalists."

They denied that we had made any real progress. Our invasion of Canada (§§ 301, 306), said they, has ended in failure; our national capital has been captured and burned, and our coast is strictly blockaded; the enemy has secured possession of the seaboard of the district of Maine, and threatens to advance farther south.

They admitted that we had gained remarkable victories on the ocean; but they called attention to the fact that the fall of Napoleon now left England free to employ an overwhelming naval force against us, and that a powerful British fleet carrying a thousand guns was at that very time moving on New Orleans.

Again, the opposition declared that the war had already cost thirty thousand lives and more than \$100,000,000; that the national treasury was empty; and that the financial condition of the country seemed to forebode a general crash. Many banks had suspended payment, and it was feared that sooner or later all must close their doors.

Now that the first enthusiasm had spent itself, it had become difficult to secure recruits. Outside of New York, Tennessee, Kentucky, and perhaps Ohio, very few states gave to the war the earnest support which it demanded. Volunteering had practically ceased, and the Secretary of War proposed a draft, and suggested that minors over eighteen should be enlisted "without the consent of their parents." The legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut thereupon passed an act imposing a fine and imprisonment on all United States officers who should induce minors to enlist. In the navy the lack of men was so serious that the Secretary of that department urged the government to adopt the British expedient of impressment of seamen.

309. Call for the Hartford Convention; the "Richmond Enquirer" on secession. The Senate of Massachusetts had already (June 15, 1813) resolved that the war was "waged without justifiable cause," and had solemnly remonstrated against its continuance. The following year the Legislature issued a call for a convention at Hartford, and invited the other New England states

to send delegates "to confer upon the subject of their public grievances."

But in issuing this call the legislature explicitly limited the action of the proposed convention to matters "not repugnant to their obligation as members of the Union." The legislatures of Connecticut and Rhode Island—the only remaining states which chose delegates—imposed a similar restriction. Notwithstanding the above proviso, the report got abroad that the real object of the convention was nothing less than secession. The President was greatly alarmed and "looked heartbroken."

The *Richmond Enquirer* condemned the meeting in advance. It declared that "No state, or set of states, has a right to withdraw itself from the Union of its own account." It added: "The majority of the states which formed the Union must consent to the withdrawal of any branch of it. Until that consent has been obtained, any attempt to dissolve the Union . . . is *treason*."

310. **The Hartford Convention and its work.** The Federalists hailed the proposed convention as the "Star in the East." It met at Hartford (December 15, 1814), and by unanimous vote chose George Cabot of Boston chairman. It continued in secret session for three weeks. The report¹ of the convention recommended seven amendments to the Constitution. One of these proposed amendments, which was styled "indispensable," demanded that the power of Congress to admit new states, as in the recent case of Louisiana (§ 282), should be restricted; the next most important of the proposed amendments demanded the limitation of the authority of the government to declare "offensive war."

The convention furthermore recommended the legislatures of the three states represented to protect their citizens against forcible drafts or impressments (§ 308) not authorized by the Constitution. It also advised these states to ask permission of the national government to use a part of the federal taxes for

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 32; Adams' United States, VIII, ch. xi.

defending their territory against British attack. In case the government refused to grant such permission or neglected to take measures for the protection of New England, and insisted on prosecuting the war, the convention recommended that another convention should be called to act as "a crisis so momentous may require."

Several delegates had been strongly urged to advocate secession, but declined to do so. They declared, however, that "if the Union be destined to dissolution by reason of the multiplied abuses of bad administration, it should, if possible, be the work of peaceable times and deliberate consent."

The "sphinx-like mystery" of the Hartford Convention gave the finishing stroke to the Federalist party (§ 275). Its enemies accused its delegates of having committed "moral treason." The fact that it generally represented only the more extreme Federalists had no weight with those who violently denounced all who belonged to that party.

311. The battle of New Orleans (1815). Three days after the Hartford Convention closed its session, General Jackson won the ever-memorable battle of New Orleans. The British army of ten thousand men was largely composed of veterans who had fought under Wellington. They were commanded by Sir Edward Pakenham, brother-in-law of the "Iron Duke" and one of his bravest officers. Their object was to take New Orleans and thereby get control of Louisiana and the mouth of the Mississippi. Jackson had only about half as many men as Pakenham, and less than one fifth of these were "regulars." The remainder was made up of Louisiana militia, Lafitte's pirates, free negroes, and volunteers from Tennessee and Kentucky. The latter were all "dead shots" with the rifle.

Jackson's main line of defense consisted of a canal or broad ditch, backed by a rampart of muddy earth which extended eastward from the Mississippi to an impassable cypress swamp. On this rampart he had mounted thirteen cannon. Fighting began on the last of December (1814), but the great attack and final

assault by the British came at daylight on Sunday morning, January 8, 1815. The artillerymen and the sharpshooters mowed down the enemy as they advanced against our works, while Jackson ran along the line crying to his men: "Give it to them, my boys! Let's finish the business to-day!"

They did "finish" it. The assaulting party was driven back with terrible loss. They died as brave men die, falling with their faces toward our guns. The British rallied again and again, but it was useless; they could not scale our intrenchments, and at length, after three hours of desperate fighting, they turned and fled in confusion. In that short time the enemy had lost more than twenty-five hundred men, including Pakenham, their leader; half of the dead were shot between the eyes. Jackson reported our loss at "only seven killed and six wounded." It is probable that this decisive victory would in itself have put an end to the war, and the moral effect of it would certainly have saved the Union had it stood in any real danger of disruption.

312. The Treaty of Ghent. After the first overthrow of Napoleon, England fell back exhausted by the tremendous struggle in which she had been engaged on the continent. Her people, crushed by debt and taxes, were eager to make peace with the United States, and thereby reopen their American trade. Our commissioners, Gallatin, Bayard, and J. Q. Adams, met the English commissioners at Ghent in the summer of 1813; the negotiations dragged on for a year and a half. A short time before Jackson fought the battle of New Orleans, the treaty¹ was signed at Ghent (December 24, 1814); but in those days of slow-sailing ships the news did not reach us in season to prevent the last great conflict of the war.

We had entered upon the contest of 1812 with the cry of "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights!" Our chief object was to compel England to renounce the impressment of American seamen (§ 264). The Treaty of Ghent, however, did not mention impressment at all nor did it protect the rights of neutrals.

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 31.

Hence it wholly failed to secure either of the objects for which we took up arms.

But the progress of events gained both these points without a treaty. When England exiled Napoleon to St. Helena all questions about neutral ships, free goods, and impressment were dropped and, so far as the United States was concerned, were never again revived in a threatening form. Many years later (1856), England, with the other chief commercial nations of Europe, adopted the Declaration of Paris, which abolished privateering, and made the neutral flag cover all goods not contraband of war. The United States declined to accede to the Declaration, on the ground that it would involve a large increase of the American navy. This decision on our part proved disastrous to us during the Civil War.

With regard to territory the treaty stipulated that England should restore the seizures she had made, — these were parts of Maine and the trading post at Astoria, Oregon ; provision was also made for the settlement of the dispute respecting the boundary line between the United States and Canada. The next year Great Britain agreed to open her West India possessions, in large measure, to American commerce.

However unsatisfactory the treaty was on the leading points in discussion, the fact that it brought peace caused it to be hailed with delight. Jefferson declared that if the war had lasted a twelvemonth longer it would have upset our government. However that may be, it is certain that both Federalists and Republicans were wild with joy. Party hatred was forgotten, and old political enemies rushed into each other's arms and "kissed each other like women."

313. Political results of the War of 1812. The War of 1812, though disappointing in some of its results (§ 312), was, nevertheless, our "second war of independence." The splendid victories which we gained on the sea and on the lakes won for us the respect of foreign nations, and henceforth Great Britain and all other European powers silently conceded our rights on the ocean.

Next, the war emancipated us from the belief that we stood in need of European alliances. Nothing more was heard of a French or of an English party (§ 261); America felt able to go forward in her own chosen path without leaning on any foreign power or asking for any foreign approval. Finally, the war roused the consciousness of nationality and strengthened the bond of Union which it had at one time threatened to break (§§ 308-310). We heard no more expressions of New England discontent, and no more hints of possible secession in that quarter. Jackson's notable victory at New Orleans came to complement and round out the naval successes of Hull, Decatur, Porter, Perry, and Macdonough. It sent a thrill of pride through the whole nation, made North and South feel that they were one people, and opened the way by which the western general advanced to the presidency.

314. Economic results of the war; second United States Bank; tariff; emigration; "internal improvements"; new states; presidential election. The charter of the Bank of the United States (§ 255) expired (1811) just before the outbreak of hostilities with England. An attempt to renew it failed by a single vote. At the close of the war the suspension of specie payment by state banks encouraged the friends of a national bank to propose the reëstablishment of such an institution. They wanted some kind of paper money which would be taken at the same value on both sides of a turnpike tollgate. They were successful, and the second Bank of the United States, one of the first results of the war, was chartered (1816) for twenty years.¹ Its capital was fixed at \$35,000,000, of which one fifth was to be subscribed by the federal government. Like its predecessor, it had its headquarters in Philadelphia, with numerous branches throughout the country.

A second result of the war, considered in connection with the preceding embargo (§ 292), was the encouragement it gave to

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 33; Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 145.

manufacturing, especially in New England and New York. In 1814 Francis C. Lowell, with others, introduced the power loom from England, and opened at Waltham, Massachusetts, the first completely equipped cotton mill in the world. It was followed by the establishment of the colossal factory systems of Lowell, Fall River, and Lawrence. All of these factories were operated by water power, for the use of steam for manufacturing purposes had hardly begun. At the close of hostilities fleets of English merchantmen laden with English goods began to arrive at our ports. The cotton mills of New England, claiming to represent a capital of \$40,000,000, demanded tariff legislation which should check this deluge of cotton cloths pouring in from abroad. Woolens were likewise in danger from the same source. They were said to employ a capital of about \$12,000,000.

A third result of the war was that Henry Clay, in the spirit of Hamilton (\$ 258), came forward as the champion of the protection of home industry against foreign competition. He briefly urged the adoption of a tariff which should lay a duty on the class of imported goods which our manufacturers could produce, "not so much," he said, "for the sake of the manufacturers themselves as for the general interest."¹ He, however, said nothing about establishing protection as a permanent policy of the government. His arguments were warmly supported by Calhoun and other southern members interested in cotton raising for the domestic market.

Daniel Webster represented New England commercial interests. He declared himself friendly to such manufactures as we then possessed, but he strongly opposed any action on the part of the government which should tend to stimulate their artificial increase.² Eventually a tariff with strong protective features, especially in favor of cottons and woolens, was established (1816); it imposed duties of from twenty to thirty-five per cent.³ This

¹ See Henry Clay's Speeches, I, 285.

² See Lodge's Life of Webster, 158.

³ See Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 161.

tariff was the first which put forward protection as a fundamental principle and treated the question of revenue as a subordinate one.

Furthermore, both Clay and Calhoun besought Congress to undertake the construction of roads and canals in the South and West, with the view of strengthening the material bonds of the Union.

A fourth result of the war was that a great impulse was given to emigration, especially toward the South and West, which did not suffer from the depression felt in the New England states. In the six years following the treaty of peace (1816-1821) the territorial population increased so rapidly that a new state was admitted each year.

A fifth important economic result of the war was that it showed the military as well as the political weakness of a vast domain destitute of lines of connecting roads and canals. This fact moved a powerful party in Congress to advocate a comprehensive system of "internal improvements" (§ 285) which would facilitate means of communication and transportation between the states. Hence the general political result of the war was to strengthen the "broad-construction" theory of the Constitution (§ 256).

During Madison's first administration the state of Louisiana (§ 282) entered the Union (1812), and near the close of his second administration (1816) Indiana was admitted, making the whole number of states nineteen.

The presidential election (1816) was a complete triumph for the Republicans. James Monroe, who was Secretary of State under Madison and, in the language of that day, "heir apparent" to the presidency, was chosen to succeed Madison, with Daniel D. Tompkins as Vice President. Monroe's opponent was Rufus King, Federalist. The electoral vote stood 183 to 34.

315. Summary. The principal event of Madison's two administrations was the War of 1812, — commonly known as "the second war of independence." The contest made our power respected on the ocean; it ended by strengthening the Union

and rendering it self-reliant. It encouraged the "broad-construction" policy which called the second Bank of the United States into existence, established a tariff with protective features, and gave a new impulse to measures favoring the building of roads, canals, and other "internal improvements" by the national government.

**JAMES MONROE (DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN), TWO TERMS
(1817-1825)**

316. The "Era of Good Feeling." Congress had made large appropriations for strengthening the coast defenses of the United States. The President (§ 314) thought it his first duty to visit and personally inspect all the military posts on the frontier. Starting from Washington he took the steamboat to Baltimore, and thence passed along the seaboard of the middle and eastern states as far as Portland. Then turning westward he journeyed to Detroit, and after a tour of more than three months (1817) returned through Ohio to occupy the unfinished "White House" at the national capital. In the West much of the country through which he traveled was still covered by the primeval forest, broken here and there by Indian villages or scattered white settlements. Later (1819), Monroe made a similar journey through the South.

No President since Washington had made such a journey, and Monroe was everywhere welcomed with enthusiasm. Dressed in the handsome blue and buff uniform of an officer of the Revolution, the President recalled the stirring days of '76, when American patriots fought for the liberty they now enjoyed. The bitter sectional feelings roused by the late war had subsided, and no sharp political issues had since arisen. Rivals for office might indeed look upon each other with any but friendly eyes, but the great mass of Federalists and Republicans seemed to forget their old prejudices and animosities. They declared that all things now made for peace, and that the "Era of Good Feeling" had begun.

317. The first Seminole War (1817-1818). Many Indians of the Creek nation (§ 307) had emigrated to Florida, where they had united with native tribes of that section. The Creeks called these emigrants Seminoles, or "Wanderers." After General Jackson had subdued the Creeks and forced them to give up a large tract of their country, many of the defeated and angry savages crossed the border and joined the Seminoles. Led by their chief, "Billy Bowlegs," they declared implacable hatred to the United States. They made a treaty with Colonel Nicholls, commander of a British force, who encouraged them in their determination to compel the federal government to restore their lands in Georgia and Alabama.

Runaway slaves from Georgia uniting with bands of Seminoles seized an empty stronghold which Nicholls had built, and henceforth it was known as the "Negro Fort." The occupants of the fort made raids across the border and plundered the Georgia settlers, driving off cattle and enticing slaves to join them. General Gaines dispatched an expedition against the negro stronghold, and a well-directed, red-hot ball passing through the powder magazine blew the fort and its defenders to fragments (1816).

This effectually destroyed the negro settlement, but as the Seminoles remained unsubdued, General Jackson was ordered to move against them. Jackson made short work with the Indians he encountered. Believing that the Spanish garrison at St. Mark's secretly encouraged the hostile Seminoles, he compelled the commander to surrender that post (1818).

A little later, he seized Arbuthnot and Ambrister, two British subjects who were engaged in trade with the Indians, and accused them of stirring up the savages to make war against the United States. The men were convicted by court-martial and hanged. Jackson then marched on the Spanish post of Pensacola and seized it (1818) on the ground that the governor encouraged the Indians to make raids into Alabama.

318. Jackson and Florida ; purchase of Florida. Jackson thus ended the first Seminole War. In doing this he practically

conquered Florida, for whose purchase we were then negotiating with Spain. The government had strictly prohibited his seizing any Spanish post unless expressly ordered to do so. Spain protested against this armed invasion of her territory; Jackson justified his action by appealing to the necessity of self-defense.

He declared that if the Spanish authorities could not or would not restrain the Seminoles from committing outrages on American citizens, he had the military right to seize such fortified points as would effectually secure our frontier. The administration, however, took a different view of the matter. The President promptly disavowed Jackson's capture of St. Mark's and Pensacola, and restored the posts to the Spanish authorities (1818).

Spain now thought it expedient to dispose of a province which, on account of its situation, was likely to breed more wars with the United States. John Quincy Adams negotiated a treaty¹ of purchase (1819) which was ratified in 1821. By its terms Spain ceded to us the whole territory of East and West Florida for the sum of \$5,000,000, and at the same time renounced her claim to any part of the Pacific coast north of the forty-second parallel. This act helped to confirm our title to the "Oregon Country" (§ 258). On the other hand, we gave up whatever territorial right we had obtained to Texas through our purchase of the province of Louisiana (§ 280).

319. Business crash and panic; separation of Church and State; the suffrage question; the steamship "Savannah." Meanwhile the country was suffering from "hard times" and the outlook was most discouraging. The introduction of the steamboat into western waters (§ 286) had greatly stimulated emigration, and this, in turn, had encouraged widespread and reckless land speculation. To accommodate borrowers banks sprang up by scores, so that before the close of 1818 nearly four hundred such institutions were doing business in twenty-three states and territories. Most of these institutions deserved the name of "wild-cat banks." They had no adequate capital. Many of them were guilty of gross

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 34.

fraud, and recklessly issued "five times as much paper as they could ever redeem." The Bank of the United States (§ 314) itself was, at that period, not free from charges of "corruption and breach of trust"; but later it was reorganized on a sound basis. The Bank resolved to force these worthless state banks to redeem the notes with which they had flooded the country. This action hastened the inevitable crash (1819). It was the first financial

THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE PURCHASE OF FLORIDA IN 1819

From 1818 to 1846 the "Oregon Country" was held jointly with Great Britain.

Spain gave up all claim to Oregon in 1819; all the territory east of the upper Mississippi had been organized (1805, 1818) as "Michigan Territory"

panic in our history.¹ Business came to a standstill, laborers were thrown out of employment, and the jails were crowded with penniless debtors. Benton called it a period of "gloom and agony," and John Quincy Adams said that "the distress was universal."

In taking the decided course it did, the United States Bank not only excited the bitter hostility of the debtor class, but it moved Maryland and Ohio to endeavor to destroy its branches

¹ See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 166.

in these states by taxing them out of existence. But the United States Supreme Court decided (*McCulloch vs. Maryland*)¹ that the action was unconstitutional. Nevertheless Ohio reaffirmed the Virginia and Kentucky nullification resolutions (§ 273) and openly defied the court.²

While these dismal events occupied the public mind a great political movement was in progress in New England, which resulted in the final separation of Church and State (§ 179). This change began in the adoption of a new constitution by Connecticut (1818). It extended to New Hampshire (1819), then to Maine (1821), and finally (1833) to Massachusetts. It granted the right of suffrage to all taxpayers and released them from the compulsory support of any form of religious worship.

In the East the struggle for manhood suffrage was still opposed by such distinguished leaders of thought as Chancellor Kent and Daniel Webster. Nevertheless the conviction that the right to vote and representation should not rest on the possession of property was steadily gaining ground and was destined to succeed.

But another and very different revolution was foreshadowed. In the spring of 1819 the *Savannah*, an American-built sailing vessel, provided with paddle wheels which could be moved by steam, crossed from New York to Liverpool. She was the first rude attempt at an ocean steamer. She made the passage in twenty-six days. There were packet ships then that could easily beat that record, but the *Savannah* appears to have suggested the first permanent line of steamships. These vessels were launched in England in 1840, and were the forerunners of our modern "greyhounds of the sea."

320. The question of slavery extension ; alternate admission of free and slave states. For many years there had been no serious discussion of slavery in Congress ; apparently that question had been put to final rest (§ 257). Now it suddenly sprang to life in a more dangerous form than ever.

¹ See Abstract of Constitutional Decisions by the Court, facing page 266.

² See Gordy's Political History of the United States, II, 478.

We have seen (§ 176) that Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson believed and hoped that slavery would die a natural death. But the occurrence of two events rendered their labors in the cause of emancipation useless. These were Whitney's invention of the cotton gin (1793) (§ 259) and the purchase of the territory of Louisiana (1803) (§ 280). The first made slave labor enormously profitable at the South; the second secured its extension west of the Mississippi River. Thus at the very time when the northern states were passing acts of gradual or immediate emancipation negro bondage was strengthened at the South, and was gaining the support of much northern manufacturing and commercial capital.

Congress (1808) had prohibited the foreign slave trade (§ 257), but it still flourished; and Judge Story declared (1819) that American citizens were "steeped up to their very mouths in this stream of iniquity." Unexpectedly the question of the maintenance of slavery now threatened to become the chief economic, political, and moral factor in the history of the United States.

From this period the Republic became, more and more, "a house divided against itself." Every year made it more and more difficult for the federal government to legislate satisfactorily for the two sections with their antagonistic tendencies and systems of labor. In order to secure an even division of political power, Congress had adopted the policy of admitting new states by alternation, so that a free state should balance a slave, or a slave a free (§ 267). Thus Vermont was followed by Kentucky, Tennessee by Ohio, Louisiana by Indiana, Mississippi by Illinois. After the admission of Illinois (1818) there were eleven free to ten slave states in the Union. The expected admission of Alabama, which in fact soon occurred, would restore the political equipoise and make the Union half slave and half free.

321. Missouri applies for admission as a slave state; Tallmadge's amendment. At this juncture the Legislature of Missouri territory petitioned Congress (1818) for permission to form a state government.¹ At St. Louis and elsewhere about ten thousand

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, Nos. 34-41.

negroes were held in bondage under territorial laws (§ 280), and no one doubted that the people of Missouri intended to make it a slave state. The petition was referred to a committee which brought in a favorable bill. This action was a surprise to the North; for since the admission of the state of Louisiana (1812) the people opposed to slavery (§ 281) had taken it for granted that no further attempts would be made to extend it west of the Mississippi. Most of them seem to have had no interest whatever in the welfare of the negro. What they feared was that the extension of slavery would greatly increase the political power of the South in Congress.

When the Missouri bill came up in the House, Tallmadge of New York moved an amendment (February 13, 1819) prohibiting "the further introduction of slavery" into Missouri, and requiring that "all children born within the said state, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be free at the age of twenty-five years."¹

322. Debate on Tallmadge's amendment. This proposition roused a fierce and prolonged debate in which southern threats of secession were met by cool defiance. It was the first really formidable "battle in Congress over the slavery question." While the question was before the House a bill was introduced to provide a territorial government for the Arkansas country, where, as in the Missouri country, slavery already existed. Following the example of Tallmadge, Taylor of New York moved that slavery should be prohibited in the new territory. After a sharp contest his motion was lost and Arkansas was organized (March 2, 1819) without the proposed restriction.

This act seemed to foreshadow the extension of negro bondage, and as it promised to extend the power of the slaveholders it greatly excited the North. But the discussion of the Missouri question far outranked that of the territory of Arkansas, and it roused passions which shook the foundations of the Republic. Jefferson said that the angry debate startled him "like a fire bell in the night," and seemed "the knell of the Union."

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 35.

Henry Clay, Speaker of the House, led the opponents of Tallmadge's motion. He argued that opening up new territory to slavery would not thereby increase the number of the servile class, but that it would "dilute the evil." He said that it would be inhuman to coop up the slaves on the exhausted soil of plantations east of the Mississippi, and he implored Congress to throw open Missouri and let the poor negroes "share the fat plenty of the new West."

He and his followers denied that Congress had the constitutional power to impose Tallmadge's restriction (Appendix, page xiv, § 3). They furthermore declared that the purchase treaty of 1803 (§ 280) guaranteed to the white inhabitants of the entire Louisiana country the right to hold slaves. Finally, they contended that Congress could not prevent emigrants from the southern states going to Missouri and taking with them their negroes, that in law were as truly their property as were their horses and cattle. Senator Benton of Missouri first replied to this argument many years later. He said, Granting that slaveholders may carry their negroes into United States territory, yet they cannot carry with them the southern state law, which alone makes such negroes their property.¹ The general contention set up by northern members was that Congress, under the Confederation, had shut slavery out of the entire Northwest Territory by the Ordinance of 1787 (§ 237), and had done it by means of southern votes. If that celebrated act was constitutional, — and no one denied it, — so, too, they argued, was the measure now proposed, since it simply applied to the region beyond the Mississippi, a rule which had been successfully applied east of that river.

Slavery, said they, is not national, but local and accidental; it is contrary to the real spirit of American institutions. To extend it would be to deliberately propagate a system which leading southern men have always admitted to be a moral and political evil.

Thus supported, Tallmadge's amendment passed the House by a vote of 97 to 56, but it was rejected by the Senate. The House

¹ See Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, II, 745.

stood firm, and Cobb of Georgia declared that the northern members "were kindling a fire" which nothing but blood could extinguish. Later, Senator Barbour of Virginia proposed calling a convention to dissolve the Union.

323. The people discuss the Missouri question; action of Congress on Maine and Missouri. After the adjournment of Congress in the spring of 1819 the people of both sections took up the Missouri question. Public meetings in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and even in Baltimore demanded that Congress should

MAP ILLUSTRATING THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE ACT OF 1820

The act did not mention the territory south of $36^{\circ} 30'$, but the understanding was that it was to be opened to slavery

put a stop to the spread of slavery beyond the Mississippi. The legislatures of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana warmly seconded this demand.

The South generally took the opposite stand. Virginia and Kentucky called for the admission of Missouri without conditions, declaring that the attempt to restrict slavery was a direct attack on state rights.

A new Congress met in December, 1819, and the debate on the admission of Missouri was resumed. Missouri again petitioned for admission. The discussion of the question of restriction was then taken up in the Senate and very ably argued. Rufus King of New York was the champion of free soil,¹ and William Pinkney, the brilliant Maryland lawyer, defended the cause of slavery.² While the House was considering the Missouri question the district of Maine, recently separated from Massachusetts (§ 105), asked permission to enter the Union. The House, by a sectional vote, granted Maine her prayer. In the Senate the Committee on the Judiciary added a "rider" — the first on record — to the Maine bill which provided that Missouri should be admitted without restriction of slavery. As neither branch of Congress would yield, legislation on this point came to a standstill.

324. The Missouri Compromise proposed and passed (1820). Senator Thomas of Illinois broke the deadlock. He had already proposed the famous amendment which got the name of the Missouri Compromise.³ He now presented that amendment again (February 17, 1820). It provided that the state of Missouri should be admitted with slavery, but that in all the remaining territory west of the Mississippi, north of the line $36^{\circ} 30'$, — or the southern boundary of Missouri, — slavery should be "forever prohibited." It was understood that if the North accepted this proposition no further opposition would be made on the part of the South to the admission of Maine. The Senate voted in favor of the Missouri Compromise; when it came to the House it was carried (March 2, 1820) by the active help of Clay, who was then Speaker, and by the votes of eighteen northern members.

Benton spoke of it later as "an immense concession" by the South to the nonslaveholding states; but the friends of free soil looked upon it as a defeat. John Randolph of Virginia stigmatized the Compromise as a "dirty bargain," and nicknamed the

¹ See Johnston's *American Orations*, II, 33.

² *Ibid.*, 63.

³ See Macdonald's *Select Documents*, No. 37.

northern men who had voted for it "Doughfaces"; only three of these men were reëlected to Congress.

Before signing the Missouri Compromise Bill, President Monroe asked his cabinet, "Has Congress the constitutional right to prohibit slavery in a territory?" All of his cabinet, including Calhoun, and two other members from slave states, replied, "Yes." The President, who was also from a slave state, then signed the bill.

The entrance of the two states of Maine and Missouri (1820, 1821) made the whole number twenty-four, — twelve slave and twelve free.

325. What Jefferson and John Quincy Adams thought of the Compromise. Thus peace was obtained; but Jefferson declared that an irritating geographical line had been established, and he feared that the question of the further extension of slavery would eventually make "separation preferable to eternal discord." "We have the wolf by the ears," said he, "and we can neither hold him nor safely let him go." But notwithstanding Randolph's sneer, there were northern men who had no "dough" either in face or character who had given the measure their support. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, the "first leader in the long crusade against slavery," was one. He said: "I have favored the Missouri Compromise, believing it all that could be effected under the present Constitution, and from extreme unwillingness to put the Union to hazard. . . . If the Union must be dissolved, slavery is precisely the question on which it ought to break. For the present, however, this contest is laid asleep." The phrase "laid asleep" was wisely chosen, for the terrible question gained new strength through repose; when it awoke many years later it showed itself, as Jefferson predicted it would, more irrepressible and more formidable than ever.

326. The second Missouri Compromise; admission of the state (1821); violation of the Compromise (1836). When Missouri formed her state constitution¹ she forbade the entrance of free

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 40.

negroes. This provision raised another storm. The great majority of northern members in the House voted against admitting the state unless this article should be dropped. Henry Clay effected a compromise by which the Missouri Legislature pledged the state not to shut out any colored person who was a citizen of another state. Missouri was then admitted (1821).

Fifteen years later (1836), the Missouri Compromise was practically violated by an act of Congress which extended the area of the state on the northwest. The portion added was nearly as large as Rhode Island and Delaware (see map on page 316); the Compromise of 1820 had included it in territory which was to be free soil "forever," but this act made it part of a slave state.

327. **The Crawford Act ; "machine politics" ; the presidential election.** Meanwhile important political changes had been taking place. Throughout the states it had now become the practice on the incoming of a new governor to remove officers who did not agree with him in politics. The tendency was to nationalize this system by applying it to federal officers.

William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, an aspirant for the presidency, procured the passage of an act¹ (1820) which greatly increased the power of federal patronage. Hitherto it had been the custom to continue the subordinate officers of the Treasury Department in service during good behavior. The Crawford Tenure of Office Act now limited their term to four years. This was the commencement of that regular system of rotation in office and of "political rewards" which continued until overturned by the Civil Service Reform movement more than half a century later (1872).

Less than ten years after the passage of the Crawford Act party leaders, since known as "bosses," began to manage presidential nominations and elections by means of methods nicknamed "machine politics." The so-called "gerrymander" — a political trick for securing elections by unfairly redistricting a state — had come into use since 1811. At the presidential

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 41.

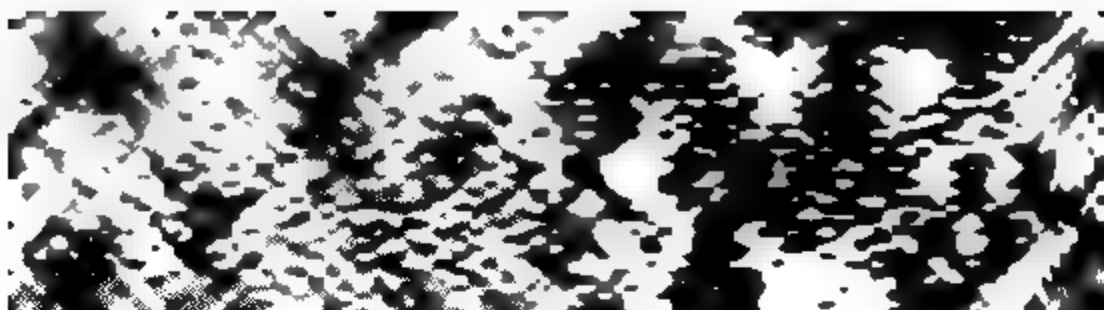
election (1820) there was no division of parties, and Monroe obtained every electoral vote but one.

328. The Cumberland or National Road veto; Texas. The Cumberland Road (§ 285), the first great national undertaking of the kind, projected in 1806, had been completed across the mountains. By 1820 it extended to Wheeling, on the Ohio, and the entire work had cost about \$1,700,000. Congress now passed a bill appropriating money for the erection of tollgates on the road; Monroe, who was a "strict constructionist" (§ 256), vetoed it on the ground that the Constitution gave Congress no power to make this class of "internal improvements."

Later, he reconsidered his objections, and on the last day of his administration (1825) signed a bill for extending this important road to Zanesville, Ohio. Eventually this broad, straight, well-built national highway was pushed through nearly to the Mississippi. The whole question of the constitutionality of "internal improvements" continued to excite sharp debate until the advent of railroads (1830), built by stock companies, put an end to the discussion, except in the case of the grant to the Illinois Central Railway (1850) and to some of the great transcontinental lines which followed.

We have seen (§ 318) that when we purchased Florida (1819) we renounced all claim to Texas; but this renunciation did not prevent filibustering expeditions (1819-1821) from some of the southern states. Many people in that section believed that the President had exceeded his powers in giving up our claim to Texas. They resolved to make efforts to obtain repossession of that province. All those who sought to extend the area of slavery, either for political reasons or in order to raise the market price of negroes in the slave-breeding states, encouraged those efforts.

329. Emigration to Texas. Stephen F. Austin of Missouri obtained from the Republic of Mexico a large grant of land in the Mexican state of Texas, in the vicinity of the Brazos and Colorado rivers, and many emigrants from the southwestern states went out to settle on it. The Texas state government (1827) had



THE CUMBERLAND OR NATIONAL ROAD

Through the influence of Henry Clay, who was called "the Father of the National Road," this work was begun in 1811 at Fort Cumberland, Maryland. It was completed to Wheeling, 1820; to Zanesville, 1830; to Vandalia, 1836. The proposed extension to Jefferson City, Missouri, was never carried out, since after 1836 the public interest began to center in the building of railways.

SCENE ON THE NATIONAL ROAD

emancipated all slaves and had enacted a law forbidding their importation, though it permitted peonage, a form of bondage worse in some respects than negro servitude. The American colonists in Texas paid no attention to this law; they continued to hold negroes in servitude, and to take them there from the United States.

Under the leadership of General Sam Houston of Tennessee, these colonists (1836) declared themselves independent of Mexican rule. Santa Aña attacked an American garrison which held Fort Alamo and massacred the entire number. Houston's men rushed into the battle of San Jacinto with the cry, "Remember the Alamo!" They won the victory and raised the flag of the "Lone Star State" at Austin, the capital. From that time onward a strong party in the South made incessant efforts to secure the annexation of Texas as a slave state. We shall see that, in spite of powerful opposition, they at length (1845) succeeded.

330. The "Holy Alliance"; Russian America; suggestion of the Monroe Doctrine. After the final overthrow of Napoleon, Russia, Prussia, and Austria formed the "Holy Alliance." Its object was to restore absolute monarchical power in Europe and in European dependencies.

The Alliance encouraged Spain to prepare to subjugate her revolted and independent South American colonies; at the same time the Czar thought it a favorable moment to make an attempt to extend the area of the province of Russian America (now Alaska) on the Pacific coast. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, opposed the plans of Russia. He declared that it was a "law of nature" that we should eventually make the whole of North America our own. He told the Russian minister (1823) that "we should contest the rights of Russia to any territorial establishment on this continent," and that we should assume "that the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European establishments."

A few months later, Mr. Canning, a member of the English cabinet, proposed that the United States should coöperate with Great

Britain in protecting the Spanish-American Republics against the designs of Spain and the "Holy Alliance." President Monroe consulted Jefferson in regard to the matter. Jefferson said: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cisatlantic affairs." After discussion at a cabinet meeting it was thought best to respectfully decline Canning's invitation of coöperation.

331. The President promulgates the Monroe Doctrine. In his annual message¹ (December 2, 1823) the President called the attention of Congress to the schemes of the Czar and of the "Holy Alliance." Speaking of Russia, he said, "The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European powers."

Passing next to the projects of Spain and the "Holy Alliance" with respect to the colonies which had declared their independence, he said, "We should consider any attempt on the part of the allied powers to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." He added that should Europe make such an attempt, we could not view it "in any other light than the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." This memorable declaration obtained the name of the Monroe Doctrine.²

332. Application of the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine received the commendation of Webster and other eminent statesmen.³ It has been popularly understood to mean that we claim "America for Americans"; or that, in other words, we say to the European powers, "Since we do not meddle with your continent, you must keep your hands off ours." Practically, however, the Monroe Doctrine at the time it was promulgated was not held to commit us to anything more belligerent than what John Quincy Adams called "the mild compulsion of reason."

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 43.

² See Abstract of the Monroe Doctrine, facing page 322.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

From President Monroe's Message to Congress, December 2, 1823.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives :

(I.) "At the proposal of the Russian imperial government . . . a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent." [Russia at that time, not satisfied with owning Alaska, claimed the greater part of the Oregon country, and was attempting to plant colonies on the coast of the Mexican State of California.] . . . "The occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, *that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.*"

(II.) "In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defence. With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the Allied Powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers to declare *that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.* With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence" [i.e. the Spanish South American Republics, and the Republic of Mexico] "and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we

could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as *the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.*"

Note on the Monroe Doctrine. — The essential part of what is popularly known as the Monroe Doctrine will be found in the passages printed in italics in the above message.

Shortly after the defeat of Napoleon at the battle of Waterloo (1815) the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, who had been leagued against the great French commander, formed a "Holy Alliance." The object of this treaty or compact was to suppress any attempts to establish liberal and popular governments on the continent of Europe.

In 1823 the report reached the United States that the Holy Alliance was preparing to help Spain conquer Mexico and the Republics in South America which had declared themselves independent of the Spanish monarch.

About the same time Russia undertook to extend her possessions on the northwest coast of America so as to endanger our hold on Oregon. (See Paragraphs 216, 286.)

John Quincy Adams, who was then Secretary of State, told the Russian minister that "we should contest the right of Russia to any territorial establishment on this continent, and that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments." Mr. Adams believed that the whole of North America belonged to the United States by what he called a "law of nature."

Later in the same year (1823) Mr. Canning, who was a member of the English cabinet, proposed to Mr. Rush, the American minister in London, that the United States should coöperate with England in preventing the Holy Alliance from interfering with the Spanish American Republics.

President Monroe consulted Jefferson on this point and Jefferson replied: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs."

In these utterances of John Quincy Adams and Ex-President Jefferson we have the idea which President Monroe formulated in his Message. The late Dr. Justin Winsor says (Winsor's "America," vii. 524) that "Popular estimation has given a more defiant meaning to Monroe's language than was intended." But it is noteworthy that the Holy Alliance abandoned the project of interfering with the Spanish American Republics, and that Russia, by treaty of 1824, gave up all claims to territory south of 54° 40', or the southern boundary of Alaska. See Gilman's "James Monroe"; Morse's "John Quincy Adams"; and Prof. Woolsey on the "Monroe Doctrine" in Johnson's "Universal Cyclopædia" (new edition).

In the next administration (1826) the question came up whether the United States should undertake the defense of the Spanish-American Republics (including Mexico) by armed force. President Adams and the House of Representatives both declared that we were under no such obligations.

As it is now understood, the Monroe Doctrine seems to express (1) the determination on our part not to interfere with the existing possessions held in America by any European power; (2) to resist by formal protest, or by such means as may be most expedient, any further attempts at colonization in America, or European interference with the affairs of independent states on either of the American continents; and (3) to endeavor to secure the settlement of such questions, as in the case of Mexico (1868) and of Venezuela (1896), by international arbitration¹ (§§ 520, 564).

After the enunciation of this principle Russia made a treaty with the United States. The Czar gave up all claims on the Pacific coast of America south of $54^{\circ} 40'$, — or the present southern boundary of Alaska, — and granted to American citizens the right to trade on the coast north of that parallel and to fish in its waters.

The "Holy Alliance" ceased to encourage projects for the overthrow of the Spanish Republics. This change was due partly to the decided language we had used in the Monroe Doctrine, and partly to the fact that England, following our example, had recognized the independence of those Republics.

333. The tariff of 1824. The tariff of 1816 (§ 314) was decidedly protective with regard to cotton and woolen goods, but not conspicuously so with respect to other articles. The middle and western states, with certain sections of New England, now demanded higher duties on wool, iron, and hemp. Clay wished to make the United States, as far as possible, independent of the industries of Europe (§ 314). With this aim he came forward in a great speech as the champion of what he called "a genuine

¹ See Secretary Olney's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1895 and President Roosevelt's in 1902.

American policy." In all tariff legislation preceding that of 1816 (§ 314), revenue had been the main object and protection the incident, but Clay, taking the "broad-construction" view (§ 256), now carried through a bill (1824) in favor of "protection for the sake of protection." This, however, he explained to be a temporary measure to enable our "infant manufactures" to perfect themselves. Then, said he, we shall be ready "to put aside protection and to enter upon the freest exchanges."¹

Webster spoke against Clay's policy, and the South, which had changed its attitude (§ 314), was almost solidly opposed to such a measure. That section now had a constantly increasing foreign demand for their cotton, and found it for their interest to purchase English goods in exchange. The new tariff enacted by Congress (1824)² fixed the average scale of duties at a considerably higher rate than the act of 1816 had done. The South denounced the measure as "sectional, unconstitutional, and unjust." Later, this denunciation culminated, as we shall see, in open nullification and threats of secession.

334. Lafayette's visit. In 1824 Congress invited Lafayette to visit the United States as the "nation's guest." He reached New York in the summer of that year, after more than forty years' absence. He came, as he said, to see the "beloved land" of which it had been his "happy lot to become an early soldier and an adopted son."

In the dark days of the Revolution he had generously opened his purse and risked his life in our cause. He was now old and poor; but America convinced him that he was not forgotten. He spent more than a year (1824-1825) in traveling through the country, and visited every state in the Union. It has been said that "only Washington himself, had he risen from the grave, could have called forth deeper feelings of reverence and affection." Clay welcomed him in an eloquent address made in behalf of the nation, and with his own hands Lafayette laid the corner stone of

¹ See *Speeches of Henry Clay*, I, 471; *Benton's Thirty Years' View*, I, 32, 314; II, 113.

² See *Dewey's Financial History of the United States*, 173.

Bunker Hill Monument. Congress voted him the sum of \$200,000 together with a township of 23,000 acres of land in Florida, and he returned to France in the new frigate *Brandywine* (§ 215), named in honor of his services in that battle.

335. Overthrow of "King Caucus"; the presidential election (1824); charge of "a corrupt bargain." Washington and John Adams had been chosen candidates for the presidency by popular agreement, but in 1800 the system of nominating presidential candidates by Congressional caucus began, although it was not fully established until four years later (§ 284). This very undemocratic method roused vigorous opposition; in 1820 the members of Congress made no nomination, and in 1824 the force of public opinion finally defeated the despotic "King Caucus."¹ The four leading candidates for the presidency in 1824 were John Quincy Adams, who, as Secretary of State under Monroe, was "heir apparent" (§ 314), Henry Clay, W. H. Crawford (§ 327), and Andrew Jackson, who was wholly unknown in politics. As three of them had never before tried their powers in such a contest, the campaign was called "the scrub race for the presidency." All four were nominally members of the Democratic-Republican party, — the only national party then in existence (§ 310).

Adams and Clay were "broad constructionists" (§ 256) who strongly favored the expenditure of a part of the public money for the building of roads, canals, and other "internal improvements." Crawford and Jackson, on the contrary, held "strict-construction" views (§ 256) on this point, and believed such "improvements" should be made by the states themselves at their own expense. Again, Adams and Clay both favored "protection," while Crawford declared himself for a revenue tariff only. Jackson's views on this question were unknown, but he was supposed to incline toward "protection."

In the end the contest narrowed itself down to the choice of either Jackson or Adams. Previous to this time the presidential

¹ See Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*, ch. xi; McKee's *National Conventions*, 20.

electors had generally been chosen by the state legislatures, but in 1824 they were chosen, in eighteen states out of twenty-four, by the people. The popular vote was now recorded for the first time. The total number of ballots cast was 352,062, and it was estimated that the Jackson electors received upwards of 50,000 more votes than the Adams electors. Hence, so far as the direct voice of the people could decide it, Jackson was successful. None of the presidential candidates, however, obtained a clear majority of the electoral votes; the Constitution, therefore, required the House of Representatives to "choose by ballot one of them for President" (Appendix, page xvii).

In the House, Clay's friends united with those of Adams and chose the latter, John C. Calhoun having been elected Vice President. The excitement over this announcement was intense. The House of Representatives had followed strictly constitutional methods; but Jackson's friends did not hesitate to declare that he was entitled to the presidency, since, of the two chief candidates, he had received a majority of the popular vote.

John Randolph denounced the coalition of Adams' and Clay's supporters as a "combination of the Puritan and the blackleg"; and it was openly charged that Clay, by a "corrupt bargain," had sold himself to Adams in return for the promise of the appointment of Secretary of State in the latter's cabinet. Clay indignantly denied this report; but as Adams made him Secretary of State, his denial went for nothing. Jackson himself was hot against Clay, and privately declared that this "Judas of the West" had deliberately betrayed him.

336. Summary. Following the chronological order, the most important events in Monroe's administration were: (1) the purchase of Florida; (2) the Missouri Compromise, whereby slavery was admitted to that state, but "forever" prohibited from all other parts of the Louisiana territory north of the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$; (3) the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine, which denied the right of European powers to interfere with affairs, outside of their respective colonies, in either of the American continents.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN), ONE
TERM (1825-1829)

337. Inaugural address ; "internal improvements." The keynote of the President's (§ 335) inaugural address was his urgent recommendation that the national government should encourage a great system of roads, canals, and other public works. Monroe strongly favored such a policy, but thought that it required an amendment to the Constitution to authorize it. Mr. Adams did not think such an amendment necessary. As a "broad constructionist" (§ 256) he was positive that the Constitution did sanction works which "would bind the Union more closely together." But Mr. Adams went further ; following the suggestions of Washington, he earnestly recommended the establishment of a national university and a naval school. The latter he considered a necessary complement to the United States Military Academy founded (1802) at West Point. Twenty years later (1845), Congress established the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

Congress was ready to grant appropriations to facilitate communication which would render every part of the country "more accessible to, and dependent on, the other." The Cumberland or National Road (§ 328) was pushed westward from Zanesville, Ohio, toward the Mississippi. It not only helped to fill the West with population, but it greatly strengthened the bonds of union between the East and the West. Besides this work, extensive coast and river surveys were made, and the construction of important canals undertaken. The activity of the government was so great that this has been called "the epoch of internal improvements." In the course of Mr. Adams' administration nearly \$14,000,000 was spent on works of "permanent benefit to the country." Of this sum more than \$4,000,000 was laid out on roads and canals. This amount exceeded the total expenditure for such purposes of all Mr. Adams' predecessors.

The President congratulated the nation that these public enterprises had been carried out "without adding a dollar to the taxes

or debts of the community." Later, he had an unexpected opportunity to show his faith by his works. He was to throw the first shovelful of earth at the opening of a new canal between the East and the West. He chanced to meet with some obstacle, and he at once pulled off his coat and began to handle his spade with such energy that the delighted multitude cheered to the echo. It was perhaps the only act of his entire presidential career which the people hailed with applause, for Mr. Adams was a man whose virtues made few friends; he never gained popularity and he certainly never coveted it.

338. The Erie Canal and its results. As early as 1808 Judge Forman of Onondaga, New York, moved in the Legislature that steps be taken toward connecting the waters of the Hudson with those of Lake Erie. The motion was not carried into effect at the time, but later James Geddes was commissioned to make a preliminary survey. The War of 1812 convinced the people of New York that the work of constructing the proposed canal could not be safely postponed. The cost of transportation from the seaboard to Detroit was fifty cents a pound for ammunition and sixty dollars a barrel for flour.

It was evident that a continuous waterway between New York City and the West would be of incalculable advantage to both sections. On the one hand, it would open a market to the western farmer for his produce; on the other, it would furnish an outlet for eastern goods and imports. Governor Clinton urged the Legislature to begin the important work without further delay. Finally, his zeal overcame all opposition, and in the summer of 1817 a gang of laborers began to excavate the trench which opponents ridiculed as "Clinton's Big Ditch."

The entire canal was completed in the autumn of 1825. It extended from Albany to Buffalo, a distance of 363 miles, and tapped Lake Erie at a height of several hundred feet above tide water. The average cost was nearly \$20,000 a mile, and it was built by the state when its population hardly exceeded a million, and when it had no surplus revenue to spare. The work was

substantially done, with "immense embankments, noble aqueducts, and massive locks."

When (October 26, 1825) the waters of Lake Erie were let into the great trench, Governor Clinton, attended by many distinguished men, made the journey from Buffalo to Albany and thence to New York City in a fleet of gayly decorated canal boats. Fieldpieces had been placed along the entire route at intervals of about five miles; and, when the canal was opened, this cannon telegraph flashed the news from Buffalo to New York in ninety minutes. Kegs of water from Lake Erie were carried on the boats from Buffalo to the mouth of the Hudson. The governor completed the celebration by emptying the contents of one of the kegs into the salt water. By this act he commemorated, as he declared, "the navigable communication accomplished between our mediterranean seas and the Atlantic Ocean."

The canal (since reconstructed (§ 597)) shortened the time from Albany to Buffalo one half; reduced rates on freight from \$88 a ton to less than \$6, and later to \$3; and greatly facilitated the movement of emigration to the West. Furthermore, it stimulated settlements all along the line. These have since grown into prosperous towns and wealthy cities. Finally, the canal helped to make the city of New York "the great distributing center of the North."¹

339. "The great Western march." On the day of Mr. Adams' inauguration the greater part of Ohio was still covered with forests, and most of Illinois was a prairie wilderness. But on the Erie Canal and the National Road (§§ 328, 337, 338) a procession of boats and wagons crowded with emigrants from the East was steadily moving toward the Mississippi. The Ohio (§ 258), from Pittsburg, was alive with barges passing down the river and carrying whole households, with their cattle, hogs, horses, and sheep. A number of steamboats were regularly running not only on the rivers of the West but on the Great Lakes, and they contributed their part toward aiding the emigration.

¹ See McMaster's *United States*, V, 132; Semple's *American History*, 267.

In the decade between 1820 and 1830 Michigan Territory gained 260 per cent in the number of its inhabitants; Illinois, 180; Arkansas territory, 142; Indiana, 133; and Ohio increased from a population of about 576,000 to nearly a million.

The United States offered land at two dollars an acre and gave the settler ample time to pay for it. Eventually the farmer could get a quarter section, or 160 acres, for about \$26, so that practically he received his homestead as a gift from the government. In every township one section, or a thirty-sixth of the public lands, was set apart to maintain free schools. Cheap land and free education both stimulated the emigrant's "great Western march" to that land of promise destined to become the center of population and of political power.

No official record of immigration from abroad was begun until 1820, but between 1820 and 1830 about 150,000 foreigners settled in the United States. A large proportion of them made their homes in the West. More than one half of these newcomers were from the British Isles. The great tide of immigration (§ 374), however, did not begin until many years later (1847).

340. Dispute with Georgia concerning Indian land cessions. By a treaty made with the chief of the Creek Indians, all lands owned by that tribe in Georgia were ceded (1825) to the United States. The Creeks protested against this cession, declaring that it had been made by certain Indians without the sanction of their tribe. President Adams ordered the enforcement of the treaty to be suspended until General Gaines could confer with the Creek nation.

Governor Troup of Georgia determined to have the ceded lands surveyed at once, as a step toward the expulsion of the Indians. He threatened to call out the military force of the state to resist General Gaines and his body of federal troops. The Creeks at length (1826) signed a new treaty by which they bound themselves to give up all their lands in Georgia and to emigrate across the Mississippi.

Before the transfer was completed a serious dispute arose between the governor of Georgia and the President of the United

States respecting the survey of a part of the Creek country. At one time it seemed as if the controversy must be settled by the sword. Happily, however, a way was found to compromise the difficulty; but Governor Troup predicted that eventually the slave states must "confederate" to protect slavery.¹

Later (1828), Georgia assumed jurisdiction over the lands of the Cherokee reservation held by that semicivilized tribe under treaty with the federal government. The President protested, but the House justified the action of the state. Practically Georgia nullified the Cherokee treaty and afterward (1831) refused to obey a decision of the United States Supreme Court² which sustained the rights claimed by the Indians (§ 355).

341. The Panama Congress; new political parties; the temperance movement. Meanwhile the Spanish-American Republics had invited the United States to send delegates to a Congress at Panama to discuss what action should be taken respecting European interference or colonization (§ 332). Congress accepted the invitation, but passed an informal resolution declining to take any definite joint action with the Spanish-American governments. The Panama Congress met, but dissolved before our delegates arrived, and nothing more was done.

Shortly after Mr. Adams entered office his friends and Clay's united in forming a new party, which took the name of National Republicans and later that of Whigs. They stood on the platform of "broad construction" (§ 256); they advocated a protective tariff and demanded "internal improvements" (§ 337) by the national government. The regular Democratic-Republicans, under the lead of the Jackson men, soon became known as Democrats; generally speaking, they favored the "strict-construction" (§ 256) interpretation of the Constitution, and the southern portion of the party laid stress on state rights. The chief public questions of the day were the maintenance of the United States

¹ See Hart's *Formation of the Union*, 255; Von Holst's *Constitutional History of the United States*, I, 443-448.

² See *Abstract of Constitutional Decisions by the Court*, facing page 266.

Bank (§§ 314, 319), the Tariff (§§ 342-345), and Internal Improvements (§§ 314, 337).

A third political party had now come into existence. A man named Morgan had published a book claiming to reveal the secrets of Freemasonry. Morgan suddenly disappeared, and many persons believed that the Masons had made away with him. The excitement caused the organization of an Anti-Masonic party in western New York, which bound itself to oppose the election of any member of the Masonic Order to public office. The new party generally voted with the National Republicans; it exercised considerable influence for several years, but then lost power.

When Mr. Adams entered office liquor was freely used by all classes of society. The mechanic, the farm laborer, and the merchant all thought that they must have it; it was bountifully supplied at weddings, funerals, college commencements, and ministerial ordinations; and children used to buy it by the cent's worth at the corner groceries.

Dr. Lyman Beecher of Connecticut appears to have led the movement of reform (1811). The result of his work was the establishment of the "Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance" (1813), followed in 1826 by the organization of the "American Society for the Promotion of Temperance," which ten years later (1836) took its stand on the platform of total abstinence. Four years afterward (1840) the "Washingtonian Temperance Society" was formed at Baltimore to reclaim habitual drunkards.

Eventually the Total Abstinence movement began to demand the entire suppression of liquor selling, and in 1851 Maine passed the first prohibitory law. Later, a number of other states made experiments in the same direction and decided against prohibition; but five — Vermont, New Hampshire, Kansas, and North and South Dakota — joined with Maine in absolutely forbidding the sale of all intoxicating drink as a beverage. The law, however, has encountered many serious obstacles, which have generally checked its rigid enforcement in the large towns.

In 1872 a new political party — the Prohibitionists — entered the national field. Later, they pledged themselves by their platform to add a prohibitory amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

342. Commercial treaties ; West India trade ; the Harrisburg Convention and the tariff. The President negotiated a great number of commercial treaties which secured a large and prosperous trade with the Spanish-American Republics and with other powers. In 1822 Great Britain had opened the ports of her possessions in the West Indies (§§ 249, 265, 266, 312) to us on advantageous terms, but in 1825 the English government again cut us off from that very lucrative trade.

President Adams made energetic attempts to induce England to reopen those ports to us, but failed to accomplish anything. Finally, by virtue of a law passed under the preceding administration, he issued a proclamation (1827) of retaliation, and declared that all commercial intercourse with those ports was prohibited.

In the summer of 1827 a National Convention of Protectionists met at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. They were dissatisfied with the tariff of 1824 (§ 333), and demanded that higher duties should be levied on woolens, iron, hemp, and other products. The object of the convention was twofold : first, to protect home industries ; and secondly, to retaliate on Great Britain for her exclusion of these articles.

343. The so-called " tariff of abominations." At the next session of Congress (1827) a tariff bill embodying the measures of the Protectionists was brought in. Clay, Adams, and Jackson, who were candidates for the presidency, advocated it. But the division on it was almost purely sectional ; the North and West were for it, while the South opposed it (§ 333). In the case of the tariffs of 1816 and 1824 (§§ 314, 333) Daniel Webster had declared himself the champion of a free-trade or revenue tariff except in the case of manufactures already established, and which seemed to require defense against foreign competition. He now

came out strongly for protection. He took the ground that since New England had been forced by the act of 1824 to invest a large part of her capital in woolen manufactures, it was the duty of the national government to guard that capital against sudden and ruinous loss.

Southern men protested against this policy. Cotton, rice, and tobacco then constituted the chief American exports, and they were exchanged for articles of European manufacture on advantageous terms. The South wished, therefore, to keep up this trade as it stood, and to purchase her goods where she could get them cheapest.

A senator from Maryland denounced the proposed system of protection as a "tariff of abominations," and John Randolph of Virginia said it should be called "a bill to rob and plunder nearly one half of the Union for the benefit of the residue." Senator Hayne of South Carolina went further and declared that the proposed law "was calculated to sever the bonds of the Union."

344. Passage of the tariff bill. After a violent debate of six weeks the new tariff bill was passed (1828) amidst the wildest excitement.¹ The vote in the Senate stood 26 to 21, and in the House 105 to 94. The act increased the duties from the previous rates of 1824. The rate on cottons was left unchanged, but that on hemp was increased nearly 100 per cent, while that on woolens was more than double that of the tariff of 1824. For this reason it is often called the "Woolen Tariff." Some of the most obnoxious features of the act were incorporated in it by its enemies as a "political job." They hoped thereby either to kill the measure or to kill Adams' chances for a second presidential term if he signed the bill.² This tariff "represented the high-water mark of protective legislation before the Civil War."

345. Opposition of South Carolina to the tariff. The people of many towns in South Carolina held mass meetings at which they

¹ See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 176, 181.

² See Rhodes' *United States*, I, 40, or the *Cambridge United States*, 377.

resolved to wear homespun and to refuse to buy any cloth made north of the Potomac. South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama declared the new tariff a violation of the Constitution.

Calhoun drew up an "Exposition and Protest"¹ which, after some changes, was adopted by the Legislature of South Carolina. The "Exposition" denounced the tariff as an act of tyranny on the part of the majority, and as directly contrary to the plain spirit of the Constitution. The manifesto further declared that, should the federal government persist in enforcing the protective system, it would be "the sacred duty" of South Carolina "to arrest the progress of a usurpation . . . which . . . must corrupt the public morals and destroy the liberty of the country." Webster considered the situation very grave. He wrote, "In December, 1828, I became thoroughly convinced that the plan of a Southern Confederacy had been received with favor by a great many of the political men of the South."

346. The presidential election. At the presidential election (1828) the candidates were chosen by common consent and indorsed by the legislatures of the states (§ 335). They were John Quincy Adams, National Republican (§ 341), and Andrew Jackson, Democrat. The campaign was one of great personal bitterness. Niles declared in his *Register* that if the hundredth part of what had been said about the two candidates was true, both of them should be sent to the penitentiary for life. Jackson carried the day, and, with John C. Calhoun as Vice President, was elected by a large majority, the electoral vote standing 178 to 83 and the popular vote 647,231 to 509,097.

347. Summary. The principal events of President Adams' administration were: (1) the impetus given to the making of roads, canals, and other "internal improvements" by the national government; ~~(2)~~ the completion and opening of the Erie Canal by the state of New York; (3) the great movement of population westward; (4) the enactment of the high protective tariff of 1828, which excited the violent opposition of the South.

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, Nos. 44, 45.

ANDREW JACKSON (DEMOCRAT), TWO TERMS (1829-1837)

348. The West comes to the front; Jackson's election and inauguration. The election (§ 346) and inauguration of the new chief magistrate showed that a political revolution had taken place. Every one of the seven preceding Presidents, from Jefferson to John Quincy Adams (1801-1829), had filled the office of Secretary of State. All were of eastern birth and had been educated at college. Now the rough, self-willed, strong-limbed pioneers of the West who were clearing and planting the wilderness beyond the Alleghenies (§ 339) resolved to put a fresh man at the helm. The masses, for the first time, emphatically "rejected the leadership of the classes."

They felt that Jackson was one of themselves. He was the son of a Scotch-Irish immigrant (§§ 52, 173), and was born in a log cabin in the backwoods. He had never been Secretary of State, but the people of the West believed him "heir apparent" (§ 314) to the presidency by right of nature. They put him forward to break up the routine of "cabinet succession," and as their chosen representative of genuine western democracy.

The old and conservative sections of the country had been fully represented in the Executive; in Jackson, the Indian fighter, the "hero of New Orleans," the new forces at work in America were embodied and were to come to the front. Never had such a multitude been seen in Washington as on the day of his inauguration. Men stood with their muddy boots on the satin-covered chairs in the White House to get a sight of the President of their choice. Eastern men looked on in dismay, and Judge Story wrote home that "the reign of King Mob seemed triumphant."

349. Removals from office. More than twelve years before, Jackson had written to Monroe, after the latter's election to the presidency (1817), urging him not to remove government officers for political reasons. He said then, "Now is the time to exterminate the monster called party spirit"; but since that period he had changed. He entered office fully convinced that he had once

been cheated out of the presidency by a "corrupt bargain" (§ 335). He believed that "bargain" had deliberately thwarted the will of the people and that the government belonged to those who had elected him. The editor of the *Washington Telegraph*, the organ of the new administration, declared that he took it for granted that Jackson would "reward his friends and punish his enemies."

Jackson himself was eager to begin what he called "the task of reform." He was convinced that Adams and Clay had filled the public offices with "babbling politicians" who ought to be removed for the good of the country; but, as a matter of fact, Adams had kept his political and personal enemies in office and had refused to give places to his friends and supporters.

Jackson's policy anticipated Senator Marcy's rule, "To the victors belong the spoils." He made removals by wholesale, and the working of the Crawford Act (§ 327) helped to make more vacancies. At Washington the distress and terror of the "ins" was only matched by the rapacity of the "outs." In the first month of his administration Jackson dismissed more men from office than all the Presidents who had preceded him (§ 279). Before the close of the first year not less than two thousand office-holders had been replaced by adherents of the new Executive.

350. The President declares the removals necessary; the "Kitchen Cabinet"; foreign affairs. The President believed that these changes were in every way an advantage. He declared that unless such removals were regularly made, subordinate officials would "acquire a habit of looking with indifference upon the public interests," and would consider their positions "as a species of property." Hence he earnestly advocated "rotation," and urged Congress to extend it. Jefferson and Madison had already protested against the introduction of this system when applied to clerks in departments. Webster, Calhoun, Clay, and Benton added their remonstrances, but in vain, for rotation in office, first systematically begun by the Crawford Act (§ 327), now became firmly established. Through it the "spoils system" held unbroken sway for more than forty years.

Unlike his predecessors, Jackson did not hold cabinet councils, but depended largely on the suggestions of a few intimate friends, who were popularly known as the "Kitchen Cabinet." Amos Kendall of Massachusetts, a man of considerable ability, with a "great talent for silence" and for work, was the leader of this influential group.

In his foreign relations Jackson gained two signal triumphs early in his administration. He succeeded in negotiating a treaty with Great Britain which granted us the long-coveted, unrestricted, direct trade with the West Indies (§§ 265, 266, 342); and he induced France to pay us 25,000,000 francs to settle our second set of claims for spoliation (§ 270), which, in this case, Napoleon had committed on our commerce (§ 295).

351. Webster's reply to Hayne on state sovereignty. In the first Congress which met under Jackson, Senator Foot of Connecticut proposed (1830) making an inquiry respecting the sale of government lands. His resolution led unexpectedly to the "great debate" between Webster and Hayne on the nature of the Union.¹ This question went to the very foundations of the government. It asked, Did the Constitution create an indestructible nation, or did it simply establish a league between sovereign states which may be broken by the action of any member of that league? Such a discussion necessarily involved an inquiry into the right of nullification and disunion.

Senator Hayne of South Carolina spoke in the interest of the league theory of the Constitution. Addressing Mr. Calhoun, the presiding officer, the senator said, "Sir, I am one of those who believe that the very life of our system is the independence of the states, and that there is no evil more to be deprecated than the consolidation of the government." Webster replied: "Sir, . . . I am a Unionist. . . . I would strengthen the ties that hold us together."

Hayne rejoined by quoting Jefferson's declaration that "submission to a government of unlimited power" was a greater

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 46; Johnston's American Orations, I, 233, 248; Hart's American History Leaflets, No. 30.

calamity than "a dissolution of the Union." He furthermore contended that both Jefferson and Madison considered the Constitution to be simply a compact made between sovereign states. Finally, referring to the Kentucky Resolutions (§ 273), he insisted that in case Congress violated the Constitution, "nullification" by the sovereign states was, according to Jefferson, "the rightful remedy" (§ 273).

The next day the Senate chamber was packed in anticipation of Webster's reply. On the morning of that day a New England senator said to him, "It is a critical moment, . . . and it is high time that the people of this country should know what the Constitution *is*." Webster answered, "By the blessing of Heaven, they shall learn this day, before the sun goes down, what I understand it to be." In his reply Webster reached the high-water mark of his power as an orator.

He argued with consummate ability that the Constitution was not a compact made between sovereign states, but that it was an indissoluble government "made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people." The effect of his speech throughout the North was widespread, deep, and permanent; patriotism had a new birth, and thousands were made to feel that the American Republic rested on a foundation which could not be shaken.

A few months later, at a public dinner given in honor of Jefferson's birthday, the President gave the significant toast, "Our federal Union: it must be preserved." Calhoun responded for the South with the sentiment, "Liberty dearer than Union." Shortly after this Jackson and Calhoun ceased to hold friendly relations with each other. They represented antagonistic principles; the President upheld the sovereignty of the nation, the Vice President that of the states. After Calhoun returned to the Senate he offered a set of resolutions (1833) upholding nullification and secession as constitutional rights. That doctrine had never before been openly defended in the upper House. Webster replied that nullification and secession meant revolution, and that

it was logically impossible to derive from the Constitution the revolutionary right to overthrow it.

352. Rise of the Abolitionists. Congress had hoped that the Missouri Compromise (§ 324) would put a stop to the discussion of slavery; but John Randolph of Virginia, who was himself a slaveholder, declared it impossible. "You might as well," said he, "try to hide a volcano in full eruption."

Many leading southern men deplored holding human beings as property. Roger B. Taney of Maryland, later appointed Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, said of slavery that it was "a blot on our national character," which he hoped would in time be "wiped away." By 1826 more than a hundred anti-slavery societies existed at the South, or nearly three times as many as there were in the North. They advocated gradual emancipation and colonization. Although in 1820 Henry Clay, on humanitarian grounds, had earnestly advocated the extension of slavery to the territory west of the Mississippi (§ 322), he now (1827) declared, in an address before one of these societies, that slavery was "the deepest stain upon the character of our country." He added: "If I could only be instrumental in ridding of this foul blot that revered state which gave me birth, or that other not less beloved state which kindly adopted me as her son, I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy for the honor of all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conqueror."

But the free negro was literally "a man without a country." The South wanted to get rid of him; the North refused to welcome him, and with very few exceptions it denied him the right to education and the right to vote. In short, the free black man had to dwell apart like the leper in Israel.¹

No one, not even John Quincy Adams, soon to become the great champion of the antislavery movement in Congress, could then point out a remedy for the evil of slavery. The truth is that it had

¹ See Gordy's *Political History of the United States*, II, ch. xxii; Thorpe's *Constitutional History of the American People*, I, ch. xii.

grown to be an integral part of the social, economic, and political life of the South, and that northern manufacturers, merchants, and shipowners had directly or indirectly helped to bring about this condition of things. Dr. Channing fully realized this when he wrote from Boston to Daniel Webster (1828): "I know that our Southern brethren interpret every word from this region on the subject of slavery as an expression of hostility. . . . It seems to me . . . we ought to say to them distinctly: 'We consider slavery as your' calamity, not your crime, and we will share with you the burden of putting an end to it. We will consent that the public lands shall be appropriated to this object, or that the general government shall be clothed with power to apply a portion of revenue to it.' . . . I am the more sensitive on this subject from my increased solicitude for the preservation of the Union. I know no public interest so important as this."

353. Garrison's "Liberator"; the Nat Turner insurrection; the American Antislavery Society. Benjamin Lundy, in his paper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, published at Baltimore, asked that the negro be gradually freed and colonized. On New Year's Day, 1831, William Lloyd Garrison of Boston published the first number of the *Liberator*. He demanded "immediate and unconditional emancipation." His editorial was a war cry. "I am in earnest," said he; "I will not equivocate — I will not excuse — I will not retreat a single inch — *and I will be heard.*" His words opened thirty years of conflict, which were to end in the war of secession and in the downfall of slavery. Garrison spared neither North nor South. Speaking of New England, he said, "I found contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen than among slave owners themselves." Eventually, Dr. Channing (§ 352) came over to Garrison's position and put emancipation before the preservation of the Union.

That summer (1831) Nat Turner, a Virginia slave, headed a negro insurrection in which more than sixty whites were murdered. The excitement over that "Bloody Monday" was terrible, and

Garrison was accused of having stirred up the insurrection by his articles in the *Liberator*. He denied that he countenanced negro rebellion, but the South refused to believe him, and the state of Georgia offered a reward of \$5000 for his seizure, followed by his conviction in that state. This, of course, was offering a premium on kidnapping. As a matter of fact, Garrison never condemned slavery in stronger terms than a number of leading Virginians did in discussing the Nat Turner insurrection in the Legislature, and in demanding that measures be taken for gradual emancipation.

The next year (1832) the New England Antislavery Society was organized, and the year following (1833) the American Antislavery Society came into existence at Philadelphia. It declared, "Slavery is a crime." It affirmed that all slaves "ought instantly to be set free"; it, however, took the ground that Congress had no constitutional right to interfere with slavery in the southern states, but demanded the suppression of the domestic slave trade and the abolition of negro bondage in the territories. Finally, the society declared that the people of the free states were under the highest obligations "to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States." This declaration on the part of the society marks an era in American history. Within less than nine years from that date the anti-slavery organizations in the free states numbered two thousand, with a membership of two hundred thousand.

354. Abolition publications destroyed; Garrison mobbed; disunion agitation. The excitement at the South over northern anti-slavery publications constantly increased. At length the citizens of Charleston (1835) broke open the post office and publicly burned all such matter found in the mails. A bill was introduced in Congress to exclude this inflammatory material in the future. Calhoun, then in the Senate, declared that if it should be rejected, he should say to the people of the South: "Look to yourselves; you have nothing to hope from others." The bill did not pass, and the commotion in both sections of the country rose to a still more dangerous pitch. Garrison was assailed in Boston (1835)

by a "highly respectable" mob. Had not the mayor ordered the police to lock him up in jail for safety, the mob would probably have ducked him in the Frog Pond on the Common, dyed his face and hands an indelible black, and then given him a coat of tar and feathers.

A number of years afterward (1843) the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society resolved that the Union ought to be immediately dissolved. The *Liberator* later came out with two standing mottoes. The first was "No union with slaveholders." The second, adopting the words of the prophet Isaiah, declared, "The United States Constitution is a 'covenant with death' and an 'agreement with hell'!"

By this time a number of leading men at the South, who had formerly deplored the existence of African bondage, wheeled about in its defense. Clay (1835) denounced the Abolitionists, and declared that "two hundred years of legislation have sanctioned and sanctified negro slaves as property." Calhoun had once said that slavery was a scaffolding which must come down. He now (1837) denied that it was an evil, and declared that it was economically, politically, and morally "a good — a positive good." "We love and cherish the Union," said he, "but we will not, cannot, permit it [slavery] to be destroyed. . . . Should it cost every drop of blood and every cent of property, we must defend ourselves."

John Quincy Adams had written several years before (1833), "Slavery is, in all probability, the wedge which will ultimately split up this Union." At the North the men of the Garrison school were laboring to secure a separation; at the South there were politicians who eagerly welcomed the Abolition agitation. They found in it an effective means of pushing their own selfish schemes at the risk of destroying the nation.

Madison feared that these men would spur the South to enter upon a course, of which the first step would be "nullification, the next secession, and the last a farewell separation." It was, as Seward later declared, the beginning of an "irrepressible conflict

between opposing and enduring forces." On the part of the North, Emerson, who was no fanatic, did not hesitate to say, "Slavery is not an institution, but a destitution"; on the part of the South, Governor McDuffie of South Carolina boldly proclaimed slavery to be "the corner stone of our Republican edifice."¹

But yet there were great numbers who refused to discuss the question of slavery in any form. They feared the agitation might be disastrous to the country. They were ready to sacrifice the negro for the sake of maintaining political peace and business prosperity.

355. The new tariff (1832); South Carolina nullifies it. While this bitter dispute respecting slavery was going on, the discontent of South Carolina over the protective tariff of 1828 (§ 343) was increasing.² In his annual message of 1831 the President recommended Congress to reduce the rate of duties. One reason which he urged for adopting this policy was that the government would soon have an annual surplus of about \$15,000,000. Clay would not listen to any change in his favorite "American system"³ (§§ 314, 333), and vowed that he would defend it if he had to defy the President, the South, and the Evil One. Congress, however, enacted a new tariff (1832), which practically put back duties to where they had stood in 1824 (§ 333). At the same time the duties on woolens were actually raised, and the principle of protection was clearly insisted upon.⁴ Calhoun urged South Carolina to refuse to obey the law. He declared that peaceable resistance was entirely "consistent with the federal relations of the state." He argued that such resistance was essentially different from secession, and that instead of destroying the Union it would help to preserve it. He gloried in his advocacy of this measure, and said, "If you should ask me the word that I should wish engraven on my tombstone, it is 'NULLIFICATION.'"

¹ See Hart's American History Leaflets, No. 10.

² See Dewey's Financial History of the United States, ch. viii.

³ See Johnston's American Orations, IV, 202.

⁴ See Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 183.

The crisis soon came. South Carolina held a state convention (1832) and adopted an ordinance of nullification (§ 273).¹ It declared (1) the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 "null, void, and no law, nor binding upon this state, its officers, or citizens"; (2) it refused to pay any duties enjoined by those tariffs after February 1, 1833; (3) it declared that, should the United States attempt to compel payment, "the people of this state will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government." The convention deduced the right to secede from the nature of the Constitution, which they asserted was a compact made between sovereign states (§ 247); what they had freely made they claimed the power to freely break. This action was strongly resisted by a Union Convention of South Carolinians, but most of the influential men in the state were on the side of nullification.

Many years before, Jackson had declared that he would "die in the last ditch" before he would countenance disunion. In 1831 he had indirectly encouraged nullification by the course he had taken respecting Georgia in its attitude toward the United States Supreme Court (§ 340). But he now (1832) issued a proclamation² in which he appealed to the fellow-citizens of his "native state" as a father might appeal to his children. But he took a decided stand. "The Constitution of the United States," said he, "forms a *government*, not a league." "To say that any state may at pleasure secede from the Union is to say that the United States are not a nation." He added: "The laws of the United States must be executed . . . disunion by armed force is *treason*."³ Jackson's friends hailed him as "the second savior of his country." Congress passed a "Force Act"⁴ to enable the President to compel obedience to the tariff, and Jackson sent a sloop of war to Charleston and ordered General Scott to collect the customs, if necessary, by military force.

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 53.

² Ibid., No. 55.

³ See Richardson's Messages of the Presidents, II, 640-656.

⁴ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 56; Johnston's American Orations, I, 303.

Meanwhile Clay, alarmed at the outlook, came forward as a peacemaker (§ 324). He introduced a Compromise Tariff¹ which provided for a gradual reduction of duties. He now said, "I wish to see the tariff separated from politics." Calhoun, who had resigned the vice presidency and had again entered the Senate, voted for Clay's bill. In anticipation of the success of this measure, South Carolina decided not to resist payment of duties under the existing tariff. The Compromise Tariff was enacted (1833), and South Carolina at once repealed her ordinance of nullification. Jackson wrote, "Nullification is dead"; but he added: "The tariff . . . was a mere pretext . . . disunion and a Southern Confederacy [was] the real object. The next pretext will be the negro or the slavery agitation."

356. Opening of the first American railway (1830). The steamboat (§ 286) had revolutionized travel and transportation on the inland waters of the United States, and had greatly helped forward emigration to the West. Now a far more remarkable revolution was at hand. Stephenson, the English inventor, had put the first really successful locomotive on the tracks of the first railway opened in Great Britain, or in the world. The "steam wagon" promised to supersede the mail coach and the carrier's cart.

Late in the summer of 1830 fourteen miles of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway were opened. It was the first road of the kind in America which was constructed for the express purpose of carrying passengers and merchandise. Peter Cooper of New York built a little engine called the "Tom Thumb," which made its trial trip from Baltimore to Ellicott's Mills. The first American locomotive was an improvement on Stephenson's "Rocket," since, by reason of its movable truck, it could go safely around sharp curves. At that time, when American companies had not capital to tunnel hills, but had to go round them, this improvement was of much practical importance. It settled the question in favor of steam over horse power. Before the close of that year (1830) ground had been broken for the South Carolina Railway

¹ See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 185.

1842.

RAIL-ROAD ROUTE

1843.

Albany & Buffalo.

FIVE REDUCED-RATES TO COMMENCE JULY 10, 1843.

Those who pay through between Albany and Buffalo, - \$10. in the best case,
 do. do. do. 6. in accommodation case,
 which have been so arranged, combined and lighted.
 Those who pay through between Albany & Rochester, \$8. in the best case,
 do. do. do. 6 50 in accommodation case.

THREE DAILY LINES. Through in 25 hours.

GOING WEST.

	Albany	Rochester	Buffalo
Leave Albany	7 A.M.	9 P.M.	1 P.M.
Arrive Rochester	9 A.M.	11 P.M.	3 P.M.
Leave Rochester	11 P.M.	1 A.M.	5 A.M.
Arrive Buffalo	1 P.M.	3 A.M.	7 A.M.
Leave Buffalo	3 A.M.	5 A.M.	9 A.M.
Arrive Albany	5 A.M.	7 A.M.	11 A.M.

GOING EAST.

	Albany	Rochester	Buffalo
Leave Albany	7 A.M.	9 P.M.	1 P.M.
Arrive Rochester	9 A.M.	11 P.M.	3 P.M.
Leave Rochester	11 P.M.	1 A.M.	5 A.M.
Arrive Buffalo	1 P.M.	3 A.M.	7 A.M.
Leave Buffalo	3 A.M.	5 A.M.	9 A.M.
Arrive Albany	5 A.M.	7 A.M.	11 A.M.

EXEMPTIONS WILL BE GRANTED ONLY BY SPECIAL CONTRACT.

Passengers will procure tickets at the offices at Albany, Buffalo or Rochester through, to be entitled to seats at the reduced rates.

Fare will be received at each of the above places to any other place named on the route.

From an Old Time-table (furnished by the "A B C Pathfinder Railway Guide").

By permission of the Superintendent of the "A. B. C. Pathfinder Railway Guide."

The above Time-table shows that the rate of travel by express trains from Albany to Buffalo in 1843 was less than thirteen miles an hour.

The total length of railway operated in the United States in 1843 was but a little over 4000 miles.

Up to 1850 no line of railway had been built as far west as the Mississippi River.

The 180,000 miles of railway now in operation in the United States employ an army of about 600,000 men; financially they constitute "the largest single interest in the country."

from Charleston to Augusta, a distance of 135 miles. It was opened for traffic three years later. It was the longest continuous line of railway in the world, and was the first to carry the United States mails.

A part of the New York Central Railway was opened in 1831, and was followed by similar roads in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. But the progress of these undertakings was slow. The first puff of the locomotive was not heard in Ohio or on the prairies of Illinois until 1838; and in 1840 the total number of miles of railway in the United States was less than three thousand. The Mississippi was not crossed until after 1850, hence it was not until after that date that railways began to have their influence on the far West.

The railway was destined to solve the problem of the unity of the states, so far as that could be accomplished by material means (§§ 278, 286). It clamped the Republic together with iron bands, and in time made every part quickly and cheaply accessible to every other. From an economic point of view it was no less important. It ultimately reduced the expense of travel to one fifth that by stagecoach, and it cut down the cost of transportation by wagons from an average of twenty cents a ton per mile to less than one cent. The freight traffic of the United States, if moved by horses, would cost, it is estimated, more in a single year than all the railways of the country have required for their construction.

Finally, the railway opened new lands to the emigrant and new markets for his produce. It developed the West as nothing else could have done. It built up thriving inland cities and towns at points inaccessible by water; and it greatly facilitated the territorial division of labor. This made it possible for each section of the country to devote its energies to the industry it found most profitable, — coal, cotton, cattle, wheat, mining for metals, or manufacturing. In 1904 the total length of railways in the United States was more than 200,000 miles, and the total capital invested exceeded \$12,000,000,000; financially speaking they constitute the largest single interest in the United States.

357. Rise of modern American literature ; cheap newspapers ; the steam press. The two pioneers of American prose and poetry, Irving and Bryant, had made themselves a name before Jackson entered office. Bryant's "Thanatopsis," published (1816) in the *North American Review*, then in the second year of its existence, so delighted Wordsworth that he learned it by heart. Sir Walter Scott was equally pleased with the originality and humor of Irving's writings, and offered him a handsome salary to undertake the editorship of a magazine in Edinburgh.

Seventeen years later (1833), the town of Peterboro, New Hampshire, established the first free public library in America, supported by public funds. Fifteen years from that date Massachusetts laid a tax (1848), to establish a free public library in Boston. This is believed to have been the beginning of such legislation in any part of the world. To-day there are several thousand such libraries in the United States, and the number is steadily increasing.

Cooper, the first American novelist who found readers abroad, began to bring out his stories a little later, while Simms was working in like manner at the South. Webster published the first edition of his American dictionary (1828) just before Jackson's election ; and Whittier began to write his New England ballads shortly after Jackson entered office. He was followed by Longfellow, Bancroft, Holmes, Poe, Hawthorne, and Prescott ; Lowell was soon to make his appearance in the same field. The last year of Jackson's second administration (1837) was rendered memorable in literature by Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa address on the "American Scholar." Holmes hailed it as our "intellectual Declaration of Independence." In the domain of American jurisprudence and constitutional law the works of Chancellor Kent and Chief Justice Story stood preëminent.

A little earlier (1833), the *New York Sun*, the first permanent cheap daily paper, appeared. The price was one cent. This meant that for the first time since the invention of printing the poorest laborer could afford to carry home the news of the world in his pocket.

Later (1847), Hoe's steam-cylinder press made cheap newspapers a success by reducing the cost of publication and by rendering it possible to issue enormous editions in a very short space of time. A roll of paper five miles in length can now be printed on both sides in a little more than thirty-two minutes.

With the opening of the Civil War (1861) a great change began to show itself in the character of many of the daily papers. From that time we may date the exaggerated, sensational, and reckless type of journalism which has since developed into a power for evil that is a positive menace to civilization.

358. The Black Hawk War; growth of the West. In the summer of 1832 an Indian insurrection, led by Black Hawk, broke out in Illinois and extended to parts of the territory now comprised in Wisconsin and Iowa. The government troops gained an easy victory, and the Indians ceded large tracts of land to secure peace. These cessions opened new fields for settlement in the rapidly growing West.

Cincinnati now had a population of more than 30,000, and Buffalo and Detroit gave promise of becoming important cities. Chicago was a pushing little trading village gathered under the protecting guns of Fort Dearborn (§ 278). St. Louis was a frontier settlement which carried on a large traffic with the Missouri Indians; near the mouth of the Mississippi, New Orleans was making ready to contest the commercial supremacy of the great Atlantic ports.

359. Beginning of the war against the United States Bank;¹ Jackson's message. When Jackson entered office the Bank of the United States (§ 314) seemed almost as solidly established as the government itself. It had a capital of about \$35,000,000; its assets were fully equal to its liabilities; it held more than \$13,000,000 of deposits; and it issued notes to the amount of over \$27,000,000, which were considered as good as gold not only throughout the United States but in Europe. The headquarters of the Bank were at Philadelphia, under the management

¹ See Dewey's Financial History of the United States, ch. ix.

of Nicholas Biddle, president of the institution, and it had twenty-five branches in different states.

But some months after Jackson's inauguration two of his most zealous supporters, both New Hampshire men, made a complaint against the Bank. They stated that the Portsmouth, New Hampshire, branch was mismanaged. Jeremiah Mason, the head of that branch, was an opponent of the administration; he was accused of political favoritism in his dealings with applicants at the Bank, and Secretary Ingham, of the United States Treasury, wrote Nicholas Biddle, telling him of these complaints. Biddle, after investigating the matter, replied that the charges were groundless. He declared that the Bank was accountable to Congress, but to Congress only. "The board of directors," said he, "acknowledge not the slightest responsibility of any description whatsoever to the Secretary of the Treasury touching the political opinions and conduct of their officers." This sharp retort provoked retaliation.

We have seen (§ 319) that the action of the Bank in 1819 had stirred up powerful enemies against it. Its charter, however, would not expire until 1836, or three years after the term for which Jackson had been elected. But in his first annual message (1829) the President said,¹ "Both the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating this Bank are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow-citizens" (§ 255). He next charged the Bank with having "failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency." He suggested that when the charter should expire it might be thought expedient to establish a new National Bank "founded upon the credit of the government."

360. Congressional reports on the Bank. A Congressional committee reported (1830) that the Supreme Court of the United States had recognized the constitutionality of the Bank (§ 319), and that it had proved itself a useful institution. Concerning the currency of the Bank, the committee reported that "no country in the world has a circulating medium of greater uniformity than the United States."

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 46.

Jackson in his next two annual messages (1830, 1831) again attacked the Bank.¹ Senator Benton strongly supported the President. Benton's hatred of bank notes and love of gold currency had got for him the title of "Old Bullion." He now introduced a resolution against rechartering the Bank. The following year (1832) a new Congressional committee examined the condition of the institution. The majority reported against its methods of transacting business ; the minority defended it. John Quincy Adams, who was one of the committee, made an independent report. He criticised some of the Bank's financial methods, but declared that, all things considered, it had managed its affairs "with as near an approach to perfect wisdom as the imperfection of human nature permitted."

361. Jackson vetoes the bill to recharter the Bank. In the summer of 1832 Congress passed a bill to recharter the Bank. The President promptly vetoed it² on the ground that some of the powers of the institution were "unauthorized by the Constitution, subversive of the rights of the states, and dangerous to the liberties of the people." He furthermore denounced the Bank as a "monopoly" whose stock was held by a few hundred rich men here and a number of capitalists abroad.

The existence of such a colossal money power, with its enormous political influence, "might," he said, "make us tremble for the purity of our elections in peace and for the independence of our country in war." If we must have such a Bank, said he, "it should be *purely American*." With respect to the decision of the Supreme Court recognizing the Bank as constitutional (§ 360), Jackson said, "The opinion of the judges has no more authority over Congress than the opinion of Congress has over the judges ; and on that point the President is independent of both."

Webster declared that if the veto stood, "the Constitution had received its deathblow." Clay said that if the Bank was compelled to call in its loans and wind up its business, the result

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, Nos. 50, 51.

² Ibid., No. 52 ; Mason's Veto Power, 32.

would be "widespread ruin." On the other hand, Benton said, "If the Bank gains the day, there is an end of the Republic"; in that case, he added, "the president of the Bank and the President of the United States will elect each other." The veto triumphed and Jackson's supporters were jubilant. They declared that, now that "Nick Biddle's bloated corporation" had received its finishing stroke, the people would get plenty of Benton's "mint drops" and Jackson's "yellow boys" in place of "Old Nick's money" and "Clay's rags."

362. The presidential election. The issue at the election (1832) was the question whether the Bank should or should not be rechartered. Jackson denounced the institution as a dangerous political machine which was ready to use its power to set up or cast down Presidents. Biddle and the Clay party retorted that Jackson had determined to make himself "lord and master of the United States," and that the safety of the country demanded his defeat at the polls.

The candidates, of whom Clay and Jackson were the chief, were all nominated (for the first time) by national conventions (§ 335), the system ever since in force. Clay was chosen by the National Republicans (§ 341), who adopted the first political platform issued by such a convention.¹ It declared that "an adequate protection to American industry is indispensable to the prosperity of the country." It advocated a uniform system of "internal improvements" (§ 337); declared that "the existence of the nation" depended upon the preservation of the authority and jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States (§ 361), and denounced the "spoils system" (§ 349) as "corrupting to the morals, and dangerous to the liberties of this country." Jackson, who was the choice of the Democrats (§ 341), was elected, with Martin Van Buren as Vice President. The electoral vote stood 219 to 49, and the popular vote, 687,502 to 530,189.

363. The President withdraws the deposits. Jackson began his second administration (1833) fully resolved to destroy the power

¹ See Stanwood's *The Presidency*, ch. xiii; McKee's *Conventions*, 27-33.

of the United States Bank. He believed that it had used its funds to prevent his election, that it was "financially rotten," and that the government deposits in it were no longer safe. The House voted that the deposits were safe, but the President replied, "The Bank is broke, and Biddle knows it." He then proceeded (1833) "on his own responsibility" to remove the government money,¹ amounting to nearly \$10,000,000. It was gradually withdrawn in the regular course of business to meet the expenses of the government. At the same time Jackson ordered all deposits of public money to be made henceforth in about fifty state banks, which the opposition dubbed "pet banks."² The Senate voted that the President had violated the Constitution; but shortly before Jackson left office Senator Benton (§ 360) succeeded in getting the record of the vote expunged.³

The removal of the deposits, or rather the withholding of future deposits, compelled the Bank of the United States to contract its loans. This caused "tight money"; many failures resulted, and "distress delegations" implored the President for relief. The great New York fire (1835) made the situation worse by destroying property worth \$20,000,000.

364. Increase of state banks; an epidemic of speculation; the "specie circular"; distribution of the "surplus." State banks now began to increase at a rapid rate. Many of these institutions were simply "wild-cat banks" (§ 319), which had little or no capital, and issued floods of worthless paper. Plenty of cheap money stimulated speculation. In the course of two years enormous tracts of public lands were purchased; there were "booms" in cotton, in timber, in real estate in eastern and southern cities, and in projected western towns.

Between 1834 and 1836 the government land sales rose from less than \$5,000,000 to nearly \$25,000,000. Everybody seemed to be getting rich at railway speed. In New York City the

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, Nos. 56-57.

² See Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 203, 209. ³ See Johnston's American Orations, I, 320; Macdonald's Select Documents, Nos. 64, 68.

assessed valuation rose in two years from \$104,000,000 to \$253,000,000, while in Mobile the craze for speculation was so furious that property estimated in 1831 to be worth under \$1,300,000 was six years later rated at over \$27,000,000.

The President became alarmed at these heavy sales of government land for doubtful paper. After giving the banks ample time to make preparations, he issued (1836) his famous "specie circular," which required purchasers to make their payments in gold and silver. Congress passed a bill to annul the circular, but the President vetoed the bill just before he left office. Speculators were aghast at the prospect. The financial sky grew black with the gathering storm. The banks held less than \$38,000,000 in specie, against an issue of \$525,000,000 in notes. Very few of them could redeem their bills in coin. The result was suspension of payment and great distress. There were bread riots in New York and threats of mob violence on a wide scale; but the tempest did not strike the country in its full violence until after Jackson had retired from office (§§ 368-370).

But the United States had not only paid off every dollar of the public debt but had actually accumulated a large surplus in the Treasury. At the recommendation of the President, Congress passed an act (1836) ordering that the surplus which should be on hand at the beginning of 1837 should be distributed among the states.¹ It was styled a "deposit," but it was practically a gift. Accordingly the government paid out over \$28,000,000 (January to July, 1837), and then stopped because its funds were exhausted. Some states divided their share of the money among the whole population, each person getting a few shillings; others used the money to begin great systems of roads, canals, and similar public improvements. These works were seldom carried to completion, and generally ended by piling up a heavy state debt. A few states still hold and use the income of the money.

365. "Pocket vetoes"; antislavery petitions; the "gag rule." During this period the President refused to sign the Maysville,

¹ See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 219.

Kentucky, Turnpike Bill, with several others, for "internal improvements" (§ 337). He believed that these measures were unconstitutional because they were local, and not, in any true sense, national improvements, and that they tended to produce political corruption. Some of these bills were sent to him within ten days of the adjournment of Congress; the Constitution (Appendix, page ix, § 7) gave him the right to retain them until the session closed, and so defeat them. He did retain them, and thus, by what was called a "pocket veto," — first used by Madison, — he effectually checked this kind of legislation for the time.

Later, many persons at the North petitioned Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. On motion of C. C. Pinckney, the House (1836) passed the first "gag rule," which laid petitions on the subject of slavery on the table, thus preventing discussion. A second and more stringent measure was passed four years later. John Quincy Adams vehemently protested (§ 373), declaring that these rules violated the spirit of the first amendment of the Constitution (Appendix, page xvi).

366. Important inventions; the presidential election; new states. Shortly after Jackson's administration began, McCormick's patent reaper and mower (1834) put a new power in the hands of the agriculturist and greatly stimulated the rapid development of the West. Colt's revolver followed, thus introducing (1835) a most effective military weapon, which made itself felt in the Seminole and the Mexican wars. Gas (1825) had been in use for some years, and the friction match (1829) now generally superseded the bungling flint and steel (§ 182).

Ericsson's screw propeller (1836) was destined to have an immense influence on ocean navigation, and Nasmyth's steam hammer (1838) gave a decided impetus to the iron mills of both England and America. Goodyear was experimenting on vulcanized rubber and was soon (1839) to take out his patent leading to the manufacture of waterproof clothing. Two years later (1841), the first steam fire engine made its appearance in New York; but it did not come into use until long afterward.

By 1835 the National Republicans (§§ 341, 362), under the leadership of Clay, had taken the name of Whigs. They were determined to put an end to the "reign of King Andrew." The Democrats were for a time divided into two factions, — the regular party and the "Locofocos," or "Reform Democrats." At the presidential election (1836) the two chief candidates were Martin Van Buren (who had been Secretary of State under Jackson), and General Harrison (§ 297); the former was nominated by the Democrats, the latter by the Whigs. Jackson threw the weight of his powerful influence for Van Buren, and he (with Richard M. Johnson, Vice President) was elected. The electoral vote stood 170 to 73 (beside 51 scattering votes), and the popular vote stood 761,549 to a total (for all Whig candidates) of 736,656.

The admission of the two new states of Arkansas (1836) and Michigan (early in 1837) raised the whole number to twenty-six.

367. Summary. The chief political events of Jackson's administration were: (1) the establishment of rotation in office and the "spoils system" on a national scale; (2) the negotiation of treaties securing unrestricted direct trade with the West Indies, and the payment of the second set of French spoliation claims; (3) the Webster and Hayne debate on the Constitution; (4) the rise of the Abolitionists; (5) the nullification movement in South Carolina; (6) the overthrow of the Bank of the United States; (7) the issue of the "specie circular"; (8) the distribution of the "surplus."

This period was memorable, too, for the rise of the Whigs; for the opening of the first American railway; for the introduction of a number of important inventions; for the development of American literature and the publication of the first cheap newspaper.

MARTIN VAN BUREN (DEMOCRAT), ONE TERM (1837-1841)

368. Van Buren's inaugural and slavery; financial crash and panic (1837). Van Buren came in as the intimate personal friend and the political successor of Jackson. All preceding Presidents had carefully avoided the exciting subject of slavery in their

inaugurals, but Van Buren (§ 366) spoke directly on that topic. He said: "I must go into the presidential chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia (§ 365) against the wishes of the slaveholding states; and also with a determination to resist the slightest interference with it in the states where it exists."

John Quincy Adams, the first great antislavery leader in Congress, had just declared that though he considered it his duty to continue to present petitions "for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia," yet he would not give them his support. More than a score of years later (1860), the Republican party and Charles Sumner explicitly denied that Congress had the right "to interfere with slavery in any state." President Lincoln in his inaugural (1861) took the same position.

But a more pressing question than that of slavery was now demanding solution. In his farewell address President Jackson said, "I leave this great people prosperous and happy." In his inaugural Van Buren said, "We present an aggregate of human prosperity surely not elsewhere to be found." Yet at the very moment when he uttered these confident words the country was on the verge of the severest financial panic it had ever experienced.¹ Overtrading and reckless land speculation (§ 364) had been pushed higher and higher for a number of years. Both were in large degree the result of the stimulus given to western settlement by the opening of the Erie Canal (§ 338) and by steamboat navigation (§ 286). These money-making schemes now toppled over with a crash.

369. Business failures; application to the government for relief. In the spring of 1837 a large cotton firm failed in New Orleans; a New York house followed, and in ten days the failures in that city amounted to \$27,000,000. Property of all kinds fell rapidly in value, and tracts of land which had been purchased at fabulous prices could not be sold for enough to pay the taxes. Strange to

¹ See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, ch. x.

say, the country was actually in want of food. Many farmers had neglected cultivating their fields in the hope of making money by speculation. A poor harvest diminished the yield of wheat and corn still further, and the American people, with millions of acres of fertile soil, found themselves compelled to import breadstuffs from Europe. All the necessities of life rose in price, and there was great distress among the poor in New York and other cities.

A committee of prominent merchants made a piteous appeal to the President for help. They stated that the losses by shrinkage of real-estate values and local stocks in New York City alone exceeded \$60,000,000. Within eight weeks, said they, two hundred and fifty large business houses have failed, and twenty thousand laboring men are parading the streets, destitute of food, and unable to find work. The committee believed, with Daniel Webster, that the "specie circular" (§ 364) was one of the chief causes of "tight money" and of the general distress.

Van Buren expressed his sympathy, but declined to make any change in this respect. He was convinced that the "specie circular" was not the real cause of the panic, but was simply the pin which had pricked the bubble of speculation. He said, in substance, that instead of praying to the government for aid, men must put their shoulders to the wheel, get the load out of the slough, and so find that "Heaven helps those" — and those only — "who help themselves."

370. Bank failures ; the government suspends specie payment ; repudiation ; causes of the panic. One of the deposit or "pet" banks (§ 363) in New York failed, and shortly afterward all the other banks in the city suspended payment. Those elsewhere speedily followed their example.¹ Coin now disappeared from circulation, and the country was soon flooded with all kinds of "shinplaster" currency.

The suspension of the deposit banks compelled the federal government to give up making payments in gold and silver. A

¹ See Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 229.

number of states, unable to raise money by taxation, repudiated the interest on their debts, and in some cases refused to pay the debts themselves. Later, however, these states resumed payment, either partially or wholly; but for a long time American credit remained at a very low point indeed. John Quincy Adams believed that the distribution of the treasury surplus of \$28,000,000 (§ 364) was the chief cause of the financial distress. He said, "We present, at the present moment, a most astonishing and portentous spectacle to the world — without a dollar of national debt we are in the midst of national bankruptcy."

Van Buren called a special session of Congress in the autumn of 1837 to consider what action should be taken respecting the deposit of the government funds. He attributed the panic to four causes: (1) the enormous multiplication of banks (§ 364); (2) the borrowing of more than \$30,000,000 of foreign money by individual states; (3) reckless speculation in wild lands (§ 364); (4) the expenditure of vast sums in "ruinously improvident" systems of "internal improvements" (§ 364).

By the spring of 1838 the sharpest period of the panic had passed, but the next year there was a partial relapse in the South, owing to the sudden fall in the price of cotton from sixteen cents to five cents per pound.

371. Van Buren proposes the independent treasury system; socialistic experiments. The President recommended Congress to abolish the system of depositing the government money in state banks and to establish an independent treasury system.¹ He argued that if the government deposited its revenues in its own vaults, the money would not only be absolutely safe, but it could not be used for speculation or for political purposes. A majority in Congress nicknamed the President's recommendation "The Divorce Bill," and refused to consider it; but later (1840) they adopted it. The act establishing the independent treasury system was, however, very soon repealed (1841), but was reenacted some years later (1846) as it stands to-day (§ 404).

¹ See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 235.

The hard winter of 1837-1838 bore fruit, however, in other ways. Horace Greeley wrote a series of articles on "What shall be done for the Laborer?" This led to the suggestion of the establishment of communal farms, to be cultivated by the coöperation of several hundred families. The Shakers and the Rappites were successful examples of such communities. They, however, had been established on a religious basis, while Greeley and other thinkers proposed to make their experiments industrial and educational.

In the course of a few years several such communities were started. One of the most noted of these was that at "Brook Farm," near Boston. It was begun by an exceptionally intelligent and earnest band of men and women. They believed that by honest, well-directed, harmonious labor they could succeed in showing the world the advantages of coöperative industry joined to "plain living and high thinking." Like most of these well-meant projects, "Brook Farm" attracted its full proportion of "dreamers and schemers," and the pressure of untoward circumstances soon put an end to what Emerson called an attempt to organize "a perpetual picnic." Some of the purely industrial communities founded about the same time still flourish.

372. The Mormons found Nauvoo; Millerism and Spiritualism. During the second half of Van Buren's administration the Mormons, or "Latter Day Saints," attracted much attention in the West.¹ The founder of the organization was Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont, who had in early life removed to western New York. He declared that an angel appeared to him (1827) and directed him where to dig up a remarkable volume called the "Book of Mormon." Smith and his followers regarded this book as a special divine revelation made to the people of America. They believed that its authority was equal to that of the Bible, and that it was a necessary supplement to the Christian gospels. Smith proclaimed himself the "Prophet" of the new religion. He made a number of new converts and planted missions in Ohio and Missouri.

¹ See H. H. Bancroft's *Utah*, 71-690; Linn's *History of the Mormons*.

Subsequently the "Latter Day Saints" were driven out of these states; they then settled in Illinois. There they obtained an unusually liberal charter, and founded (1840) the "sacred city" of Nauvoo on a bend of the Mississippi River. The population of Nauvoo eventually reached about fifteen thousand. This made it the largest city in the state.

Smith was the supreme head of the church and of the civil and military power of this flourishing community, which was noted for its industry, temperance, and thrift. As head of the Mormon corporation he could marshal an army of trained militia some four thousand strong, and another and still larger army of voters who cast a solid ballot. Governor Ford said that without their aid no one could hope to get office. Political opponents accused them of plotting to obtain control of the state. They asserted that when the followers of Smith had acquired sufficient strength, they would drive the "Gentile" inhabitants out of Illinois as the "Children of Israel" drove the heathen out of Canaan.

The Mormon leader professed to make the example of the Hebrew patriarchs his guide in many things. He now (1843) declared that he had received a new revelation from heaven respecting marriage. This revelation recommended the establishment of polygamy, though the formal, public declaration of the doctrine was not made until 1852. Shortly after this several of the "Saints," who had either seceded from the Mormon body or had been expelled from it, began the publication of a paper in Nauvoo in which they boldly accused the "Prophet" of leading a profligate life. The Mormon authorities at once broke up the paper, and the publishers fled to Carthage. Smith at first defied the officers of the law sent to arrest him, but finally gave himself up and was carried to Carthage and imprisoned. The report got about that Governor Ford intended to discharge him without a trial; a mob collected, attacked the jail, and shot the "Prophet" (1844).

After Smith's death Brigham Young, one of the "Twelve Apostles" of the "Latter Day Saints," became their leader. The feeling in Illinois continued to grow more and more bitter against the

Mormons, who then numbered about twenty thousand. Their peculiar religious teachings and their political power roused the fear and hatred of the "Gentiles." They were forced (1846) to abandon Nauvoo. Under the leadership of Brigham Young they crossed the Rocky Mountains, then the western boundary of the United States, south of the "Oregon Country," and settled (1847) on Mexican soil in what is now Utah.

There, in the midst of an alkali desert where rain rarely fell, and in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake, — the American Dead Sea, — they began to erect their new Zion. The Mormons dug trenches which brought an ample supply of water from the mountains. In this way, starting with no capital but their hands, they transformed the desolate wilderness into a garden and made the desert "rejoice and blossom as the rose." Later, many non-Mormons were attracted to Utah.

About the time that Mormonism was exerting its influence in Illinois, William Miller made an address in New York state, declaring (1843) that the end of the world was at hand. He readily found listeners to his teachings, and some enthusiastic followers stopped doing business, gave away their property, and prepared to leave the earth. In New York state a few years later (1848), certain mysterious rappings, known as the "Rochester knockings," began to attract attention in that city. They were produced through the agency or "mediumship" of the Fox sisters. These rappings gave rise to the widespread movement known as modern Spiritualism.

373. Slavery agitation in Congress; the second Seminole War; the "Caroline" affair. Notwithstanding the fact that the "gag rule" prevailed in Congress (§ 365), there was intense excitement in that body over slavery. Lovejoy, the editor of an antislavery paper in Alton, Illinois, was shot in a riot (1837) while defending his printing office. His death gave fresh impetus to the abolition movement in New England, and added Wendell Phillips¹ to the Garrisonian ranks (§ 353).

¹ See Johnston's American Orations, II, 102.

Calhoun (1837) offered a series of six resolutions in the United States Senate¹ on the subject of the relations of the federal government to slavery. In the fifth resolution he declared that any "intermeddling" with slavery by the states or by Congress in the District of Columbia, or in the territories, under the pretext that "it is immoral or sinful," would be a "direct and dangerous attack" on southern institutions. Clay offered two amendments: the first slightly changed the wording of Calhoun's resolution in regard to the interference with slavery in the District of Columbia; the second declared that the people of any territory, when it should be admitted as a state, should decide the question "exclusively for themselves" whether they would or would not have slavery. This was the first "popular sovereignty" measure on record.

The resolutions were then adopted by a large majority. In the House, John Quincy Adams continued to offer (§ 365) petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, for the dissolution of the Union, and for various other objects. In a single day he presented several hundred such papers. In one instance he offered a petition which professed to come from a number of slaves. The excitement became almost a riot; the House echoed with cries of "Order! order!" and members crowded around Mr. Adams shouting, "Expel him! expel him!" After the tumult had somewhat subsided Mr. Adams dryly explained that in this case the slaves had petitioned against abolition, not for it. He continued to fight against the "gag rules" (§ 365) session after session, until finally after eight years of battle he succeeded in getting them rescinded (1844). Four years later, the indomitable old man died at his post saying, "This is the last of earth, I am content."

The Seminole War which had begun (1817) under Monroe (§ 317) broke out anew under Van Buren. Osceola, chief of the tribe, visited the American camp under promise of safety; but he was thrown into prison and detained until his death (1838). This caused the outbreak. Colonel Zachary Taylor defeated the

¹ See Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, II, 135.

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Indians in a decisive battle, but the war dragged on in the swamps of southern Florida for several years longer. At length, after having spent more than \$20,000,000, or four times what we originally paid for the Florida territory, the Indians were compelled to move to the far West (1842).

In 1837 a singular affair threatened to embroil the United States with England. In an insurrection in Toronto, Canada, a number of the rebels, who had fled to the United States, made use of the American steamboat *Caroline* to carry on their projects. A party of loyal Canadians crossed the Niagara River and burned the boat; in the affray several persons were killed. This invasion caused intense excitement. While it was at its height a British subject, named McLeod, boasted that he was one of the attacking party. As he was then on the soil of New York, he was arrested and thrown into prison. The English government demanded his immediate release, and the London papers were filled with threats of war. We explained that under our Constitution the United States could not take the case out of the hands of the state of New York. The affair began to look very serious; but luckily the trial of McLeod (1842) resulted in proving that the braggart had nothing whatever to do with the destruction of the *Caroline*. This settled an international question.

374. Harnden's express; the daguerreotype; ocean steamship lines established; immigration. In 1839 W. F. Harnden of Massachusetts began the business of carrying parcels in a handbag between Boston and New York City. In this humble way he founded the American express system, the most perfect of its kind in the world. It now extends to every town in the United States, employs a capital amounting to some scores of millions, and keeps an army of men busy day and night.

In the autumn of the same year (1839) Samuel F. B. Morse, then in New York, took the first American photograph. He constructed his apparatus by means of drawings which Daguerre, the inventor of the process, sent him from France, and succeeded in greatly reducing the time required for taking a picture.

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We have seen that the first American ocean steamship crossed the Atlantic in 1819 (§ 319). Nearly twenty years elapsed before the experiment was again tried; then two English steamers, the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*, arrived in New York on the same day (1838). Two years later (1840), Samuel Cunard, the son of a Philadelphia merchant, established the first regular line between England and America, by sending the *Britannia* from Liverpool to Boston. The Cunard Company soon put on a second regular line to New York.

By means of fast packets, and later by steamers, immense numbers of immigrants soon began to pour into our ports (§ 339). The terrible famine in Ireland (1845-1846), political troubles on the continent, and the discovery of gold in California (1848) greatly stimulated this influx of settlers. In ten years (1840-1850) the number of arrivals averaged nearly four thousand a week. The greatest number came from Ireland; Germany ranked next, then England, and, last of all, France and the other countries of Europe. The total number of immigrants that arrived from the close of the Revolution to 1904 was upwards of 22,000,000. A large proportion of the foreigners now coming are Italians, and Russian and Polish Jews.

The immigrants of the earlier period were generally young men and women, full of vigor, who came here eager to grapple with the western wilderness. Their labor developed the resources of the country and enormously increased its wealth and prosperity. They rarely went South, where free labor was not wanted; they generally voted the Democratic ticket, but had no interest in the extension of slavery; they knew nothing of the doctrine of "state sovereignty," and gave their influence and their ballots to the cause of the Union.

• On the other hand, this immigration often indirectly encouraged the municipal corruption which has disgraced so many of our city governments. Recently many important reforms have been effected in this respect, and the prospects indicate that the improvement may continue.

375. The presidential election of 1840; the "log-cabin and hard-cider campaign." The party which happens to be in power during a period of business and financial depression is sure to have much of the blame for "hard times" cast upon it. The Whigs believed Van Buren and his supporters were responsible for the panic of 1837 (§ 369), and nominated William Henry Harrison for President, with John Tyler of Virginia as Vice President; the Democrats renominated Van Buren. They alone adopted a platform. It emphatically condemned any interference by Congress with slavery as dangerous to the stability of the Union. The Abolitionists, or Liberty party, now for the first time appeared in national politics, and nominated James G. Birney, one of their leading men, for the presidency. But the strict Garrisonian Abolitionists (§§ 353, 354) refused to act with the Liberty party; in fact, they would not cast a vote at the election.

Harrison, the "old hero of Tippecanoe" (§ 297), was then living in a very humble way on a small farm in southern Ohio. An opposition journal ridiculed the idea of an attempt to make such a man the head of the nation. "Give him a log cabin and a barrel of hard cider," said the editor, "and he will stay content in Ohio." The Whigs found their rallying cry in these words, and at once set up a great shout for "the log-cabin candidate."

Then began the most exciting political campaign the country had ever seen.¹ Clay, Webster, Everett, and Choate "took the stump" for "Harrison and Reform." The Whigs held gigantic mass meetings and marched in processions miles long. Everywhere one saw log cabins, barrels of hard cider, and live coons; the whole country rang with the rousing chorus of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." Harrison spoke to "ten acres of people" at Dayton, Ohio, and pledged himself, if elected, "to abridge the power and influence of the national Executive." For the first time in forty years the Democrats were beaten, and Harrison and Tyler were elected.

¹ See McMaster in the Cambridge United States, 388.

Before the campaign Harrison had not clearly identified himself with either the Whigs or the Democrats. Tyler had been a "strict constructionist" (§ 256) and a Calhoun Democrat, strongly favoring "state rights," or "state sovereignty." It was believed, however, that he would throw his influence on the Whig side; his nomination was made as a bid for southern votes. The electoral vote stood 234 to 60; the popular vote, 1,275,017 to 1,128,702.

376. Summary. Van Buren's administration began clouded by a disastrous panic which involved the whole country in ruinous loss. Through the President's earnest efforts Congress adopted the "independent treasury system," but it was not permanently established until after he left office.

The Mormons made a strong settlement in Illinois, and when expelled from that state they emigrated to Salt Lake Valley in the Mexican territory, which is now the state of Utah.

The establishment of regular lines of ocean steamers and fast packets tended to encourage immigration and had an important influence on the West and on national politics.

The second Seminole War and the *Caroline* affair were also important features of this period.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON (WHIG), ONE TERM (1841-1845)

377. Harrison's death; Tyler's succession. General Harrison (§ 375) was an old man when he entered office. The excitement of the campaign, Clay's dictatorial ways, and the persistent demands of crowds of greedy office seekers proved too much for his failing strength; a month after his inauguration the President lay dead in the White House. The whole country was startled, for his death raised Tyler to the presidency. Such an event had never occurred before, and Tyler's political principles (§ 375) were very different from those which Harrison had held.

In their fancied security the people had jocosely dubbed the Vice President "His Superfluous Excellency." Congress hesitated what title to give Mr. Tyler, but he promptly informed them that he was now President of the United States "by the Constitution, by election, and by the hand of God."

378. Tyler vetoes the "Fiscal Bank" Bill. The first move made by the Whigs was to repeal the Independent Treasury Act (§ 371), and to attempt to pass a bill reviving the National Bank (§ 359) under the name of the "Fiscal Bank of the United States." The President vetoed the bill (1841) on the ground of unconstitutionality, since it granted the Bank the right to establish branches in various states without asking their consent.¹ Congress then prepared a new bill, which the President vetoed (1841) on substantially the same grounds that he had the first.

This second veto roused a storm of denunciation. Every member of the Cabinet, except Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, promptly resigned. Tyler then recommended the establishment of what he called the Exchequer Bank. Webster highly commended it, but Congress would have nothing to do with it. The majority of the Whigs in both Houses united in an address to the people, in which they declared (1841) that "the President . . . has voluntarily separated himself from those by whose exertions and suffrages he was elevated to that office." They closed their address by protesting against the attempt of "one man" to control "the will of the nation." Later, a House committee, with John Quincy Adams as chairman, charged the President with having "strangled legislation of vital importance by the five times repeated stricture of the Executive cord."

The Whigs of Massachusetts held a meeting at which they resolved that "all political connection between them and John Tyler was at an end from that day forth." In future only a few members of Congress, nicknamed the "Corporal's guard," upheld the President. The "Locofocos" (§ 366) would not stand by him,

¹ See Mason's Veto Power, 76-78; Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 241-243.

and the Whigs hated him. The deadlock between him and the Whigs was not broken until just as he was leaving office, and the policy of the administration throughout was virtually Democratic.

379. The "Dorr rebellion"; the "anti-renters." Meanwhile a controversy over a change in the state constitution in Rhode Island threatened to end in civil war. Under its ancient charter the right of suffrage in that state was limited to landowners (holding an estate valued at not less than \$134) and to their eldest sons.

This provision now caused great inequality of representation. Newport had six members in the Legislature, while the city of Providence, with a population nearly three times larger, had only four. Repeated efforts had been made to remedy this inequality, but without effect. In 1841 a popular convention, or mass meeting, framed the "People's Constitution"; it established universal suffrage and equal representation. A little later (1842), the Legislature summoned a convention which adopted the "Landholder's Constitution"; it made universal suffrage the rule for all natives of the state, but withheld that right from naturalized citizens unless they owned landed property.

Both constitutions were submitted to popular vote; the "People's" was accepted, the "Landholder's" rejected. The Legislature believed that the victory had been gained by fraud and forbade the Free Suffrage party putting the new constitution in force. The Free Suffragists paid no attention to this prohibition and elected (1842) Thomas W. Dorr governor, though Samuel W. King then held that position under the old charter. King and Dorr both threatened to maintain their respective authority by force of arms, but Dorr's followers abandoned him. He was arrested, convicted of treason, and sent to prison for life, but was pardoned a few years later. Before the close of 1842 a regularly organized state convention adopted a new constitution, which put an end to the old charter government and practically granted manhood suffrage, or all that the Free Suffrage party asked.

While this bloodless revolution was going on in Rhode Island the tenants of the Van Rensselaer and other old patroon estates (§§ 57, 58) in New York started an anti-rent movement. The dispute became serious, but was finally settled by the landlords consenting to sell the estates at a reduced valuation. This gave the purchasers a freehold title and virtually put an end to the patroon system.

380. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty; slavery agitation. The boundary between the northeastern states and Canada had not been definitely fixed by the treaty of peace with Great Britain made in 1783. The territory in dispute was chiefly that between Maine and Canada; it was a little over 12,000 square miles in extent, and the controversy in regard to it threatened to involve the two countries in war. Negotiations for a settlement of this dangerous question were opened by Great Britain and the United States, through Lord Ashburton and Daniel Webster, aided by Judge Story.

A treaty¹ was made (1842): (1) it secured to us more than half of the tract of land claimed by Maine; (2) it reaffirmed the boundary line of 1818 from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains (§ 318); (3) it made provision for the mutual surrender of fugitives from justice. In the course of the negotiations Mr. Webster wrote Lord Ashburton respecting the unsettled question of impressments (§§ 299, 312). He stated that henceforth it must be distinctly understood that the crew of an American vessel would "find their protection in the flag which is over them."

In the House, John Quincy Adams, the venerable champion of freedom and free speech (§§ 365, 373), found a young and vigorous coadjutor in Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio. Giddings detested slavery as heartily as the most zealous of the New England Abolitionists. He offered a series of resolutions (1842) declaring that since slavery was an abridgment of the natural rights of man, it could not be constitutionally extended beyond the states it then occupied.² The House censured Giddings; he resigned, but was

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 70.

² Ibid., No. 69.

immediately reëlected by a large majority and returned to renew the battle in behalf of free soil.

At the same time (1842) the Supreme Court of the United States (*Prigg vs. Pennsylvania*) decided that under the law of 1793 (§ 257) the national government could not compel the local officers of a state to take part in the arrest or return of runaway negroes. This decision naturally created much excitement in the South, and that section demanded the enactment of a new and more stringent fugitive-slave law; eight years later (1850), the desired law was enacted (§ 414).

The growing irritation on this subject was aggravated by the refusal of Governor Seward of New York to give up certain white citizens charged with stealing slaves at the South. This provoked Virginia and South Carolina to enact a law ordering the imprisonment, while in port, of all colored seamen arriving on New York vessels. Later (1844), Mr. Hoar of Boston was sent by his state to Charleston to secure the liberation of several such seamen who were citizens of Massachusetts,—a state which had declined to give any aid in enforcing the return of fugitive slaves. The people of Charleston retaliated by compelling Mr. Hoar to leave the city.

381. The question of the annexation of Texas. The question of the extension of slaveholding territory in the southwest was now coming to the front. When Houston became President of the "Lone Star Republic" of Texas (§ 329) he was fully resolved to secure its annexation to the United States. The slaveholders in the South were eager to aid him to accomplish his object. That class felt that the annexation of a large area of slaveholding territory was demanded by the law of political self-preservation. They knew that if Texas should be added and cut up into a number of slave states it would decidedly strengthen the South in the Senate. They furthermore declared that the market price of negroes would thereby be greatly increased.

The Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 (§ 324) had made free soil of the whole territorial area of the Louisiana purchase north of the parallel of 36° 30', the state of Missouri alone excepted.

It seemed plain that unless the South could obtain Texas, slavery must soon be girdled by free states; in that case the power of the slaveholding class in Congress would be driven to the wall by an ever-increasing majority of northern representatives.

Calhoun urged immediate annexation not only as a measure necessary to the political and commercial welfare of the South but as the only effective method of preventing Great Britain from getting control of Texas. Lord Brougham (1843) implored Parliament to use its influence to effect the emancipation of the slaves in Texas, saying that the success of such a movement "must end in the abolition of slavery throughout the whole of America." Calhoun believed that England adopted this course hoping thereby to secure a monopoly of the production of sugar, cotton, rice, and tobacco for her colonies.

On the other hand, Senator Benton, one of the leaders of the Democratic party, who was himself a slaveholder, denounced the annexation project. He ridiculed the idea that Great Britain had any designs on Texas. He declared that the annexation scheme was urged mainly by three classes: (1) by certain politicians who were intriguing for the presidency; (2) by those who were plotting to dissolve the Union in order to form a southern slaveholding Confederacy; and (3) by southern speculators who held Texas scrip or Texas lands.

382. Sectional excitement over the question of annexation. The excitement over the discussion of the Texas question rose to fever heat.¹ Webster and Clay strongly opposed the annexation of "another acre of slave territory," and eight northern legislatures protested against it. They declared that it would tend to nationalize slavery, and that it would involve us in a war with Mexico, which absolutely refused to recognize Texan independence.

John Quincy Adams, with twelve members of Congress, published an address declaring that annexation would not only "result in a dissolution of the Union" but would fully "justify it."

¹ See Rhodes' *United States*, I, 75-85; Von Holst's *Constitutional History of the United States*, II, ch. vii.

In the Massachusetts Legislature the House resolved not to be bound by the action of Congress.

On the other hand, mass meetings were held in various parts of South Carolina, at which it was resolved that it would be better "to be out of the Union with Texas than in it without her." But both at the South and the North there were strong protests on the part of influential citizens and prominent journals against the utterance of threats of disunion.

383. Texas and the presidential campaign. While the people were discussing the question, President Tyler, with the help of Upshur, his Secretary of State, and later, with the aid of Calhoun, was quietly but vigorously pushing forward the scheme of annexation. As the time drew near for the nomination of presidential candidates the feeling about Texas daily became more intense.

The Liberty party (§ 375) held its National Convention first (1843), and again nominated James G. Birney. Their platform strongly condemned any attempt to extend slavery to national territory and declared the fugitive-slave law of 1793 and the clause in the Constitution on which it was based "null and void." The Whig party at their convention (1844) nominated Henry Clay and adopted a brief "broad-construction" (§ 256) platform, advocating the establishment of a tariff for both revenue and protection, and a "well-regulated currency"; their platform did not mention Texas or slavery.

The Democratic National Convention (1844) adopted a "strict-construction" (§ 256) platform. They deprecated any interference by Congress with the question of slavery as dangerous to the stability of the Union, and resolved that "the reoccupation of Oregon (§ 389) (then held jointly with Great Britain) and the reannexation of Texas (§ 318) at the earliest practicable period are great American measures which this convention recommends." They nominated James K. Polk of Tennessee, an "unconditional annexationist," for President.

The southern Whigs urged Clay to soften his outspoken opposition to the immediate annexation of Texas, fearing that otherwise

he would lose many votes at the South. Clay, who, like Webster, was a "Union saver," yielded and wrote a letter for publication, in which he said of annexation: "I should be glad to see it . . . upon just and fair terms. I do not think that the subject of slavery ought to affect the question one way or the other." The Whigs were confident that they could elect their candidate; but this letter repelled the vote of the antislavery members of that party. Clay was defeated and the Democrats elected Polk, — the first political "dark horse," — with George M. Dallas as Vice President. The electoral vote stood 170 for Polk to 105 for Clay, and the popular vote, 1,337,243 to 1,299,068.

384. Texas annexed (1845); admission of Florida and Texas; new tariff. The question of annexation came up in Congress for the last time in the closing days of Tyler's administration. It was doubtful whether the necessary two-thirds vote could be obtained in the Senate; Congress therefore resorted to the expedient of carrying the measure through by a joint resolution¹ which simply required a majority of each House. The motion to annex was passed, March 1 (1845), and with it an amendment proposed by Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, which prohibited slavery in the Texan territory north of the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30' (§ 324), but left all territory south of that line open to it. The entire area thus annexed then had an extent of over 376,000 square miles. It was expected that Texas would be divided into at least five states, one free and the rest slave.

The passage of the vote was triumphantly announced from the capitol by the firing of one hundred guns. Texas was the last slave state to enter the Union; but it was not formally admitted until the Congress of the next administration met (1845) and after Florida, the twenty-seventh state, had entered. The Texans grievously disappointed the South by refusing to divide their immense territory into states; hence the Proslavery party in the southern states did not gain the large increase in political power in the United States Senate which it had confidently expected to obtain (§ 381).

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 71.

Meanwhile the "Compromise Tariff" of 1833 (§ 355) had cut down the customs duties to such an extent that the Treasury was threatened with empty vaults. The Whigs, therefore, repealed the law and passed a new tariff act (1842);¹ it was mainly intended for revenue, but it had strong protective features.

385. Professor Morse invents the electric telegraph. As the annexation of Texas was the most important political event of the

THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS, ANNEXED IN 1845, AND ADMITTED TO THE
UNION DECEMBER 29 OF THAT YEAR

The black and white bars on the southwest indicate the disputed territory which caused the Mexican War. The "Oregon Country" was held jointly with Great Britain. Texas sold part of her territory to the United States in 1850

Harrison and Tyler administration, so the application of electricity to the transmission of messages and news was the most important event in our material progress. Franklin (§ 181) said in 1750, "There are no bounds (but what expense and labor give) to the force man may raise and use in the electrical way." But for more than three quarters of a century after that philosopher made his

¹ See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 237.

experiments little was accomplished in the direction which he had pointed out.

Then (1831) Professor Joseph Henry (later connected with the Smithsonian Institute) invented an electro-magnet which would transmit a current over a mile or more of wire and ring a bell at the farther extremity. Taking the hint from this apparatus, Professor Samuel F. B. Morse (§ 374) invented (1832) the first recording telegraph which would make permanent intelligible characters. Professor Morse's partner, Mr. Alfred Vail, developed and perfected these characters and so formed the "dot-and-dash alphabet" which was finally adopted.

But electricity had not yet been compelled to fulfill its task. The current failed after it had traveled a short distance. The question was how to overcome this difficulty. Mr. Morse said, "If it will go ten miles without stopping, I can make it go around the globe"; but it would not go ten miles. At length, after many failures, he succeeded in inventing a relay magnet which would reënforce the current and send it to any distance. Then the problem was solved.

386. Congress appropriates \$30,000 to build the first telegraph ; the line opened (1844). Professor Morse, with his partner, Mr. Vail, publicly exhibited (1837) a small model of the telegraph, but capitalists declined to risk their money in constructing a trial line. The inventor then petitioned Congress to grant him \$30,000 to build a line between Washington and Baltimore. His petition was generally treated with ridicule. One member suggested that if the money should be voted, part of it ought to be used for making mesmeric experiments, while another suggested that the funds would be more wisely employed in building a railroad to the moon.

The last day of the session (March 3, 1843) was reached, but Congress had taken no action. Professor Morse was almost penniless. He saw nothing but failure and ridicule before him. He waited in the capitol until a few minutes before midnight, and then, unable to endure the strain, left the building with a sinking

heart. He had hardly gone when Congress took up his bill and passed it without division.

The spring of 1844 saw the Washington and Baltimore telegraph line completed and in working order. On May 24 Professor Morse, sitting in the old Supreme Court room in the capitol, sent over the wire these words quoted from Scripture, "What hath God wrought!" Two days later, the National Democratic Convention, then in session in Baltimore, nominated Polk for President. The telegraph instantly flashed the important report to Congress. The following day (May 27, 1844) the heading "Telegraphic News" appeared in a Washington journal for the first time in the world's history; it has never since been dropped.

Professor Morse lived to see his line of forty miles multiplied in the United States more than three thousand fold; he saw the American continent (1861) crossed and the Atlantic Ocean (1866) cabled by permanent electric wires. Thirty-seven years later, Marconi succeeded in sending a message from the United States to Europe by his wonderful system of wireless telegraphy. The same year (1903) saw the completion of the first American cable from San Francisco to Manila. On that occasion President Roosevelt sent the first national telegram around the world.

387. Development of telegraphic communication and of electricity. A network of more than a million miles of telegraphic wire now covers the United States. Like a gigantic nervous system, it stretches from city to city and from town to town. It practically puts every center of population throughout the Union in instantaneous communication with every other, and with the remotest parts of the civilized globe besides.

The next great step in electrical progress was the simultaneous invention of the telephone by Professor Bell and Professor Gray (1876). It brings places as far apart as Boston and Kansas City within speaking distance of each other. When it shall be still further perfected the "long-distance telephone" promises to make it possible to carry on a conversation between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, or even between America and Europe.

Again, various experiments had been made with electricity, with the view of using it as an illuminator or as a motor power. No practical results of value were obtained until the invention of the arc light and the Edison incandescent light (1879).

Five years later (1884), Edison set in operation at Menlo Park, New Jersey, two miles of electric railway, the first opened to the American public. Electricity has ever since been coming into use on an increasing scale. It now drives machinery, carriages, cabs, and trucks, and it has generally superseded horses on our street railways. The day is perhaps not far distant when it will be employed to operate long lines of railway; and should the "storage system" be perfected, we may yet see it used in propelling vessels on the Atlantic.

388. Summary. The three most important national events of the Harrison and Tyler administration were: (1) the negotiation of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, (2) the invention of the electric telegraph, and (3) the annexation of Texas as a slave state.

JAMES K. POLK (DEMOCRAT), ONE TERM (1845-1849)

389. The Oregon question. The new President entered office with a well-defined plan of political action. He intended: (1) to bring about a reduction of the tariff (§ 384); (2) to reestablish the independent treasury (§ 371); (3) to secure a final settlement of the long-pending Oregon question (§ 383); and, finally, (4) to acquire the Mexican territory of California, which was greatly coveted by the South. He was successful in every particular of his programme. Now that Texas was annexed (§ 384), the question came up whether we should make good the Democratic demand (§ 383) for the occupation of Oregon. This region, called by an Indian name used by Jonathan Carver in 1766, lay between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific. On the south it extended to the forty-second parallel, or the northern limit of the Mexican province of California; on the north, to latitude

W h a t h a t h G O D w r o u g h t.

This sentence was written from Washington by me
at the Baltimore Terminus at 8^h 45 min.
A.M.

on Friday May 24th 1844, being the first^{ever}
transmitted from Washington to Baltimore, ^{by telegraph,} and

was indited by my much loved.

friend Annie G. Ellsworth.

Sam^l. F. B. Morse, Superintendent of Elec.

Mag. Telegraphs.

54° 40', or the southern boundary of the Russian possession called Alaska (§ 332).

Spain, through her early voyagers (1543-1774), planted her flag on the Oregon coast; the English explorers (1579-1793) also claimed it. The government of the United States disputed both these claims. We based our title (1) on Captain Gray's discovery and partial exploration of the Columbia River in 1792 (§ 258); (2) on the exploration made by Lewis and Clark in 1805-1806 (§ 283); (3) on emigration and settlement, beginning with Astor's fur-trading post established in 1811 (§ 312) and continued by missionaries and pioneers from 1832; (4) on the transfer of all Spanish claims to us by the Florida purchase treaty of 1819 (§ 318). The conflict of the British and American claims was adjusted by an agreement made in 1818 and confirmed in 1827. It was stipulated that the two nations should occupy the "Oregon Country" jointly, with the proviso that either government might terminate the agreement by giving a year's notice to the other. This arrangement was in force when Polk entered office.

390. What America thought of Oregon. Before the construction of railways, the "Oregon Country" seemed to many American statesmen hardly worth disputing about. Its enormous distance from Washington made it a question whether it could be advantageously added to the Union or securely retained. Jefferson thought (1811) that Oregon might become an independent American nation "unconnected with us but by the ties of blood and interest."

Benton declared that the Rocky Mountains ought to be regarded as the "natural and everlasting" western boundary of the United States. Webster is represented as saying of Oregon: "What do we want with this vast worthless area, this region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs?" But John Quincy Adams believed that the Pacific coast belonged to us by "manifest destiny"; Benton, too, became a convert to the same idea, and ardently advocated our settlement of that distant region. His bronze statue in St. Louis stands pointing toward the Rocky Mountains, with his

words, "There is the East; there is the road to India!" inscribed on the pedestal.

391. Our occupation of the "Oregon Country"; Whitman's journey; the treaty. The permanent American settlement of the "Oregon Country" did not begin until 1834, when the Methodists sent out missionaries to the Indians. A little later (1836), two Orthodox missionaries, Dr. Whitman and H. H. Spalding, started with their brides to make a home in the wilderness of the far West. They followed the Oregon trail (§ 30) which led from the Missouri through the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains (§ 405). They were the first emigrants who succeeded in getting a wagon, or at least a part of a wagon, across the country to Fort Boisé (Idaho). There the wheels were left, and Dr. Whitman and his wife went on to Walla Walla, on a tributary of the Columbia. Dr. Whitman's famous wagon naturally suggested the emigration of families, for where one wheeled vehicle could go more could follow.

Six years later (1842), Dr. Whitman set out for the East. His object was to secure the continuance of his mission and to induce Christian families to go to Oregon. After a terrible winter journey of four thousand miles he reached Boston. A small party of emigrants had already gone to the Pacific coast. Encouraged by the action of the Senate, a second party numbering about a thousand started in 1843. Dr. Whitman went as guide. By his efficient help the emigrants reached the land they sought. Benton says that these men, with those who followed them, "saved" the territory of Oregon to the United States. The new settlers on the Columbia framed a provisional government and held the country for the future.¹

The northern boundary of the "Oregon Country," as held jointly by the United States and Great Britain (§ 389), was 54° 40'. In 1846 the political cry was: "The whole of Oregon or none!" "Fifty-four forty or fight!" (§ 332). But a little later our contest with Mexico made the government willing to concede a part of

¹ See H. H. Bancroft's *Oregon*, I, ch. v, xiii-xv; Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, II, 469; Professor Bourne's *Essays*; Lyman's *Oregon*, IV, 386.

the disputed territory to the demands of Great Britain. A treaty¹ was negotiated (1846) which fixed our northern boundary at the 49th parallel. This gave us the absolute control of the Columbia River and possession of about 300,000 square miles of territory, out of which the states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and parts of Montana and Wyoming were subsequently formed. Two years later (1848), Congress organized Oregon Territory. Calhoun demanded that, in common with all of the public domain, it should

**THE UNITED STATES IN 1846 AFTER THE ACQUISITION, BY TREATY,
OF THE "OREGON COUNTRY." (Compare map on p. 375)**

be declared open to slavery; but as the Territory lay north of the Missouri Compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ (§ 324), Congress applied to it the provisions of the celebrated Ordinance of 1787 (§ 237), and thus excluded slavery forever from the new Territory.

392. **The Texan boundary dispute.** Before we got possession of Texas, Webster, Clay, and Benton declared that if we annexed it (§ 384) we should "annex a war with Mexico." Their predictions

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 74.

were soon fulfilled. Texas insisted that her western boundary was the Rio Grande. This was in accordance with the claim made by La Salle in the seventeenth century (§ 159), and which Spain and France had recognized by their respective treaties (1800, 1803) (§§ 172, 280). The Republic of Mexico, however, contended that Texas did not extend farther west than the left bank of the Nueces. For this reason the strip of territory between that river and the Rio Grande was disputed ground, and each country vehemently denied that the other had any right to it (see map in § 385).

393. Taylor's advance into the disputed territory; Arista's attack. In the summer of 1845 the President ordered General Taylor, who was then in Texas, to cross the Nueces and take post at Corpus Christi, within the disputed territory.

Polk next (January, 1846) ordered him to advance as far as the Rio Grande. Taylor did so and erected Fort Brown, opposite the Mexican town of Matamoras, on the farther bank of the river. Arista, the Mexican commander, notified General Taylor that he considered his advance an act of war and requested him to fall back to the Nueces. Taylor refused to move; Arista then crossed the river and (April 24, 1846) surprised and captured a small party of American troops. In the fight several of our men were killed.

394. Polk's message to Congress; Lincoln's "Spot Resolutions." President Polk at once sent a special message¹ to Congress. He said: "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon the American soil." "War exists, and notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself." The United States forthwith declared war² and called for 50,000 volunteers.

When Abraham Lincoln entered Congress (1847) he presented his famous "Spot Resolutions," in which he asked the President to inform Congress, first, just where the "spot" was on which the blood of American citizens had been shed; and next, to state

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 72.

² Ibid., No. 73.

whether those Americans were or were not "armed soldiers" sent to that "spot" by his express orders. Lowell wrote his stinging satire entitled the "Biglow Papers" in opposition to the war; and Thomas Corwin of Ohio boldly declared in the Senate that if he were a Mexican he would greet the American invaders with "bloody hands" and welcome them "to hospitable graves."¹

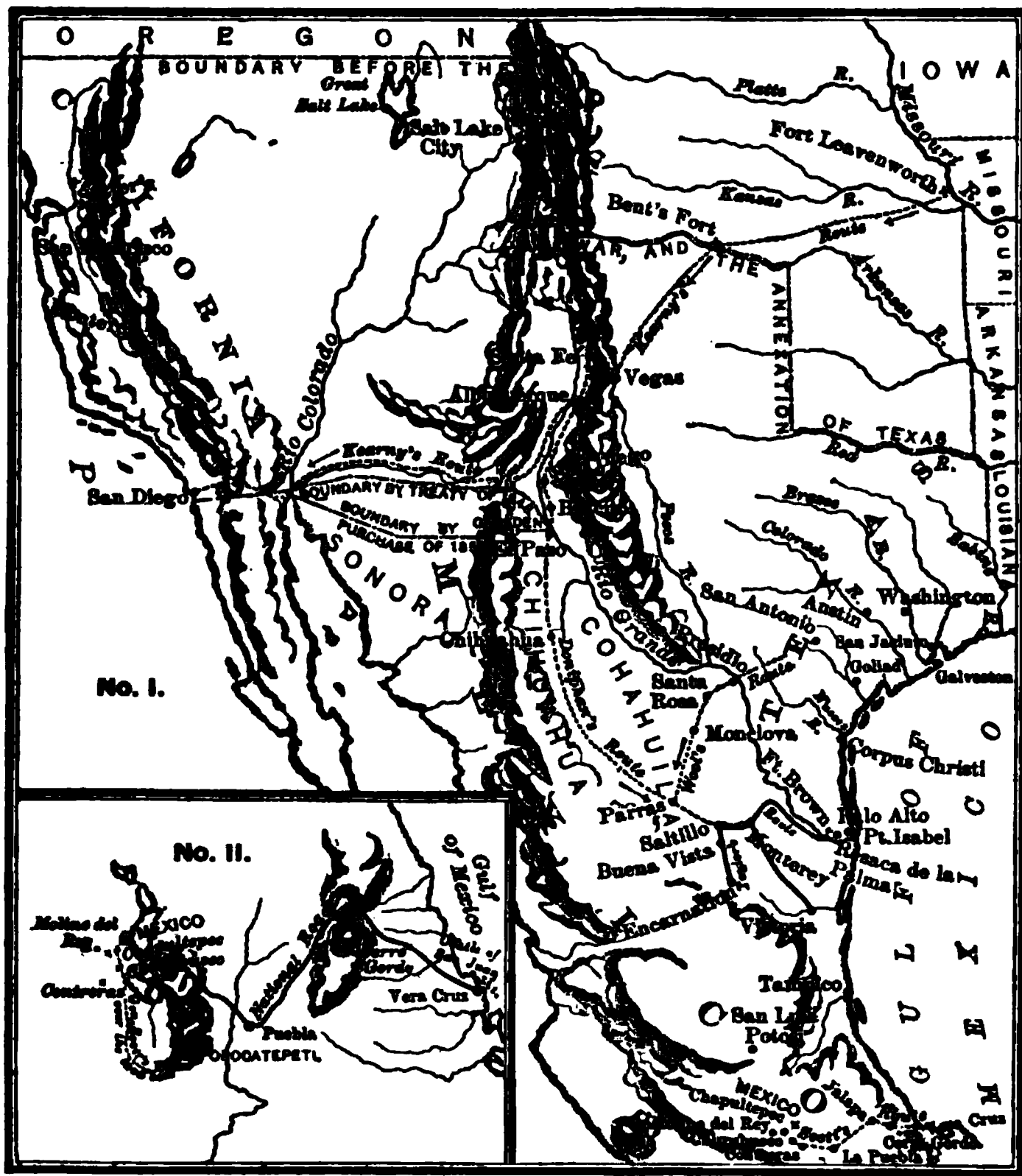
395. Palo Alto; Resaca de la Palma; Monterey. Meanwhile General Taylor, with his army of less than 3000 men, had advanced against a Mexican force of more than double that number. He fought a battle (May 8, 1846) on the marshy plain of Palo Alto, and followed it up the next day with the battle of the ravine of Resaca de la Palma. Both of these engagements took place within the disputed territory, between the Nueces and the Rio Grande; in each case we were successful and the Mexicans were routed with heavy loss.

Taylor then crossed the Rio Grande, occupied Matamoras (§ 393), and advanced into the interior of Mexico as far as the fortified town of Monterey. Here the enemy made a determined stand. Three days of desperate fighting followed (September 22-24, 1846); Taylor's men dug their way through the stone walls of the houses or climbed to the flat roofs and fought their way from street to street till they took the city.

396. General Scott takes chief command; his plan of campaign; Buena Vista. As it now seemed probable that the Mexicans would make a prolonged resistance, General Winfield Scott (§ 306), the senior officer in the United States army, was ordered to take the chief command. His plan was to leave Taylor with a small force to hold the line of the Rio Grande while he embarked with an army to capture the fortified port of Vera Cruz. He then purposed moving directly on the city of Mexico, the capital of the Mexican Republic.

General Kearny, commander of the Department of the West, had advanced from Fort Leavenworth (Kansas) against Santa Fé to take possession of that city and of New Mexico, preparatory to

¹ See Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries*, IV, 24.



NO. I: THE MEXICAN WAR. NO. II: SCOTT'S MARCH TO THE CITY OF MEXICO

moving forward to occupy the Mexican province of California. The Mormons (§ 372) raised a battalion which took part in this expedition of conquest and helped to secure California to the United States.

Taylor's force was now about 4600 men; with this little army he resolved to hold the wild mountain pass of Buena Vista, to the southwest of Monterey (§ 395), against the enemy who were advancing to attack him. Santa Aña, the commander in chief of the Mexican army, surrounded Taylor with a force 20,000 strong; he then sent the American general a dispatch telling him that he must surrender or be cut to pieces. "Old Rough and Ready," as his men called him, determined to hold his ground, and the unequal contest began (February 22, 1847). Colonel Jefferson Davis, with his gallant Mississippians, and Captain Bragg, with his batteries hurling storms of grapeshot, saved the day. Santa Aña retreated, and Buena Vista was recorded on our roll of victories, though it cost Taylor more than a sixth of his entire force to win the fight. This was Taylor's last battle; he resented what he considered to be political interference with his plans, and, leaving General Wool in command, returned late in 1847 to his home in Louisiana. The enthusiasm over Buena Vista made Taylor's name the Whig rallying cry as candidate for the presidency.

397. Vera Cruz; Cerro Gordo; advance on Mexico. General Scott with less than 12,000 men had already taken Vera Cruz (§ 396), "the Gibraltar of Mexico" (March 27, 1847). Among the officers who made their mark in that victorious siege two deserve especial notice, — Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant and Captain Robert E. Lee. Seventeen years later, they were to face each other on the battlefields of the Civil War.

Having captured the castle and port, Scott began his advance into the interior. He met the enemy on the rugged heights of Cerro Gordo. Santa Aña fled and the Americans moved forward. In August (1847) our little force climbed the summit of the Cordilleras and looked down on the capital of Mexico,

surrounded by lakes and sparkling in the sun. The city could not be approached except by the National Road, — a causeway built across a marsh. Santa Aña posted a strong force to sweep that road with cannon. The venerable Duke of Wellington had followed, on a map, the advance of the American general to this point; then he said: "Scott is lost. . . . He can't take the city and he can't fall back upon his base."

398. Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec. But Scott recalled Napoleon's maxim, "Never go where your enemy wants you to go." He turned aside and made his way forward by a circuitous route over the rough lava beds, building his road and beating back the foe as he advanced. First he won the battle of Contreras (August 20, 1847), and on the following day that of the convent of Churubusco. Next, after the bloodiest fight of the war, he took the cannon foundry of Molino del Rey (September 8, 1847). Less than a week later (September 13, 1847), he stormed the castle-crowned heights of Chapultepec, which guarded the gate of the city.

399. Scott enters the city of Mexico (1847); end of the war; results. The next day Scott entered the Mexican capital and hoisted the American flag (September 14, 1847) on the walls of the national palace. The contest was now practically over and the United States could dictate its own terms. The people of Mexico had fought bravely, but they were wretchedly organized and utterly lacking in military training.

The conflict with Mexico is perhaps the only modern war in which every battle ended in victory, and every victory was gained by the invading army. It was the training school for the American Civil War. General Grant, who later severely condemned the war against Mexico, said that all the older officers who became conspicuous in that terrible struggle between the North and South had served under Taylor or Scott.

400. Frémont is sent to California. When the Mexican War broke out Captain John C. Frémont, Benton's son-in-law, was in the Mexican province of California. His explorations in the far West

(1842-1844) had won for him the popular name of the "Pathfinder," and the government sent him (1845) on a third expedition "to spy out" the coveted Mexican territory on the Pacific.

In the spring of 1846 Frémont moved northward into Oregon. While there a messenger from Washington arrived (May 9, 1846), bringing a verbal dispatch from Mr. Buchanan, Secretary of State. This dispatch, says Frémont, informed him that "the government intended to take California." He was instructed to counteract any schemes of the British to get possession of that country, and at the same time to "conciliate the good will of the inhabitants toward the United States."

401. Frémont takes Sonoma; the "bear flag." Frémont at once returned to California and encamped near Sutter's Fort, in the valley of the Sacramento. Soon after his arrival a report was brought that Mexican forces were preparing to drive out all Americans. Frémont sent Merritt, one of his men, to capture Sonoma, a town about fifty miles north of San Francisco. Sonoma was quickly taken (June 14, 1846), and the Americans then hoisted the famous "bear flag." It was a strip of white cloth on which they had painted a huge "grizzly" facing a star; underneath was the inscription "California Republic." Frémont soon afterward fixed his headquarters at Sonoma. In commencing hostilities he had acted, says Benton, entirely on his own responsibility and without orders from the government.

402. Capture of Monterey; conquest of California. A little later, Commodore Sloat, then commanding a United States squadron off the coast, entered the harbor of Monterey, south of San Francisco. He ran up the "stars and stripes" (July 7, 1846) and proclaimed California "a portion of the United States." A week later, Captain Montgomery raised the same colors at San Francisco. Admiral Seymour, in command of a British fleet, arrived shortly afterward at Monterey. To his astonishment he found the American flag flying over the town, the American squadron, then under Commodore Stockton, in its harbor, and Frémont's mounted riflemen in camp.

The Americans proceeded to organize a civil government (August 13, 1846) and chose Frémont for governor. Commodore Shubrick, of the United States navy, arrived in January (1847); acting in conjunction with Commodore Stockton and Governor Frémont, these three commanders completed the occupation of the province without any very serious fighting. Frémont got the lion's share of fame, and the people of California have always considered him the real conqueror of the country.

THE UNITED STATES IN 1854

Showing the Mexican cessions of 1848 (namely, California, Utah, New Mexico) and the Gadsden purchase of 1853 (indicated by date on map)

403. Treaty of peace (1848); territory ceded by Mexico; the Gadsden purchase (1853). A little more than a year later, a treaty of peace¹ was signed (February 2, 1848) between Mexico and the United States. Mexico was forced to cede to us the territory of Upper California and New Mexico, for which, moved by the pressure of public opinion, we agreed to pay \$15,000,000. The treaty made the Rio Grande the western boundary of Texas and

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 76.

the Gila River the northern boundary of Mexico. The Mexican government tried in vain to secure a pledge from the United States to keep slavery out of the ceded territory.

The Mexican land cession included Utah, Nevada, and parts of Arizona, Colorado, and Wyoming. Adding Texas, this region formed a broad belt extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific and having an area of over 850,000 square miles, or more than the entire American Republic possessed at the close of the Revolutionary War.

Five years later (1853), in order to settle a dispute respecting the Gila River boundary, Captain Gadsden purchased the Mesilla Valley, a region south of that river, for the United States. For the sum of \$10,000,000 we thus added to our previous acquisitions a tract having an area of more than 45,000 square miles.

404. **The new tariff; Independent Treasury Act; cheap postage; the Wilmot Proviso (1846); Calhoun's resolutions (1847); "Woman's Rights" Convention (1848).** Meanwhile the Democratic Congress had passed (1846) a new tariff act¹ (the Walker Tariff) (§ 384). It was mainly for revenue, and, with some exceptions, on a free-trade basis. In 1857 the duties were still further lowered and the free list extended. This altered tariff remained in force until the spring of 1861, when the Morrill Tariff made the average rate of duty somewhat higher than the rate of 1846.² Its chief object was revenue.

In the course of the same summer (1846) Van Buren's great measure, the Independent or Subtreasury Act (§ 371), was permanently reënacted.³ In 1845 Congress reduced the rate of postage to a maximum rate of ten cents — it had been twenty-five — and charged five cents for distances of three hundred miles and under. Two years later (1847), postage stamps were issued, but they did not come into general use until a number of years

¹ See Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 249.

² Ibid., 262, 265.

³ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 75; Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 252.

later. In 1863 postage on letters was reduced to three cents, and in 1883 to two cents. This rate is perhaps the cheapest in the world, since a two-cent stamp will carry a letter from Key West, Florida, to Sitka, Alaska, a distance of over 4000 miles, or from New York to Manila, a distance of 12,000 miles.

Shortly after the Mexican War began (1846) President Polk asked Congress for an appropriation of \$2,000,000 to purchase territory from Mexico in order to adjust the boundary. A bill was introduced to that end; David Wilmot, a Pennsylvania Democrat, offered the famous Wilmot Proviso (1846) as an amendment to this bill. It extended the provision of the Ordinance of 1787 (§ 237), which prohibited slavery, so that it would cover all territory which might be ceded to us by Mexico.

Many northern Democrats voted with the northern Whigs for the Wilmot Proviso; it passed the House, but did not reach the Senate in time to be acted upon. Every northern Legislature but one approved of the measure; but the Southern States, with few exceptions, passed resolutions refusing to submit to it. They protested against any legislation which should prevent slaveholders from taking their negroes with them into the public domain.

After a prolonged fight the Wilmot Proviso failed of adoption, but it led to the organization, two years later, of the Free-Soil party, which was eventually absorbed by the Republican party. It also led to the exclusion of slavery from Oregon Territory (§ 391). After the beginning of the Civil War, Congress, by the Territorial Act (1862), accepted the principle of the Proviso and prohibited "slavery in any territory of the United States now existing, or which may be hereafter formed or acquired."

At the time of the passage of the Missouri Compromise Act (1820) Calhoun admitted the right of Congress to exclude slavery from the territories (§ 324). In 1837 he did not openly take the opposite ground (§ 373). But in 1847 he took a new and aggressive stand and offered a series of resolutions¹ in the Senate in which he emphatically denied the constitutional power of

¹ See Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, II, 696.

Congress to shut out slavery from the public lands. He furthermore declared that the exercise of such power would necessarily lead to the dissolution of the Union.

These resolutions anticipated the Dred Scott decision of ten years later (§ 433). No action was taken on Calhoun's motion. Soon afterward (1847) he wrote a letter to a member of the Alabama Legislature, in which he declared that he believed the South, instead of avoiding the slavery contest, should "force the issue on the North." He ended by saying that the true policy for the South to adopt was one of retaliation, and that they should close their ports against seagoing vessels from the offending Northern States, leaving open the trade of the West by the Mississippi. This course, said he, would be "a remedy short of disunion," while it would tend "to detach the Northwestern from the Northeastern states."¹

While this agitation respecting the extension of slavery was going on in and out of Congress, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Reverend Samuel J. May, Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, and Lucy Stone were urging that women should stand on a political equality with men. The first Woman's Rights Convention in the world was held at Seneca Falls, New York, in the summer of 1848. This meeting led to the organization of the National Woman Suffrage Convention which met in Worcester, Massachusetts, two years later (1850). The agitation thus begun has resulted in recent years in the admission of women, in several states, to equality of suffrage and power to hold office, and in admission to partial suffrage in a number of other states.

405. Discovery of gold in California. Just before the treaty of peace with Mexico was signed (§ 403) gold was discovered (January 24, 1848) in California. It was found in the newly dug mill race of Captain Sutter's sawmill at Coloma, on the American River. Specimens of the ore were carried to Governor Mason, and he, with Colonel W. T. Sherman, carefully tested them. The discovery caused no particular excitement, as it was not believed

¹ See Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, II, 699-700.

paid a thousand dollars for steerage passage with the privilege of sleeping "in a coil of rope." Every kind of ship, whether seaworthy or not, was pressed into the service, — some making the 19,000 mile voyage around Cape Horn, — and in a single year a thousand vessels entered the once almost solitary harbor of San Francisco.

The next spring (1849) the great overland march began. By the end of April twenty thousand men, women, and children had gathered at St. Joseph, Independence, and other points on the Missouri River, ready to cross the plains. They journeyed on horseback, on foot, and in huge, canvas-covered wagons known as "prairie schooners."

Multitudes died before they reached the Rocky Mountains, while others, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, were glad to stop at Salt Lake City (§ 372) and hire themselves out as day laborers to the thrifty Mormon farmers. Those whom no hardship or suffering could daunt pressed on, until at last they descended the Sierras and entered the Land of Promise. Their weary pathway through the terrible wilderness was marked by the bleaching skeletons of horses and cattle, and by many newly made graves.

Nothing could check the movement, and at the close of 1849 between 80,000 and 100,000 emigrants had passed into California. Since the settlers went out to work in the mines, they naturally respected free labor; for as one brawny toiler said, Where every gold digger makes a white slave of himself there is no chance for keeping black ones. This feeling led to the adoption of a state constitution prohibiting slavery.

The rapidly growing city of San Francisco naturally attracted many lawless and desperate characters. The inefficiency of the courts prompted the organization of a "Vigilance Committee," which practically governed the city from 1851 to 1856. It tried, convicted, and hanged several notorious criminals, drove many others out of the country, and, though acting without the law, it compelled the dangerous classes to respect law and order. In the end this organization, the result of an awakening of the public conscience, brought about important municipal and legislative reforms.

Up to the time when gold was discovered on the Pacific coast the value of the whole annual product of that metal in the United States was less than \$250,000. In 1848 California alone produced \$10,000,000; in 1849, \$40,000,000; and by 1853 it had reached its maximum product of \$65,000,000. The total amount obtained from 1848 to 1856 was \$456,000,000, and the entire yield of the half century (1848-1897) is estimated at upwards of \$2,000,000,000. Yet the precious metal actually cost more labor than it was worth.

The enormous production of gold in California had far-reaching economic and political results: (1) it raised the price of goods and labor; (2) it opened new markets and extended commerce; (3) it filled a wilderness with settlers, stimulated the development of the Pacific coast, established new lines of steamships, compelled the opening of a stage route and a pony express from the Missouri to San Francisco, and in time led to the construction of a transcontinental telegraph and a transcontinental railway; (4) it was one of the causes which induced the majority of the nations of Europe (1870-1878) to stop the coinage of silver (except for "change"), and to adopt gold as their sole standard money; (5) it extended the power of free labor to the Pacific coast and effectually shut out slavery from all the new West.

407. Inventions and discoveries; the sewing machine; ether. It was during Polk's administration that Elias Howe patented (1846) what he called his "iron needlewoman," the first practical sewing machine. It revolutionized the manufacture of clothing and greatly reduced its price. It was feared that the sewing machine would permanently throw large numbers of people out of work; but it has had just the opposite effect. Instead of contracting the field of hand labor, the introduction of machinery has actually extended it. At the same time the introduction of the telegraph, telephone, and typewriter has created new opportunities of employment for thousands.

A very remarkable discovery was now at hand. Dr. Horace Wells of Hartford, Connecticut, found (1844) by experiments in

dentistry that he could produce insensibility to pain by the use of nitrous oxide gas. This discovery stimulated the efforts of Dr. W. T. G. Morton of Boston, a former partner of Dr. Wells, to endeavor to find a more effective anæsthetic for longer operations. Dr. Charles T. Jackson of Boston suggested to Dr. Morton, then a student in his office, to try the inhalation of the vapor of sulphuric ether; to his surprise and delight it proved to be what he was seeking.

In 1846 he obtained permission from the senior surgeon of the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston to have a public test made in that institution. Late in the autumn of that year (October 16, 1846) the first important operation ever performed under ether took place beneath the dome of the hospital. The room was completely filled with physicians and eminent men of other professions, who had been invited to see the miracle of painless surgery. The operation was successfully performed while the patient slept as quietly under the knife as a child in its cradle.¹

Other physicians had privately experimented with ether, but Dr. Morton first publicly demonstrated the fact that it could be safely and conveniently used in serious surgical cases. He first gave ether to the world. For this reason he justly received the credit of having made the most beneficent contribution to medical science recorded in history,—one which must henceforth render every human being his debtor. In commemoration of his work his monument in Mount Auburn Cemetery, near Boston, bears this inscription: "Before whom, in all time, surgery was agony. . . . Since whom, science has control of pain."

408. **The presidential election; new states; slavery and freedom.** The Democratic National Convention (1848) nominated Lewis Cass on a "strict-construction" (§ 256) platform, which reaffirmed the principles they had declared in 1840 (§ 375). The Whig National Convention refused to make a platform² and

¹ See the Report of the Massachusetts General Hospital for 1848; N. I. Bowditch's Ether Controversy.

² But a Whig ratification meeting, held June 9, 1848, adopted a set of resolutions which has been called a platform.

nominated General Zachary Taylor (§ 396). Neither convention would speak out on the question of the extension of slavery, — a subject which was soon to be uppermost in politics. Finally, a new organization, — the Free-Soil party, — which made the Wilmot Proviso (§ 404) its corner stone, held their National Convention.

The Free-Soilers consisted mainly of two elements: the first was the Radical Democrats, who were determined to stop the extension of slavery at any cost. Their opponents, the Conservative Democrats, or "Hunkers," compared them to the farmer who set fire to his barn to clear it of rats, and so nicknamed them "barn burners." The second element in the Free-Soil party was the Abolitionists, or members of the old Liberty party (§§ 375, 383). In its platform the Convention declared itself for "free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men." It nominated ex-President Martin Van Buren (§ 368).

The Whigs succeeded in what was called the "star-and-stripe campaign," and elected General Taylor, with Millard Fillmore as Vice President. It was their second and last great political victory (§ 375). The electoral vote stood 163 to 127, and the popular vote, 1,360,101 to 1,220,544, besides 291,263 cast by the Free-Soilers for Van Buren.

Under Polk's administration three new states — Texas (1845), Iowa (1846), and Wisconsin (1848) — were admitted to the Union, making the whole number thirty. Half were free and half were slave states. This division gave both sections equal representation in the Senate; but owing to the much larger population of the North (due in considerable measure to immigration) (§ 374), the free states had 139 representatives to 91 from the slave states. It was plain that unless the South could secure additional slave territory the free states would soon control Congress.

409. Summary. The principal events of Polk's administration were: (1) the settlement of the Oregon question by treaty with Great Britain; (2) war with Mexico and the acquisition of a large amount of territory; (3) the discovery of gold in California; (4) the discussion of slavery extension as represented in the Wilmot

Proviso and in Calhoun's resolutions; (5) the rise of the Free-Soil party; (6) the permanent establishment of the independent treasury system and the beginning of the woman's rights movement; (7) the invention of the sewing machine and Morton's introduction of ether into surgery.

ZACHARY TAYLOR (WHIG), ONE TERM (1849-1853)

410. General Taylor's position; the question of slavery extension. Before his election to the presidency (§ 408) General Taylor said, "I have no private purpose to accomplish, no party projects to build up, no enemies to punish, — nothing to serve but my country." Taylor did not seek the office to which the Whig party had elected him. He took so little interest in politics that he had never in his life cast a vote. He was one of the largest slaveholders in the South, yet, like Henry Clay (§§ 352, 382), he now opposed the extension of slavery. He was by nature a soldier, a man of action, blunt and "downright"; he had served under the "stars and stripes" for more than forty years; he loved the flag and he loved the Union which that flag represented. "Disunion," said he, "is treason."

Congress had recently excluded slavery from Oregon Territory (§ 391). It was now called to decide the burning question whether slavery should be admitted into the new territory ceded by Mexico (§ 404). Clay had contended that the people of the territories should determine the question for themselves (§ 373). Cass, when a candidate for the presidency in 1847, had taken the same position in his argument against the Wilmot Proviso (§ 404). Calhoun ridiculed this doctrine as "Squatter Sovereignty"; later, in a different form, it was advocated by Stephen A. Douglas, under the name of "Popular Sovereignty." After a bitter contest Howell Cobb of Georgia, a strong advocate of slavery extension, was chosen Speaker of the House. This seemed to presage a victory for the South.

411. Debate on the admission of California as a free state. In anticipation of a Congressional battle over slavery extension, President Taylor had recommended the newly acquired territories to form state constitutions. He hoped that he might thereby get the vexed question promptly settled; but he was disappointed. Acting on the President's suggestion, the people of California adopted a constitution (November 13, 1849) which prohibited slavery (§ 406). This roused an angry debate which continued for nearly a year.

If California should be admitted as a free state, there seemed little prospect that any of the remaining territory obtained from Mexico could be gained by the South. Webster, Clay, and Alexander H. Stephens declared that hitherto slavery had generally taken the lead in Congress and controlled the Executive. The growth of the Republic, by the continued admission of free states, threatened to destroy this preponderance of the slaveholding class, and, as Giddings later said, to restore the political power to the people.

The Free-Soilers rejoiced at the prospect of the nationalization of the principle of liberty; but the Whigs and Democrats feared that this triumph would result in the destruction of the American commonwealth. The extreme proslavery class at the South vehemently opposed the action of the people of California.

Toombs of Georgia said, "If by your legislation you seek to drive us from the territories of California and New Mexico (§ 403), purchased by the common blood and treasure of the whole people, . . . I am for disunion." The southern members greeted this declaration with loud applause. Alexander H. Stephens said, "Every word uttered by my colleague [Mr. Toombs] meets my hearty response." The next year (1850) Stephens wrote, "We have ultimately to submit or fight." It was a significant fact that before the year came to an end a secession organ, *The Southern Press*, was established in Washington.

412. Clay's Compromise Measures (1850). Clay now came forward, for the fourth time, in his favorite character of the "great peacemaker" (§§ 324, 326, 355). He asked Congress to adopt his famous Compromise Measures¹ (January 29, 1850). His purpose was to conciliate both sections and all political parties in order to preserve the Union. He offered five propositions: (1) to admit California as a free state; (2) to apply Cass' principle of "Squatter Sovereignty" (§ 410) to New Mexico and Utah, when they should become states. This provision would allow them to enter the Union, with or without slavery, as their inhabitants should demand; (3) to purchase the claim which Texas made to a part of New Mexico; (4) to abolish the slave trade, but not slavery itself, in the District of Columbia; (5) to pass a new and more efficient fugitive-slave act (§§ 257, 380) for the protection of southern planters.

413. Debate on Clay's Compromise Measures (January 29–September 30, 1850).² Webster, Cass, and Stephen A. Douglas warmly defended Clay's measures, but Seward, Chase, and Hale denounced them. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis refused to accept them for the South, and Benton ridiculed them as a mere "compromise plaster." Davis demanded that the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30' (§ 324) should be extended to the Pacific and that all of the new territory below that line should be open to slavery. This concession, he said, was the very least that he would be willing to take. Such an arrangement would have given the South a large part of California, nearly the whole of what now constitutes Arizona and New Mexico, together with a corner of Nevada.

Clay replied, "Coming from a slave state, as I do, . . . no earthly power could induce me to vote for . . . the introduction of slavery where it had not before existed, either south or north of that line."³

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, Nos. 78–83.

² See Rhodes' United States, I, 122–198; Benton's Thirty Years' View, II, 742–780; Johnston's American Orations (Calhoun, Webster, Clay), II, 123–218.

³ See Schurz's Clay, II, 333.

A week later, Clay spoke for two days (February 5-6), although he was then so ill that he could not ascend the steps of the capitol without help. His speech was an appeal to the North for concession and to the South for peace. When he concluded a throng of men and women crowded around him to shake hands with him and to kiss him.¹

The hand of Death rested on Calhoun; he was too feeble to address the Senate, and on March 4 a friend read his speech for him. It had the solemnity of a funeral oration. The great champion of slavery (§ 354) declared that if the North desired to save the Republic, it must first "concede to the South an equal right in the acquired territory," and next faithfully enforce the fugitive-slave law of 1793.

Calhoun's scheme for saving the Union was to amend the Constitution and provide for the election of *two* Presidents, one from the free and the other from the slave states. Each of these Presidents was to approve all acts of Congress before they could become laws. This "double-headed" government might, he thought, preserve peace between the sections.

The following day he said, "As things now stand, the Southern States cannot remain in the Union."

Calhoun saw signs of coming secession not only in the political but in the religious situation. The southern Methodists and Baptists, provoked by the action taken by northern churches on the subject of slavery, had split off (1845) from the main body and formed independent organizations. This action seemed prophetic of the withdrawal of the slaveholding states from the Union.

Three days after Calhoun made his speech in the Senate Webster followed with his celebrated speech of the 7th of March, 1850. Again and again the great New England statesman had declared his unalterable opposition to the extension of slavery; on this point his convictions had undergone no change whatever, but he now urged the necessity of conciliating the South in order to preserve the Union. He argued that to apply the

¹ See Schurz's Clay, II, 334-335.

Wilmot Proviso (§ 404) to California and New Mexico would not only be an affront to the southern people but an act of folly.

Nature, said he, has effectually shut out slavery from those regions, and Congress is not called upon to "reënact the will of God." He pleaded for the cultivation of "more fraternal sentiments" between the North and the South. "I hear," said he, "with distress and anguish the word 'secession.'" "There can be no such thing as peaceable secession." "Disruption must produce war, and such a war as I will not describe."

Seward spoke on March 11 as the champion of freedom; he denounced all attempts at compromise with slavery. He declared that the Constitution devoted the public domain "to union, to justice, to defense, to welfare, and to liberty." Then he startled his hearers by adding, "But there is a higher law than the Constitution," "which devotes it to the same noble purpose."

But Seward's belief in the "peaceful extirpation of slavery" through the gradual working of economic forces and the progress of humanitarian sentiment alarmed the South as much as Garrison's most radical utterances (§§ 353, 354). The people of that section, whether upholders of slavery or not, dreaded emancipation in any form. They were convinced that if the negroes should gain their freedom they would swamp the South by their numbers and drag civilization down to the depths of hopeless barbarism.

414. The "Omnibus Bill"; Taylor's death; Sumner; admission of California. Early in May (1850) Clay's Compromise Measures (§ 412) were reported in the form of a bill, which carried so many provisions that it got the name of the "Omnibus Bill." This bill was hotly debated for the rest of the session. Clay had now been on the floor of the Senate almost day after day for nearly six months battling for compromise. On July 22 he made his closing speech. His last great effort was an impassioned plea for the preservation of the nation. In that speech he declared that if the senator from South Carolina should raise the standard of disunion, as he threatened, "he will be a *traitor*,

and I hope he will meet the fate of a traitor." In closing he added: "If Kentucky to-morrow unfurls the banner of resistance unjustly, I never will fight under that banner. I owe a paramount allegiance to the whole Union, a subordinate one to my own state." In the end, all of the provisions of Clay's Compromise Measures, including the new Fugitive-Slave Act¹ (§ 412), were passed, but in the form of separate bills, before the end of September, 1850. This great compromise averted disunion for the time, and made it possible for the Republic to continue for another decade "half slave and half free." Both parties now exultingly declared that the terrible negro question was "finally settled." But a meagerly attended convention called at Nashville, Tennessee, condemned the compromise and claimed for the South the right of secession.

Meanwhile President Taylor had suddenly died (July 9, 1850) and Vice President Fillmore had taken the executive helm. Fillmore made Webster Secretary of State, and Massachusetts chose Charles Sumner to succeed him in the Senate. Sumner, though an uncompromising champion of the antislavery cause, was not an extreme Abolitionist. Speaking of his office, he said to his constituents: "I accept it as the servant of the Union, bound to oppose all sectionalism, . . . whether in unconstitutional efforts by the North to carry . . . freedom into the slave states [or] in unconstitutional efforts by the South to carry . . . slavery into the free states."

In the autumn of 1850 California was admitted to the Union as a free state. This made the whole number of states thirty-one, — fifteen for slavery, sixteen for free soil. There could be little doubt that henceforth the free states would hold the political control.

415. Excitement at the North over the new Fugitive-Slave Act. The excitement at the North over the passage of the new Fugitive-Slave Act (§ 414) was intense. From all parts of the free states memorials poured in upon Congress. They condemned the law as "revolting to the moral sense of the civilized world,"

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 82.

and demanded its immediate repeal. The Liberty party (§ 383) proclaimed the statute "utterly null and void" and "no part of the Constitution." Giddings of Ohio declared that the execution of such a law was worse "than ordinary murder," and that no slaveholder could compel the freemen of his state to turn out "to chase the panting fugitive." On the other hand, Webster said, in a speech in Boston, that the antislavery movement was based on a "ghastly abstraction," and that Massachusetts must get rid of its "local prejudices."¹ The Abolitionists denounced Webster for upholding the Fugitive-Slave Act. They called him "cotton hearted" and declared him a traitor to New England and to liberty. Whittier wrote his dirgelike lines of "Ichabod" to lament his fall:

From those great eyes
The soul has fled;
When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead.

But eight hundred leading citizens of Boston and vicinity came to Webster's defense. They signed a paper thanking him for recalling them to their "duties under the Constitution." They accepted his declaration that if the North refused to return fugitive slaves, "the South would no longer be bound to observe the compact" of the Constitution; and that "a bargain cannot be broken on one side and still bind the other." Ten years later, Abraham Lincoln, in his inaugural, acknowledged that the Constitution required him to enforce the Fugitive-Slave Law.

416. "Personal Liberty Laws"; enforcement of the Fugitive-Slave Act. We have seen that the first Fugitive-Slave Act (1793) had been enforced with difficulty (§§ 257, 380). Later, several Northern States passed "Personal Liberty Laws"² forbidding state officers to aid in the enforcement of the original Fugitive-Slave Act (§ 257). The new act (1850) (§ 414) roused still greater

¹ See Schurz's *Clay*, II, 340.

² See Rhodes' *United States*, II, 73; Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries*, IV, Nos. 23-33; Lalor's *Cyclopædia*, III, 162; Von Holst's *United States*, V, 65-70.

opposition. In the course of the next ten years (1850-1860) fourteen Northern States passed laws to protect negroes claimed as runaway slaves. These statutes generally secured to such negroes the right of having counsel to defend them, the right to testify in their own behalf, and the right of trial by jury; all of which privileges the Fugitive-Slave Act of 1850, like that of 1793, denied.

The South complained that these laws "were intended to nullify an act of Congress, and that they violated the Constitution."

Rufus Choate echoed this sentiment, saying in Boston, The return of fugitive slaves was an insignificant sacrifice on the altar of the Union, as compared to the hecatombs to be sacrificed through civil convulsions.¹

So far as the actual number of fugitives was concerned, the loss to the South was small. In 1850 only one thirtieth of one per cent of the slave population escaped, and by 1860 it had fallen much lower. Southern estimates, however, represented the total number of fugitives living in the North at 30,000, valued at \$15,000,000.

Long before the passage of the new law the Abolitionists had organized a regular system of escape for negroes who had succeeded in entering the free states. The "Underground Railroad" consisted of a chain of stations, — private houses about a day's journey apart, — and the fugitives were hurried along from station to station until they reached Canada.

Under the Fugitive-Slave Act of 1850 more seizures were made than in all the previous sixty years. Thomas Sims (1851) and Anthony Burns (1854) were carried back from Boston. A desperate attempt was made to rescue Burns, and one man was killed. The files of armed soldiers who conveyed him to the wharf were greeted with mingled cheers, hisses, and groans, and they had to pass beneath a national flag draped in mourning and suspended, union down, across State Street. The determined resistance to the law made the cost of returning the fugitives something enormous. In several instances, notably that of "Shadrach," in Boston (1851), and "Jerry," in Syracuse, New York, the negroes were

¹ See Woodburn's *Political Parties*, 64.

rescued ; and at Christiana, Pennsylvania, a slaveholder and his son were killed in their attempt to seize an alleged fugitive. These cases showed that it would be next to impossible to enforce the obnoxious act on a broad scale.

417. **"Uncle Tom's Cabin"; Helper's "Impending Crisis"; the Hungarian Revolution.** In the spring of 1852 two national political conventions, representing the two chief parties, met to take action. They solemnly pledged themselves to resist all attempts to renew the discussion of slavery "whenever, however, and wherever made."

Just at that time Mrs. Stowe published "Uncle Tom's Cabin." She was an earnest advocate of antislavery principles, but not a declared Abolitionist. She bore no hatred to the South. She wrote rather in sorrow than in anger, her only object being, as she said, to make her countrymen "feel what an accursed thing slavery is."

Garrison declared that her book "would take the world by storm." He was right. In eight weeks 100,000 copies were sold in the United States, and that was only the beginning ; within a year a million copies were sold in England, and the story was soon translated into every European language. Mrs. Stowe's work was the direct fruit of the Fugitive-Slave Act, and it struck slavery a blow from which it never recovered.

Five years later (1857), another remarkable book appeared on the same subject ; this was Helper's "Impending Crisis." The author was a North Carolinian and a "poor white." He did not profess to be a friend to the negro, but attacked slavery mainly on economic grounds. He dedicated his work to the "nonslaveholding whites" of the South ; his object was to show by solid facts and figures that the system paid no one except the "Lords of the Lash" who upheld it. He declared that the enforced labor of the black man was a curse to the section where it existed, especially to the "poor whites."

Helper's book had a very large sale, and three years later (1860) the Republican party circulated it by thousands as a campaign document.

It was during this period that Louis Kossuth endeavored to establish the independence of Hungary. American sympathy for Kossuth found expression in Webster's striking letter to Hülsemann (1850), and in the grand reception given to the Hungarian patriot when he came to the United States as the nation's guest.¹

418. National political conventions; the presidential election (1852). The Democratic National Convention (1852) adopted a "strict-construction" (§ 256) platform. It upheld the Kentucky and Virginia state sovereignty nullification resolutions of 1792 and 1798 (§ 273), and pledged the support of the party to the Compromise Measures of 1850, and to the enforcement of the Fugitive-Slave Law (§§ 412, 414). The convention nominated Franklin Pierce, the second "dark horse" (§ 383), for President, and William R. King for Vice President.

The Whig National Convention met soon afterward; it adopted a carefully worded "broad-construction" (§ 256) platform, and accepted the Compromise Measures of 1850, with the Fugitive-Slave Law (§§ 412, 414). It passed by Webster and nominated General Scott (§ 396) for the presidency. The great New England statesman had hoped to secure the nomination, and he died broken-hearted a few months later.

The Free-Soil Democratic National Convention adopted a platform which declared that the government has "no more power to make a slave than to make a king." It repudiated the Compromise Measures of 1850, including the Fugitive-Slave Law (§§ 412, 414). It proclaimed: "No more slave states; no slave territory; no nationalized slavery; and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves." The Free-Soilers nominated John P. Hale for the presidency.

Pierce gained a sweeping victory. He received 254 electoral votes to 42 cast for Scott; the popular vote stood 1,601,474 for Pierce, and 1,386,578 for Scott. Hale, the candidate of the Free-Soil Democrats, received a popular vote of 156,149.

¹ See Rhodes' *United States*, I, 205, 233.

Before the year 1852 closed Calhoun, Webster, and Clay were in their graves. Sumner and Jefferson Davis were soon to stand face to face in the United States Senate as leading combatants in the "irrepressible conflict" between slavery and freedom.

419. Rise of the "Know-Nothing" party; death of the Whig party. Between 1849 and 1852 immigration (§ 374) had increased enormously, the arrivals at our ports averaging nearly a thousand a day. Hostility to the political influence of this army of new settlers, and especially to all Roman Catholic foreigners, gave rise to a secret oath-bound fraternity which took for its watchword the cry, "Americans must rule America." This organization developed into the political party (1852) of the "Order of United Americans."

The members were popularly called "Know Nothings," because when questioned they invariably professed that they knew nothing of the party or its objects. The "Know Nothings" generally selected their candidates from rival political tickets, and for some years they met with great success in state elections. They required that those for whom they voted should be native-born citizens; that they should declare their entire devotion to the national and state constitutions; and that they should explicitly disclaim allegiance to any "foreign prince, potentate, or power."

They furthermore demanded "a continued residence of twenty-one years as an indispensable requisite for citizenship," and resolved that it was the duty of the national government to prohibit the landing of foreign paupers and criminals on our shores. The chief power of the American party was exerted between 1850 and 1856; it then gradually declined.

After the presidential election of 1852 the Whig party (§§ 256, 341) went to pieces. It was humorously said that "it died of an effort to swallow the Fugitive-Slave Law." Many Whigs joined the "Know Nothings," and after the organization of the Republican party (1854-1856) great numbers were absorbed by it.

420. Summary. The chief events of the Taylor and Fillmore administration were: (1) the discussion in Congress over the

admission of California as a free state ; (2) the adoption of Clay's Compromise Measures of 1850, including the application of the principle of "Squatter Sovereignty" and the passage of a new Fugitive-Slave Act ; (3) the enactment by some Northern States of "Personal Liberty Laws," and the publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and Helper's "Impending Crisis" ; (4) the death of three great political leaders, Webster, Calhoun, and Clay, followed by the decline and disappearance of the Whig party and by the rise of the short-lived American, or "Know-Nothing," party.

FRANKLIN PIERCE (DEMOCRAT), ONE TERM (1853-1857)

421. Pierce's inaugural ; the first American "World's Fair." In his inaugural address President Pierce (§ 418) spoke explicitly on the slavery question. He said, "I believe that involuntary servitude as it exists in different states of this Confederacy is recognized by the Constitution" (§ 415). "I hold that the laws of 1850, commonly called the 'Compromise Measures' (§§ 412, 414), are strictly constitutional, and to be unhesitatingly carried into effect." Later, in his first message, he declared that those measures "had restored a sense of repose and security to the public mind." Perhaps he owed this conviction to the fact that the slavery question had kept itself in the background for a brief period while America took part in an international exhibition.

In the summer of 1853 the President opened the first "World's Fair" held in the United States, in the "Crystal Palace," in New York. The foreign department was noted for its large and valuable collection of works of art. The American department took the front rank in the variety of its wood-working machinery and agricultural implements. Nothing could equal the excellence of the work done by the improved planing machines, the lathes for turning gunstocks and similar irregular forms, and the machinery for manufacturing barrels, pails, and other hollow ware.

Our reapers and mowers (§ 366), horserakes, hay tedders, and "cultivators" had revolutionized farming. With one of these machines and the aid of a pair of horses a man could easily do the work of twenty-five hand laborers. These inventions, which have since been greatly improved (§ 595), saved enormous quantities of grass and grain that would have been lost for lack of men to harvest them. An acre of oats could be cut in less than half an hour, and an acre of hay spread in about the same time.

Secretary Seward said that these agricultural implements were pushing the line of civilization westward at the rate of thirty miles a year. In that way they had a powerful influence on the economic progress of the American Republic.

422. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill. In the great debate on the Compromise Measures of 1850 (§ 412) Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, popularly known as the "little giant of the West," successfully advocated the application of "Squatter Sovereignty" (§§ 410, 412) to New Mexico and Utah when they should be admitted as states. Douglas claimed that Clay's measures of 1850 (§ 412) had repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820 (§ 324). In January, 1854, while chairman of the Committee on Territories, he determined to make an effort to extend the principle of "Popular Sovereignty," as he called it, to the unorganized region comprised in the Louisiana purchase of 1803 (§ 280). This section lay west of the states of Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota territory. It was called the Platte, or Nebraska, Country. It was crossed by a wagon road to the Pacific, and as it was north of the Missouri Compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ (§ 324), slavery was "forever" excluded from it. It had been proposed that this country should be set apart as a reservation for the Indians. Douglas had long been trying to defeat that project and to have it erected into a territory in order that it might be opened to settlement.

The bill,¹ as Senator Douglas finally presented it (January 23, 1854), provided that the Platte Country should be divided into

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, Nos. 84-88.

two parts; the northern portion, which lay west of the free state of Iowa, was to be organized as the territory of Nebraska, and the southern portion, lying west of the slave state of Missouri, was to be organized as the territory of Kansas. The fourteenth section of the bill repealed the Missouri Compromise (§ 324) by declaring it henceforth "inoperative and void." The avowed purpose of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was "not to legislate slavery into any territory or state, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

A separate clause in the bill expressly provided that the Fugitive-Slave Act (§§ 412, 414) should be enforced in the two proposed territories.

Senator Douglas declared that his sole object in advocating the measure was to take the discussion of the slavery question out of Congress and hand it over to the people of the states and territories for settlement. Such a policy, he believed, would preserve peace and maintain the Union in its integrity.

➤ **423. Debate on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; northern opposition.** The proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise (§ 324) and to apply the principle of "Popular Sovereignty" (§ 422) to Kansas and Nebraska startled the whole country like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. No bill was ever introduced into the Senate which gave rise to more excited debate.¹ Sumner vehemently protested against the removal of the "landmarks of freedom." Wade raised his voice against giving slavery a chance to enter a territory "as large as all the free states, pure as Nature, and beautiful as the Garden of God." Benton denounced Douglas' proposition as a "see-saw bill, . . . the up-and-down game of politicians." Seward declared that the fate of the Republic hung on this measure. "Its success or defeat," said he, "will decide whether slavery shall go on increasing in influence over the central power here, or whether freedom shall gain the ascendancy."

¹ See Rhodes' *United States*, I, 425-500; Johnston's *American Orations*, III, 3-50.

Edward Everett presented a protest against the bill, signed by more than three thousand New England clergymen. The "Independent Democrats" in Congress drew up an appeal against the proposed law. Referring to the section which was intended to repeal the Missouri Compromise (§ 324), they denounced it as "a gross violation of a sacred pledge," and as part of "an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast unoccupied region immigrants from the old world and free laborers from our own states, and convert it into a dreary region of despotism inhabited by masters and slaves." Chase, Sumner, Giddings, and Gerrit Smith joined in signing the paper.

424. Southern feeling about the bill. The southern members of Congress at first manifested little interest in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Bell of Tennessee said that every southern senator with whom he had spoken, excepting Toombs of Georgia, regretted this attempt to wipe out a line which had preserved the peace of the country for thirty years. He added, however, that since the North had introduced the bill, the South would not vote against it. Houston of Texas implored the Senate, for the sake of the Union, not to repeal the Missouri Compromise. Cullom of Tennessee declared that its repeal would repudiate "the faith and honor of the South, plighted by the act of 1820."

But Jefferson Davis and Senator Toombs, representing the extreme class popularly known as "fire eaters," condemned the Missouri Compromise as unjust to the South. They, with Alexander H. Stephens, welcomed its repeal by a bill which virtually denied the power of Congress to legislate respecting slavery in the territories. They insisted that the Constitution gave slaveholders, in common with other owners of property, the right to take their negroes into any part of the public domain; then, when the settlers framed a state constitution, they could decide whether it should be slave or free.

425. Seward's attitude; excitement at the North; passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854); results. When it became apparent that a majority of southern members would vote for

the bill, Seward exclaimed: "Come on then, gentlemen of the slave states, since there is no escaping your challenge, I accept it in behalf of the cause of freedom. We will engage in competition for the soil of Kansas, and God give the victory to the side which is stronger in numbers as in right." The debate on the bill raged for nearly five months. During that time the North was seething with indignation, and mass meeting after

**TERRITORY OPENED TO SLAVERY BY THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA
ACT OF 1854**

The "Compromise Measures" of 1850 opened Utah and New Mexico to slavery when they should be admitted as states (see § 422). Oregon was free territory by act of Congress of 1848 (see § 391)

mass meeting protested against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise Act (§ 324).

The opponents of Senator Douglas branded him as an enemy to the cause of freedom and of free soil. The demonstrations against him were so violent that he said, "I could travel from Boston to Chicago by the light of my own burning effigies." The bill passed the House (May 22, 1854) by a vote of 113 to 100;

Douglas closed the great debate in the Senate by a speech which lasted until the small hours of the morning. The bill was then passed without division (May 26, 1854) by a vote of 35 to 13. The southern Democrats and Whigs voted for it; half of the northern Democrats were for it and half against it; while the northern Whigs and Free-Soilers all opposed it. The President strongly favored the bill and promptly signed it (May 30, 1854). The opponents of the measure condemned it as the greatest political blunder in American history.

In the autumn Douglas spoke at Peoria, Illinois, in defense of his bill. Referring to his opponents, he said sarcastically, "The white people of Nebraska are good enough to govern themselves, but they are not good enough to govern a few miserable negroes." Lincoln replied, "No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent."¹

The new Congress that met the next year (1855) held the stormiest session ever recorded. The struggle to elect a Speaker lasted nine weeks; members ate and slept at their desks. Banks of Massachusetts had said in a recent speech that rather than do anything to extend slavery he would let the Union "slide."² His election to the Speakership was therefore regarded as a victory of the free states over the consolidated power of the slave states. Blaine in his "Twenty Years of Congress" says, "It marked an epoch."

The Kansas-Nebraska Act had three momentous results: (1) By repealing the Missouri Compromise Act (§ 324) and establishing the principle of "Popular Sovereignty" (§ 422) in the two Territories north of 36° 30' it opened a new battle ground between the forces of slavery and freedom. (2) It gave the finishing blow to the expiring Whig party (§ 419), and shaped the wedge which later (1860) split the Democratic party into a northern and a southern section; the first upheld "Popular Sovereignty"; the second was determined, at any cost, to force slavery into

¹ See Lincoln's Works, I, 195.

² See Von Holst's Constitutional History of the United States, V, 215.

all the territories. (3) It united all "anti-Nebraska" men at the North in a new political organization which subsequently (1854) took the name of the Republican party. The Republicans, unlike the Democrats or the Whigs, had no adherents at the South. They were sectional in the sense that freedom was sectional, and they pledged themselves to use all constitutional means to prevent the extension of slavery.

426. The six years' struggle for Kansas¹ (1854-1859); "Sons of the South" against "Free-State men." No sooner was the Kansas-Nebraska Bill signed (§ 425) than companies of "Sons of the South" rushed in to seize the territory and open it to slavery. The planters of Missouri engaged in this movement as an act of self-preservation. They held nearly 100,000 negroes, and they believed that if Kansas should enter the Union as a free state their human property would speedily take to its legs and cross the border. Senator Atchison of Missouri said that a horde of western savages would be less formidable neighbors than a population of Abolitionists. The proslavery men who entered the territory at once took possession of large tracts of land and planted the towns of Atchison, Leavenworth, and Lecompton. They warned intending emigrants from the free states not to endeavor to enter Kansas through Missouri.

The "Free-State men" acted with equal energy. In expectation of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, Eli Thayer of Massachusetts organized the "New England Emigrant Aid Society" to send out colonists to Kansas. This society received the hearty encouragement of Amos A. Lawrence of Boston and other prominent eastern men, who helped to furnish it with the "sinews of war." The society dispatched the first band of emigrants in the summer of 1854. The total number sent out by them in the course of the crusade was about three thousand,—all men, and voters; before they reached Kansas this number was probably doubled. The pioneer colony from Boston planted the town of Lawrence; subsequently bands of "Free-State men"

¹ See Rhodes' *United States*, II, 98-166, 215, 278-299.

planted Topeka and Osawatomie. Henry Ward Beecher declared that in a contest with the slaveholders of Kansas the New Englander's rifle was a greater moral agency than the Bible.

These settlers from the East were strongly opposed to the spread of slavery, but they had no intention of attacking it in the states where it was already established. Garrison's *Liberator* (§ 353), speaking of the New England emigrants, said that "hardly a single Abolitionist could be found among all who went."

But among those who emigrated from New York and Ohio there were at least six Abolitionists of the most radical stamp. One of them was destined to make his name and exploits known throughout the world. These six men were John Brown, a descendant of Pilgrim stock, and his five sons. They settled in or near Osawatomie, and "Old John Brown," as he was familiarly called, soon became a power in that region. He went out, gun in hand, determined, as he said, to "kill American slavery."

The "Sons of the South" denounced the "Free-State men" as "Black Republicans"; the "Free-State men" retorted by calling their adversaries "Border Ruffians." The excited feeling naturally led to acts of violence which threatened to end in bloodshed.

427. The Kansas elections; the rival constitutions; Congressional report. At the first election of a delegate to Congress (1854) a large force of Missourians armed with rifles and bowie knives entered the Territory and elected a proslavery candidate. The next spring (1855) a second body of Missourians, five thousand strong, led by Senator Atchison, crossed the border into Kansas and elected a Territorial Legislature, which not only adopted the entire slave code of Missouri but strengthened it by the addition of numerous death penalties.

The Free-State settlers repudiated this "bogus legislation," and elected an antislavery delegate to Congress. In the autumn (1855) they held a convention at Topeka, framed a state constitution prohibiting slavery, set up a rival government, and applied for admission to the Union, but without success. Then the

Proslavery party met at Pawnee and framed a state constitution to suit themselves; but the people of the Territory rejected it.

The next year (1856) Congress sent out a special committee of three (W. W. Howard of Michigan, John Sherman of Ohio, and Mordecai Oliver of Missouri) to investigate the Kansas troubles. The first two members of the committee reported: (1) that the Territorial elections had been "carried by organized invasions from the state of Missouri"; (2) "that the alleged Territorial (proslavery) Legislature was an illegally constituted body"; (3) that no delegate to Congress had been elected "in pursuance of law"; (4) that in the present condition of the Territory a fair election could not be held unless "United States troops" should be present "at every place of election." The third member of the committee made a separate report dissenting from that of the majority.¹

Meanwhile four governors of the Territory had resigned. They went out as proslavery men, but their experiences in Kansas had converted them to "Free-State men."

428. Civil War in Kansas. The national government sent out troops to guard the polls, but civil war broke out. The greater part of the actual settlers desired peace, but bands of marauders — Free-State "Jayhawkers" and Slave-State "Border Ruffians" — burned farmhouses, broke up settlements, pillaged towns, and committed numerous murders. One act of violence provoked another until the Territory became, in sober truth, "Bleeding Kansas." Lawrence was twice besieged and once burned; Osawatimie, Pottawatomie, and Leavenworth were attacked and partially destroyed. Each side suffered; each made the other suffer. The motto was, "War to the knife and the knife to the hilt."

"Old John Brown" shot or cut down a number of proslavery men in cold blood at Pottawatomie (1856) and made raids into Missouri for the purpose of liberating negroes. The other side retaliated with interest and killed two to one in the massacre at

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 90.

Marais des Cygnes (1858). But this last outrage was an isolated act, and fortunately this frightful state of anarchy was practically over by 1857. The "Free-State men" had come to stay; and as they gradually increased in numbers, they obtained the political control and rejected the proslavery constitution¹ framed (1857) by a convention at Lecompton and recommended to Congress by Buchanan.²

Stephen A. Douglas denounced the action of this convention in a powerful speech in the Senate. He said: "It is none of my business which way the slavery clause is decided. I care not whether it is voted down or voted up; . . . but if this Lecompton constitution is to be forced down our throats in violation of the fundamental principle of free government, . . . I will resist it to the last."³

The next year a Free-State Convention met at Wyandotte (July 5, 1859) and adopted a new constitution, which prohibited slavery. This was ratified by the people, and was later (1861) accepted by a Congress from which the southern members had withdrawn to engage in that stupendous civil war destined to overthrow slavery forever. Out of her population of 100,000 Kansas contributed no less than 20,000 men to the ranks of the Union army.

429. Assault on Senator Sumner. While the western troubles were at their height Senator Sumner delivered a powerful speech in Congress (May 19, 20, 1856) on the "Crime against Kansas."⁴ He denounced the "tyranny, imbecility, absurdity, and infamy" of those who were endeavoring to fasten negro bondage on the free soil of western territories. In the course of his speech he attacked Senator Butler of South Carolina, and held him up to ridicule as a half-crazed old man completely infatuated with the charms of slavery.

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 92.

² See Rhodes' United States, II, 285, 291.

³ See Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, II, 124.

⁴ See Johnston's American Orations, III, 88.

Two days later, Preston S. Brooks, a nephew of Senator Butler and a representative from South Carolina, made an assault on Sumner while he was sitting at his desk in the Senate chamber. Brooks struck him blow after blow over the head with a loaded cane until his victim fell senseless and bleeding to the floor. Senator Sumner's injuries were so serious that he had to withdraw from political life for several years.

Massachusetts kept his seat for him in the Senate until he resumed it (1859), not long before the outbreak of the Civil War. Brooks resigned, but was presented with a new cane by his admiring constituents, and was triumphantly reëlected. Jefferson Davis warmly commended Brooks, but Seward said, "The blows that fell on the head of the senator from Massachusetts have done more for the cause of human freedom than all its friends have ever accomplished in Congress."

430. Treaties with Japan and China; the Ostend Manifesto. While the Kansas question was agitating the whole country our foreign relations had an important bearing on the policy and welfare of the nation.

Under the previous administration Commodore Perry was sent out in command of a squadron to endeavor to negotiate a treaty with Japan. The ports of that "Land of Great Peace," once partially open to the Dutch, had been closed to the entire world for more than two centuries. Perry succeeded in reopening the barred doors, and by his tact, firmness, and diplomatic skill secured a favorable treaty (1854).

This treaty prepared the way for full international intercourse with the foremost people of the East, and led to a treaty of commerce (1858). Japan is now proud to acknowledge that she owes her recent remarkable progress in western civilization and her present position among Oriental nations in great measure to Perry's success and to the introduction of American inventions and American educational influences. Fourteen years later, Anson Burlingame negotiated (1868) an important treaty with China, under which that nation for the first time officially accepted the principles of international law.

The failure of the South to secure fresh territory for slavery extension on the Pacific Coast (§§ 411, 414) led to attempts, on their part, to get possession of Cuba. Filibustering expeditions sailed from New Orleans (1850, 1851) for the purpose of exciting a revolution in that island; they accomplished nothing, however, but their own destruction. Fillmore, who was then President, issued a proclamation condemning these "wicked schemes" and warning citizens of the United States against taking part in them. Later, the government endeavored to purchase the much-coveted island, but all offers were rejected. Meanwhile reports were circulated that the Cuban negroes were plotting to establish a free black Republic on the plan of San Domingo. This rumor made the South all the more anxious to get possession of a country that might otherwise become a menace to slaveholders in the cotton states.

James Buchanan, our minister to England, met with our ministers to France and Spain at Ostend (1854) to discuss the question of the acquisition of Cuba. They united in signing the Ostend Manifesto.¹ They declared in that document that if Spain persisted in her refusal to sell Cuba, and if our peace should thereby be endangered, we should be justified by every law, human and divine, in seizing the island.

431. National presidential conventions; the election (1856). The "Know-Nothing" party (§ 419) held their National Convention early in 1856. The delegates adopted a platform which declared that none but Americans should rule America, and demanded that foreigners should be refused naturalization until they had resided in the United States for twenty-one years. The only plank in the platform relating to slavery was one which condemned the repeal of the Missouri Compromise (§ 425). The convention nominated Millard Fillmore for President.

The Democratic Convention met in June (1856). It adopted a "strict-construction" (§ 256) platform, reaffirmed its indorsement of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798-1799

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 89.

(§§ 273, 418), denounced the principles of the "Know-Nothing" party, pledged itself to resist all agitation of the slavery question "in Congress or out of it," indorsed the Fugitive-Slave Law and the Kansas-Nebraska Act (§ 425), asked for the construction of military and postal roads to the Pacific, and declared that the United States must control the highway across the Isthmus of Panama. The convention nominated James Buchanan, our late minister to England (§ 430), for the presidency.

The Republican party (§ 425) led by Seward held their convention about midsummer (1856). The delegates adopted a "broad-construction" (§ 256) platform. They approved of the government's encouraging "internal improvements" (§ 285), especially the building of a railroad to the Pacific. They denounced the Ostend Manifesto (§ 430) as "the highwayman's plea that 'might makes right'"; they strongly condemned the repeal of the Missouri Compromise (§ 425) and urged the prompt admission of Kansas (§ 428) as a free state.

They took decided ground with respect to the power of the national government over the territories, resolving that it was both "the right and the duty of Congress" to prohibit "those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery," throughout the national domain. For President they nominated John C. Frémont (§ 400). His nomination was condemned by his opponents as a purely sectional act, — one in which the free states alone were interested. Rufus Choate denounced the Republicans as "the new geographical party," and added that their success would put "the Union in danger." Governor Wise and other leading men at the South openly declared that Frémont's election would cause "certain and immediate disunion."

The Whigs, in an expiring effort, issued a platform which condemned all "geographical parties," but which said nothing about slavery. They nominated Millard Fillmore (§ 414) for President.

The Democrats elected James Buchanan President, with J. C. Breckenridge Vice President. The electoral vote stood 174 for Buchanan to 114 for Frémont and 8 for Fillmore; the popular

vote stood 1,838,169 for Buchanan to 1,341,264 for Frémont and 874,534 for Fillmore.

432. Summary. The principal events of Pierce's administration were: (1) the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, repealing the Missouri Compromise and applying the principle of "Popular Sovereignty" to the settlement of the question of slavery extension in those territories; (2) the struggle between the North and the South for the possession of Kansas; (3) the rise of the Republican party; (4) the opening of the first American World's Fair, the treaty with Japan, the attempts of the government to purchase Cuba, and the Ostend Manifesto.

JAMES BUCHANAN (DEMOCRAT), ONE TERM (1857-1861)

433. The Dred Scott Case. Two days after Buchanan's (§ 431) inauguration the Supreme Court of the United States delivered its decision (March 6, 1857) in the celebrated Dred Scott case.

Scott was a negro slave living in the slave state of Missouri. His master took him with him to Illinois (1834), and, after residing there for two years, removed with his property to the territory then called Upper Louisiana, — now Minnesota. Two years later (1838), Scott's owner took him back to Missouri and there sold him to a Mr. Sandford.

Scott denied Sandford's legal right to hold him in bondage and brought suit for his liberty in the Circuit Court of the United States for the district of Missouri. He took the ground that his residence in the free state of Illinois, and in a territory in which slavery was expressly prohibited by the Missouri Compromise Act (§ 324), had made him a free man.

The Court decided in Sandford's favor; thereupon Scott carried the case by appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

434. Decision of the United States Supreme Court.¹ That tribunal, five of whose judges were from slave states, undertook to

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 91; Rhodes' United States, II, 251; Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, II, ch. iv, v; Howard's Report of the Dred Scott Decision.

pass judgment on two questions: (1) Is Dred Scott a citizen of the United States, and as such entitled to bring suit in the United States courts? (2) Did Scott's residence for several years on free soil render him free?

In delivering the decision of the Court, Chief Justice Taney, who had been a slaveholder, but had freed his slaves, took occasion to review the history of the negro race in America. He declared that when the Constitution of the United States was adopted "negroes had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." "It is absolutely certain," said he, "that the African race was not included under the name of citizens of a state by the framers of the Constitution."

Coming to the first of the questions under consideration, the Court decided that "Dred Scott was not a citizen of Missouri within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, and not entitled as such to sue in its courts." The delivery of this opinion really ended the case, but the Court now took up the second question which had been raised, namely, Scott's claim to freedom because he had resided for a time in a free state and later in a free territory. On this point it decided (1) that Scott did not acquire freedom by his residence in Illinois; and (2) "that the act of Congress (of 1820) which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning" slaves "in the territory of the United States north of the line ($36^{\circ} 30'$) therein mentioned is not warranted by the Constitution, and is therefore void."

The eight associate justices, with the exception of Judge Curtis¹ of Massachusetts and Judge McLean of Pennsylvania, concurred in the opinion delivered by the Chief Justice.

¹ In his very able dissenting opinion, Judge Curtis held that the political history of the country proved: (1) that when the Constitution was adopted free negroes, though born of slave parents, had in numerous cases possessed the full rights of citizens of the United States; (2) that in no less than eight distinct instances (1787-1848) Congress had excluded slavery from the territory of the United States; (3) that slavery, being contrary to national right, is created only by municipal law, and that the Constitution does not provide for its existence in the territories. See Rhodes' *United States*, II, 257-260.

AREA OF FREEDOM AND SLAVERY IN 1857

Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia April 16, 1862, and prohibited it in the Territories June 19, 1862

435. Effect of the Dred Scott Decision. This decision, which was as much political as judicial, pronounced by the highest tribunal of the nation, created consternation at the North. The most that the Kansas-Nebraska Act (§ 422) had done was to throw open a certain limited territory to slavery, provided a majority of the inhabitants desired it; but now the Supreme Court of the United States solemnly declared that every slaveholder at the South had the same constitutional right to take his negroes into any part of the public domain that he had to take his horses or his cattle there (§ 322).

The Senate ordered 20,000 copies of Chief Justice Taney's opinion to be printed for general circulation. Senator Douglas stumped Illinois, and in his defense of Taney said that the Republicans wanted to vote with the negroes, eat with the negroes, and marry the negroes. Lincoln replied, "In some respects the negro is not my equal, but in his natural right to eat the bread he earns with his own hands without asking leave of any one he is my equal and the equal of all others."

A great number of the people of the free states now became convinced that "party spirit had taken possession of the Court in the interest of slavery." Seward boldly declared, "We shall reorganize the Court and thus reform its political sentiments." Many persons expressed the fear that the supreme tribunal of the country was preparing to affirm that negro bondage was not local but national. This conviction added enormously to the strength of the newly organized Republican party (§ 425), which pledged itself to resist all encroachments of the slave power on free soil (§§ 425, 431). On the other hand, the exultant South found in the hostile attitude of this army of northern voters fresh justification for threats of disunion.

Later (1859), the Senate of the United States indorsed the Dred Scott decision by a vote of 35 to 21. Thus encouraged, the Territory of New Mexico proceeded to establish slavery (§ 412) although Webster had ridiculed the idea as impossible (§ 413). Furthermore, the decision stimulated the illicit importation of

negroes to such an extent that Stephen A. Douglas said there was evidence that no less than 15,000 kidnapped Africans had been smuggled into southern ports in 1858.¹ The general effect of the Dred Scott decision was to embolden those who advocated slavery extension, but to irritate and alarm the friends of freedom, and to widen the breach between North and South.

436. The financial panic of 1857. To add to the excitement caused by political questions, a financial panic² now swept over the country. In August (1857) the "Ohio Life and Trust Company" of Cincinnati failed for \$7,000,000. An investigation showed that the managers had lost the entire capital in stock gambling. The failure compelled many banks in New York to suddenly reduce their loans; this caused a general financial crash. Business was in great measure paralyzed, and, with three exceptions, the banks throughout the country suspended specie payments. Many great railway and manufacturing corporations found it impossible to meet their obligations; cotton dropped from sixteen cents a pound to nine; and the receipts of the national government fell below its expenditures.

The panic spread and "a wave of bankruptcy swept round the civilized world." Well qualified judges believed that it was caused by overspeculation resulting from the enormous production of gold by the mines of California and Australia. On the other hand, Senator Blaine, and the protectionists generally, maintained that the chief cause of the panic was the reduction of revenue resulting from the lowered tariffs of 1846 and 1857 (\$ 404). But though the crisis was sharp, it was short, and so far as the United States was concerned, it was only "a bad stumble in a career of great prosperity." The country generally was in a sound condition and the crops were abundant. This favorable condition of things enabled the banks to resume specie payments before the end of the year, but while business recovered in considerable measure, long years of depression continued.

¹ See Rhodes' *United States*, II, 369; Du Bois' *African Slave Trade*.

² See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 262.

437. Discovery of silver, petroleum, and natural gas. While the country was recovering from the effects of the financial depression a remarkable discovery was made (1859) on the eastern slope of the Sierras, in what is now the state of Nevada. Some miners digging in that region came to a layer of strange-looking earth. A bystander, named Comstock, exclaimed when he saw it, "You have struck it, boys!" They had, in fact, struck what proved to be the great "Bonanza" silver mines. Comstock controlled the only spring of water which could be used for working the mines; for this reason he was admitted to share in the good luck.

Up to this time no silver worth mentioning had been found in the United States; but in the course of the next twenty years (1859-1879) ore to the amount of more than \$300,000,000 was taken from the Comstock lode.

Nevada, however, was not to remain our only source of supply for silver. Rich deposits of that metal were discovered (1876) at Leadville, Colorado, and later in Utah and Arizona.

By 1873 the world's output of silver had doubled in quantity. Twenty years later, the total product had risen from an average of less than \$38,000,000 in 1859 to more than \$198,000,000 in 1892,—an increase of over four hundred per cent. In 1859 the United States contributed to this output only the comparatively insignificant sum of \$100,000; in 1892 (the year of the largest yield from our mines) it contributed more than \$82,000,000. In 1859 the average market price of bar silver was nearly \$1.25 per ounce; by 1892 it had fallen to less than 80 cents per ounce.

The same summer (1859) that the "Bonanza" mines were found a remarkable discovery was made in western Pennsylvania. Professor Silliman of Yale University had suggested the practicability of using petroleum as an illuminator, and a company was formed to bore wells for it. "Colonel" E. L. Drake bored well after well with no better result than to sink the capital of the company that employed him and his own funds besides. His money and credit were both exhausted, and no one cared

to trust this "petroleum crank," as he was called, for even a sack of flour.

On the morning of August 28, 1859, Drake went back to his work near Titusville hungry and penniless. That morning he "struck oil." Wild speculation followed his success; thousands of wells were bored in all parts of the "oil-creek" region, some of which yielded from 100 to 2000 barrels of petroleum a day.

Oil was afterward found in Kentucky, West Virginia, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Texas, and on the Pacific coast.

In 1865 the "pipe-line" system of conveying oil from the wells was begun on a small scale. Since then about 25,000 miles of pipe have been laid. Petroleum is now carried in this way as far east as New York and as far west as Chicago. These rivers of oil not only supply the enormous home demand but furnish enough for exportation besides, the value of the quantity sent abroad during the last thirty-five years averaging more than \$45,000,000 annually, and the total export value from 1864 to 1904 exceeding \$1,500,000,000.

About fifteen years after the discovery of petroleum a well of natural gas was struck near Pittsburg. The escaping gas ran to waste for a number of years before capitalists could be induced to invest in it. The gas has since been found in Indiana and some other parts of the West, and it is used to furnish light, heat, and power in houses and manufacturing establishments, and for street lamps in some cities.

438. The "Mormon rebellion"; the Mountain Meadows massacre; Kansas; Yancey's "Scarlet Letter." Three years after the Mormons settled in Salt Lake Valley (§ 372), Congress organized the Territory of Utah (1850) and President Fillmore appointed Brigham Young governor. He declared in a public discourse (1853) that he would continue to hold the office, in spite of any orders to the contrary, until the Almighty should say, "Brigham, you need not be governor any longer."

The federal judges in Utah accused the Mormon leaders of obstructing the administration of justice and of burning the court

records. The Mormons retorted that the judges were men of corrupt character. President Buchanan appointed (1857) Alfred Cumming, a "Gentile," to supersede Young, and sent General Harney with 2500 troops to sustain the authority of the new governor.

The Mormons attacked Harney's wagon trains, destroyed a large part of his supplies, and prevented the troops from entering the valley until the spring of 1858.

In another quarter Bishop Lee and several other Mormons led a band of Indians against a party of emigrants who were crossing Utah on their way to California and massacred them at Mountain Meadows (1857). Twenty years later, Lee was arrested and convicted of having taken a prominent part in the massacre. He confessed his guilt and was executed (1877) on the very spot where the crime was perpetrated.

When Harney's "Army of Utah" entered Salt Lake Valley (1858) they found the "city of the saints" deserted. Had the troops attempted to occupy the Mormon "Zion," Brigham Young would have burned it, as the Russians did Moscow when Napoleon captured it. In this dilemma President Buchanan decided to issue a proclamation of pardon to the Mormons on condition that they should obey the federal laws, and Governor Cumming persuaded the inhabitants of Salt Lake City to return; thus the threatened war was averted.

But though the outbreak in Utah was settled, the Kansas troubles, described earlier (§ 428), dragged on. Buchanan threw his influence on the side of making it a slave state (§§ 428, 439); but it was not until Minnesota (1858) and Oregon (1859) had entered the Union that Kansas was admitted (1861) as the thirty-fourth state, with a free state constitution.

While these events were occurring in the West the excitement over slavery in the South showed no signs of abating. William L. Yancey, one of the leaders of the Alabama slaveholders, published (1858) his famous "Scarlet Letter," foreshadowing secession. He urged the organization of "committees of safety" to "fire the

southern heart," and at "the proper moment" to "precipitate the cotton states into a revolution." Later, Jefferson Davis told the people of his own state that if an Abolitionist should be chosen President in 1860, they ought to provide for their safety "outside the Union."

439. The Lincoln-Douglas campaign and joint debates.¹ In the summer of 1858 the Republicans of Illinois nominated Abraham Lincoln (§ 394) as their candidate for United States senator. Lincoln's opponent was Stephen A. Douglas (§ 422), the great champion of "Popular Sovereignty." Judge Douglas, whose term in the Senate was about to expire, had the enthusiastic support of the Democratic party in his state. He had also gained many warm friends among the Republicans by the prominent stand he had taken in defeating the Lecompton, or proslavery, constitution (§ 428), which he accused the administration of attempting to force upon the people of Kansas.²

In such a political duel for office the "little giant of the West" (§ 422) seemed to possess every advantage. More than this, Lincoln made an opening speech at Springfield (June 16, 1858), which most of his warmest friends condemned as suicidal. He began by bringing the slavery question directly to the front. "'A house divided against itself,'" said he, "'cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."³

In his reply Douglas said, "Lincoln goes for a war of sections until one or the other shall be subdued; I go for the great

¹ See Rhodes' *United States*, II, 313-339; Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*, II, ch. viii, ix; Brown's *Life of Stephen A. Douglas*.

² At the next Congress (1859-1860) two Democratic members of the House accused the President of having corruptly attempted to secure their votes for the Lecompton bill. A committee, with Covode of Pennsylvania as chairman, investigated the charge. The Republican majority on that committee found the President guilty; the Democratic minority found nothing against him. No action was taken on the report. This was known as the "Covode Investigation."

³ See Johnston's *American Orations*, III, 168.

principle of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (§ 422), — the right of the people to decide for themselves.”¹

Later in the summer, Lincoln challenged Douglas to meet him in a series of seven joint debates held out of doors. The people of Illinois turned out by tens of thousands to enjoy this gladiatorial contest. They greeted the combatants with bonfires, music, and the wildest demonstrations of delight.

At Freeport, Lincoln, hoping to corner his antagonist between the Dred Scott decision and “Popular Sovereignty,” which were apparently utterly opposed to each other, asked the question, Can the people of a territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery prior to the formation of a state constitution? Douglas, true to “Popular Sovereignty,” answered, Yes.² This reply pleased the North, but angered the South, which ardently upheld the Dred Scott decision (§§ 434, 435). Douglas secured the senatorship, but lost the southern vote for the presidency in 1860. Lincoln had fallen in the race, but he had fallen up hill, not down, and when he rose he was on the path to the White House.

Late in October (1858), Senator Seward spoke at Rochester on the struggle between freedom and slavery. He declared it “an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces.” “It means,” said he, “that the United States must and will become either entirely a slaveholding nation or an entirely free-labor nation.”³ These last words seemed an echo of Lincoln's famous speech made several months earlier (§ 439).

440. The John Brown raid (1859).⁴ The next year the whole country was startled by the report that John Brown,— “Old John

¹ See Johnston's American Orations, III, 184.

² In his reply Douglas virtually admitted that the Dred Scott decision (§§ 434, 435) carried slavery into the territories independent of the will of the people; but he contended that slavery could not continue to exist there, even for an hour, unless supported by local legislation. Hence, he said, the whole question really rested with the majority of the settlers in the territories, since they could vote it down or up. This reply constituted what became known as the “Freeport Doctrine.”

³ See Johnston's American Orations, III, 195.

⁴ See Rhodes' United States, II, 384-416.

Brown of Osawatomie" (§ 426), — with eighteen followers, had captured (October 16, 1859) the arsenal and engine house at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Two days later, the news came that Colonel Robert E. Lee (§ 397), with a company of marines, had taken Brown and several of his companions prisoners, but only after a hard fight in which a number of persons had been killed.

The attack on Harpers Ferry was not a sudden impulse, but the result of a long-meditated plan. Brown had resolved to strike American slavery a fatal blow, and he struck it in the state where it originated (§ 44). Gerrit Smith of New York and a few Massachusetts Abolitionists reluctantly furnished the funds and the arms for the rash expedition which they spoke of among themselves as "a little speculation in wool."

On his trial Brown was convicted of treason and murder. He declared that he had not intended to commit either crime, but only "to free slaves." "Stonewall" Jackson commanded a military company on guard at Brown's execution (1859). "He behaved," said he, "with unflinching firmness." "I sent up the petition that he might be saved."

Six of Brown's followers were executed later. Emerson spoke of John Brown as "that new saint" who "will make the gallows glorious like the cross"; but Lincoln and the Republican party generally strongly condemned the Harpers Ferry invasion.

The affair threw the South into an uproar. When Congress assembled ex-President Tyler of Virginia said, "But one sentiment pervades the country, — security *in the Union* or separation."

A Senate Committee reported that the invasion "was simply the act of lawless ruffians under the sanction of no public or political authority"; but notwithstanding that assurance, the gulf between North and South appeared to have widened. Just before his execution John Brown declared that the negro question could never be settled save by the "shedding of blood." He was right; in less than two years after his death at Charlestown, Virginia (now West Virginia), a Massachusetts regiment,

on its way to the defense of the Union, marched through that place (1862) singing:

John Brown's body lies a-moldering in the grave,
But his soul goes marching on.

441. The national political conventions of 1860. Near the end of February, 1860, Lincoln delivered his Cooper Institute address in New York. In opposition to Douglas, he contended that "our fathers who framed the original Constitution" of the United States gave the federal government full power to control slavery in the territories.¹ Not quite two months later, the Democratic Convention met at Charleston, South Carolina, and adopted a platform reaffirming the principles laid down in their platform of 1856 (§ 431), thus indorsing "Popular Sovereignty" (§ 422), thereby fully recognizing "the right of the people of all the territories" "to form a constitution with or without domestic slavery." The southern delegates hoped that the convention would explicitly sustain the Dred Scott decision (§ 434), which declared the territories open to slavery independent of the will of the people. But the most that the northern delegates would concede was a resolution that the party would "abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law."

The southern delegates expressed their disappointment by seceding. Later, they organized a convention of their own, affirmed the principles of the Dred Scott decision, and nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky and Joseph Lane of Oregon for the presidency and vice presidency. Meanwhile the remaining delegates of the original Charleston Convention nominated Stephen A. Douglas (§§ 422, 439) for President and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia for Vice President. Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia thought that this split in the Democratic party was the forerunner of civil war. He said, "Men will be cutting one another's throats in a little while."

The "Constitutional Union party," composed mainly of

¹ See Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, II, ch. xii.

Charlestown, Jefferson Co Va 29th Nov, 1859.

Mrs George L Stearns

Boston

My dear friend

No letter I have
received since my imprisonment here, has given ^{me} more
satisfaction, or comfort: than yours of the 8th inst. I am
quite cheerful: & was never more happy. Have only
time write you a word. May God forever reward
you & all yours. My love to All who love their
Neighbours. I have asked to be spared from hav-
ing any mock; or hypocritical prayers made over me, when
I am publicly murdered: & that my ^{only} religious attendants
be poor little, dirty, ragged, base headed, & base footed,
Slave Boys; & Girls, led by some old grey headed, Slave
Mother. Howell. Howell.

Your Friend

John Brown

Please

Mail this to her

"Know Nothings" (§ 419) and "Old Whigs" (§ 419), adopted a platform which did not mention slavery, but simply pledged the party to maintain "the Constitution of the country, the union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws." They nominated John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts; hence the name "Bell and Everett party."

The Republican Convention met in Chicago. They adopted a platform which denounced "threats of disunion" as an "avowal of contemplated treason"; they branded the Dred Scott decision (§ 434) as "a dangerous political heresy"; they recognized "the right of each state" "to control its own domestic institutions," but rejected "Popular Sovereignty" (§ 422) by denying "the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States."¹

Finally, amid the cheers and yells of ten thousand excited men, they nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois (§ 439) and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine for President and Vice President. This choice disappointed the friends of Seward who had labored for his nomination. Furthermore, it did not satisfy the extreme Abolitionists. Wendell Phillips was especially bitter at the selection of Lincoln and publicly denounced him as "the slave hound of Illinois."²

Jefferson Davis had said at the beginning of 1860 that unless more slave states could be added, slavery would be overthrown within less than twenty years.³ Leading southern men now declared that Lincoln, like Frémont (§ 431), was a "sectional candidate," supported only by a "sectional party," and that they would never "submit to a 'Black Republican' President." The Republicans disclaimed all hostility to the South, but affirmed that it was slavery that was "sectional," and that the spirit of

¹ See Stanwood's *The Presidency, and McKee's Conventions*, 106-120, on these three platforms.

² See Rhodes' *United States*, II, 473.

³ See Von Holst's *Constitutional History of the United States*, VII, 116.

American institutions demanded freedom in the territories for the best interests of all.

442. The election of Lincoln (1860). From the outset it was evident that if zeal could elect the Republican candidate he was sure of success. "Wide-Awake Clubs," dressed in uniform and carrying flaring torches, marched nightly through every northern city and town, making the streets ring with their campaign songs. These parades foreshadowed the marches to the battlefield in which men of all parties were soon to take part. The governor of South Carolina, believing that Lincoln's election would give slavery "a fatal blow," sent a circular letter to the governors of the other cotton states declaring that his state stood ready to secede in case the Republicans won the day.

At the election (1860) Lincoln received 180 electoral votes (but not one in the slave states), Breckenridge 72 (but not one in the free states), Bell 39, and Douglas 12. The popular vote stood 1,866,452 for Lincoln; 849,781 for Breckenridge; 588,879 for Bell; and 1,376,957 for Douglas. The Republicans failed to gain a majority in either branch of Congress; hence their hands were tied in that body.

443. Action of South Carolina; Buchanan's message; feeling at the North; Stephens' speech; the Crittenden Compromise. The news of Lincoln's election (1860) was received in Charleston, South Carolina, "with long-continued cheering for a Southern Confederacy," and the Legislature summoned a convention to decide the question of secession.

In his annual message (1860) President Buchanan declared: (1) that no state had the constitutional right to secede, and quoted General Jackson's words (§ 355) with approval; (2) that the federal government would take measures to hold the forts and other property of the United States in South Carolina; (3) but he added that the government had no constitutional power "to coerce a state."

The action of South Carolina was a surprise to the North. Many northern men urged that immediate concessions should be

made to prevent separation ; others believed that separation was inevitable. Two leading New York papers, representing the two great political parties, declared that the South had the same right to secede from the Union that the thirteen colonies had to secede from Great Britain. They furthermore insisted that "a Union pinned together with bayonets" would be worthless. On the other hand, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, in a speech before the Georgia Legislature (November 14, 1860), called on the South to accept Lincoln's election ; "to secede because of that election," said he, "puts us in the wrong." Then he significantly added, "Some of our public men have failed in their aspirations" ; "from that comes a great part of our troubles." This statement of Stephens was greeted with prolonged applause. Pollard of Virginia later said that southern ambition for office was a strong factor in secession.

The venerable Senator Crittenden of Kentucky led a compromise movement in Congress (December 18, 1860). He proposed the adoption of five articles. The most important of these were : (1) an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery in all territory north of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ (§ 324), and recognizing it as existing in all territory south of that line ; but states on either side of said line might be admitted, with or without slavery, as their constitutions should provide, in accordance with Douglas' principle of "Popular Sovereignty" (§ 422) ; (2) the United States was to pay the owners for all rescued fugitive slaves ; (3) no future amendment of the Constitution should affect these articles or give Congress power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any states where it existed by law.

Senator Crittenden's well-meant attempt to harmonize the interests of freedom and slavery was defeated. Congress considered other compromise schemes which likewise failed. But eventually a resolution to amend the Constitution, so as to protect slavery forever in the Southern States, passed both Houses, and was approved by Buchanan (March 3, 1861). It was promptly ratified by the legislatures of Ohio and Maryland, but the coming

on of the Civil War blocked its further progress.¹ In the meantime Congress had erected the three new territories of Colorado, Nevada, and Dakota, without prohibiting slavery in them. In that action it followed Webster's position taken in 1850 (§ 413).

444. Secession of South Carolina (1860); statement of reasons; six other states follow (1861). The crisis was reached on December 20, 1860. On that eventful day the South Carolina Convention (§ 443), sitting in Charleston, unanimously passed an ordinance of secession. It declared that the union existing between South Carolina and the other states "is hereby dissolved."²

The citizens of Charleston hailed the announcement with the wildest demonstrations of delight, and the daily papers of the city began forthwith to print all intelligence received from the North under the heading "Foreign News."

South Carolina, having declared herself independent, sent a commission to Washington to demand of the United States the prompt surrender of all forts, arsenals, and other property held by the federal government within the seceded state. The President declined to receive them officially. South Carolina denied that her action in withdrawing from the Union was revolutionary or rebellious, but claimed that the right to secede (§ 355) was "an essential part of state sovereignty," and that it was in no sense a violation of the Constitution.

The Convention declared that South Carolina seceded for two reasons: first, because fourteen of the Northern States had "deliberately refused to fulfill their constitutional obligations" by enacting "Personal Liberty Laws" (§ 416), which nullified the Fugitive-Slave Act (§ 414) or rendered it useless to the South;³

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, Nos. 93, 96; Rhodes' United States, III, 150-154, 267, 313-314.

² See Macdonald's Select Documents, No. 94; Rhodes' United States, III, 197-204; Johnston's American Orations, III, 211-239.

³ But effective measures had already been taken by a number of states to modify or repeal their "Personal Liberty Laws." Had the convention waited a short time, it seems probable that every state which had passed these laws would have removed all the objections made to them on the part of the South. See Rhodes' United States, III, 252-253.

CHARLESTON MERCURY

EXTRA:

*Passed unanimously at 1.15 o'clock, P. M., December
20th, 1860.*

AN ORDINANCE

*To dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and
other States united with her under the compact entitled "The
Constitution of the United States of America."*

*We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and
it is hereby declared and ordained,*

*That the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty-third day of May, in the
year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the
United States of America was ratified, and also, all Acts and parts of Acts of the General
Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed;
and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of
"The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.*

THE

UNION

IS

DISSOLVED!

secondly, because a geographical or sectional party had been formed at the North, which had elected a President "whose opinions and purposes" were "hostile to slavery," and who had publicly said (§ 439), the national "government cannot permanently endure half slave, half free."¹

The South Carolina secessionists proclaimed that their object was to establish "a great Slaveholding Confederacy stretching its arms over a territory larger than any power in Europe possesses."

By the first of February (1861) the six states of Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had followed the example of South Carolina and had declared themselves out of the Union (§ 451). The Mississippi Convention frankly avowed that the object of secession was to save "slavery, the greatest material interest in the world." Georgia went reluctantly, apparently expecting to soon return. Stephens said she was induced to go by the argument, "We can make better terms out of the Union than in it." The truth was that many of her citizens, and those of the other cotton states as well, loved the old flag, and left it only because they were overcome by the secession movement and had no choice. These states seized the forts and other property of the United States within their limits so far as they could lay hands on them. The total value of what was taken has been estimated at from \$30,000,000 to \$40,000,000. In Texas General Twiggs turned over a very large quantity of national military stores to the secessionists.

Early in January, 1861, President Buchanan sent a merchant vessel, the *Star of the West*, with reinforcements and supplies for Major Anderson, who held Fort Sumter for the Union. The people of Charleston fired on the vessel and compelled her to turn back. Wigfall of Texas, who still retained his seat in the United States Senate, jeered at the government, saying, "Your flag has been insulted; redress it if you dare." But a little later, Secretary Dix telegraphed to a naval officer at New Orleans, "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot."

¹ See McPherson's *Political History of the Rebellion*, 16.

445. The "Confederate States of America"; their flag; their constitution; the Peace Convention. In February, 1861, delegates from all of the seceded states (except Texas, which took action later) met at Montgomery, Alabama, and framed a provisional government.¹ They took the name of the "Confederate States of America," and made Montgomery the capital of the new Slaveholding Republic. Pollard believes that they represented the "politicians," not the "people," of the South. Jefferson Davis (§ 413) of Mississippi was elected President, with Alexander H. Stephens (§ 411) of Georgia as Vice President.

Davis seems to have believed that in case of war the South would find the divided North an easy conquest;² and he declared that the densely populated cities of that section would provide "food for the sword and the torch."³

In the Georgia State Convention Stephens had declared that the South had always held "the control" of the general government and could show no cause for withdrawing from the Union (§ 443). At that time Stephens denounced secession as "the height of madness, folly, and wickedness"; but, unlike Henry Clay at an earlier period (§ 413), he now declared that he would go with his state. He said that the "corner stone" of the Confederacy rested on slavery as its foundation; and he boasted that if true to itself, it would become "the controlling power on this continent."⁴

In March, 1861, the Confederate States adopted the "stars and bars" as their national flag and ratified a permanent constitution.⁵ It differed from that of the United States in a number

¹ See McPherson's *Political History of the Rebellion*, 12; Johnston's *American Orations*, IV, 32.

² Ex-President Pierce had said in a letter to Jefferson Davis (January 6, 1860): "If [a war between the North and the South] must come, the fighting will not be along Mason and Dixon's line merely. It [will] be within our own borders, in our own streets, between the two classes of citizens to whom I have referred." See McPherson's *Political History of the Rebellion* (revised edition), 391.

³ See Greeley's *American Conflict*, I, 415.

⁴ See Johnston's *American Orations*, IV, 39.

⁵ See Macdonald's *Select Documents*, No. 97; McPherson's *Political History of the Rebellion*, 98.

Treasury Department
Jan. 29, 1861

Tell Lieut. Caldwell to arrest
Capt. Breshwood, assume command
of the cutter and obey the order of game
through you. If Capt. Breshwood
after arrest undertakes to interfere
with the command of the cutter, tell
Lieut. Caldwell to consider him
as a mutineer & that him accord-
ingly. Have one attempt to haul
down the American flag, shoot
him on the spot. —

John A. Dix
Secretary of the Treasury.

NOTE.— Captain Breshwood of New Orleans refused to take any steps toward saving the revenue cutter *McClelland* from falling into the hands of the Secessionists, who were seizing such vessels for the use of the Southern States. The letter of Secretary Dix on this point explains itself.

of important points, four of which may be mentioned here: (1) the President's term of office was fixed at six years, and he could not be reëlected; (2) he could veto any appropriation and at the same time approve of any other appropriation in the same bill; (3) all protective duties and protective bounties were prohibited; (4) slavery was nationalized, and was recognized and protected in all new territory which the Confederacy might acquire.

On the very day on which the secession delegates met at Montgomery (February 4, 1861) a "Peace Congress,"¹ called at the request of Virginia, assembled at Washington. Twenty-one states were represented, but none of the seven seceded states sent delegates. The purpose of the convention was to effect a compromise and "save the Union," but nothing came of the attempt. While the men of peace were in session the people of Charleston were building batteries to bombard Sumter. They only waited for the order from Jefferson Davis to open fire and begin the Civil War.

446. What made secession possible. Slavery was the primary cause of secession (§ 444). Madison, "the Father of the Constitution," was convinced that it threatened sooner or later to split the Republic. Jefferson held the same conviction. Directly or indirectly it had threatened to destroy the Union from the outset (§ 257); yet, considered purely from an economic and industrial point of view, there was a period in our history when slavery was an apparent advantage. Its introduction into Virginia (§ 44) stimulated the settlement of that colony, the mother-colony of the American commonwealth, and established a lucrative commerce in tobacco.

Later (§ 259), the same system of labor made the raising of cotton enormously profitable not only to the South but to the whole country. The whole country, too, had in some degree upheld keeping the African in bondage; and Lincoln uttered the simple truth when he said, "We are all responsible for slavery."

¹ See Macdonald's Select Documents, Nos. 95-96.

But these temporary material benefits were offset by the fact that slave labor was necessarily opposed to progress beyond a certain point. It was adapted to a simple uniform routine system of agriculture, and to nothing more. It exhausted the soil; it discouraged and degraded free labor; it shut the South against immigration; it refused to establish common schools. It concentrated the capital, the intelligence, the political power, and the social influence of the South in the hands of a small per cent of the population, for seven voters out of every ten in that section were "poor whites," who did not own a single negro. It left the great mass of the people in poverty and ignorance and without real legislative representation. It was the slaveholder, and, as a rule, the slaveholder only, who went to Congress or was elected to any state office. The men who did not possess slaves were branded as "poor white trash," and the very negroes looked down upon them in contempt. These "poor whites" were the victims of the slave system; as a recent southern writer acknowledges, they withered under its overshadowing influence as shrubs wither beneath a widespreading oak.¹

So far as progress was concerned in 1860 slavery was a spent force. It was a system of labor which the civilized world generally had outgrown and cast aside. More than that, it was a stumbling-block to the very people who, at an earlier period, had wished to rid themselves of it (§ 45), but who now cherished it and were ready to fight for it. It was the misfortune, not the crime, of the southern people (§ 352) that they could not see this then. They had been reared among slaves and Calhoun had educated them to believe that African servitude was "a positive good" to both black and white (§ 354).

Hence, as a representative of South Carolina has said, slavery kept the South stationary "in government, in society, in employments, in labor,"² so that it had not moved for half a century. It was a case of what physiologists call "arrested development," and the best powers of our southern brothers lay concealed

¹ See Smith's History of Georgia, 141.

² See C. D. Wright's United States, 146.

and dormant, waiting for the great day of emancipation and resurrection.

At the North everything had changed ; slavery had disappeared, free labor prospered, education was open to all, millions of sturdy immigrants had settled in the West and planted civilization in the wilderness. Patriotism, thanks in no small measure to Webster's efforts (§ 351), had outgrown the narrow crippling theory of state sovereignty and had broadened into a genuine devotion to the Union. For many years no man, or set of men, possessed of political influence had so much as hinted at the possibility of northern secession (§§ 282, 310, 382).

On the other hand, the southern people had been taught by Calhoun¹ and his school that the American Republic, however dear it might be to them, was not a nation, but simply a partnership of independent states, which had the constitutional right to withdraw when they saw fit. Misled by slavery, they had come to believe that their welfare depended on holding the negro in bondage. Notwithstanding the protests of the Republican party to the contrary, they conceived that the election of Lincoln showed that the free states were resolved to destroy the system of property in man throughout the South.²

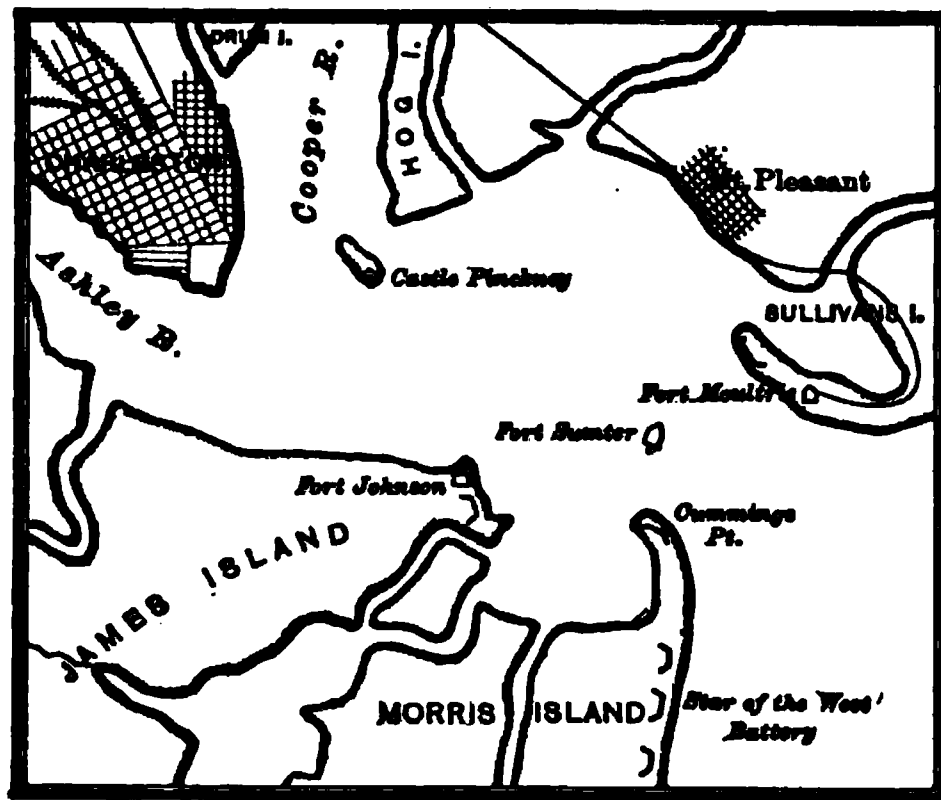
In order to perpetuate and extend that system they now determined to pull down the pillars of the Republic and build up a new commonwealth, "separated," as an able southern writer has said, "from the rest of the world in sympathy and feeling," opposed to progress, with its face turned from the light and toward the past. Thus slavery bred sectionalism, and sectionalism bred secession and civil war.

447. Summary. The chief events of Buchanan's administration were : (1) the Dred Scott decision, opening the territories to slavery ; (2) the panic of 1857 ; (3) the discovery of the

¹ See Calhoun's Works, VI, 169, 194 et seq. Calhoun's love of the Union was overbalanced by his conviction of the right of nullification and, if need be, of secession in the interest of state sovereignty and of slavery (§§ 355, 404, 413).

² See Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress, I, 257.

"Bonanza" silver mines and the development of our petroleum deposits; (4) the Mormon rebellion; (5) the John Brown raid; (6) the secession of South Carolina, followed by six other states, and the formation of the Southern Confederacy.



MAP OF CHARLESTON HARBOR

Showing Fort Sumter and the battery which fired on the *Star of the West*
(see § 444)

VI

THE WAR OF SECESSION ¹

(1861-1865)

For authorities for this chapter, see footnotes and the classified list of books in the Appendix, page xxiv

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (REPUBLICAN), TWO TERMS (1861-1869)

448. Lincoln's journey to Washington and inaugural address. Lincoln fully realized the gravity of the situation. He had been elected President by a divided people and Congress was under the control of the party which had opposed him (§ 442). In his farewell speech at Springfield, Illinois, Lincoln said to his friends: "I go to assume a task more difficult than that which devolved upon Washington. Unless the great God, who assisted him, shall be with and aid me, I must fail." To avoid the danger of threatened assassination at Baltimore, the President elect, acting on the advice of General Scott and Secretary Seward,² made the last part of his journey to Washington secretly by night train.

¹ See Dodge's *Bird's-Eye View of the Civil War* (revised edition); Schouler's *Civil War*; Rhodes' *United States*, III-V; McPherson's *Political History of the Rebellion* (revised edition); Greeley's *American Conflict*; Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*; Burgess' *Civil War and the Constitution*; The Century Company's *Battles and Sieges of the Civil War*; Grant's *Memoirs*; Sherman's *Memoirs*; Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries*, IV; Macdonald's *Select Statutes*; Blaine's *Twenty Years of Congress*, I; Stephens' *War between the States (Confederate)*; Jefferson Davis' *Rise and Fall of the Confederate States (Confederate)*; Gordon's *Reminiscences of the Civil War (Confederate)*.

² **President Lincoln's Cabinet.** Secretary of State, William H. Seward; Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase (succeeded July 5, 1864, by Wm. P. Fessenden); Secretary of War, Simon Cameron (succeeded January 11, 1862, by Edwin M. Stanton); Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles; Secretary of the Interior, C. B. Smith (succeeded January 8, 1863, by J. P. Usher); Attorney-General, Edward Bates

In his inaugural address¹ (§ 442) the President said: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so and I have no inclination to do so." He even favored an amendment to the Constitution (§ 443) prohibiting such interference. Passing to the question of secession, he said: "The union of these states is perpetual." "No state upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union." "I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states." "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government."

Then turning to those of his hearers who sympathized with secession, he said: "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You can have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.'"

FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR (APRIL, 1861—APRIL, 1862)

449. Anderson's report; division in the Cabinet; capture of Fort Sumter. The next day Major Anderson of Fort Sumter (§ 444) reported that he had but a month's provisions left, and that it would require 20,000 men to relieve and hold the fort. Anderson's entire force consisted of 128 men, half of whom were noncombatants.

President Lincoln was by nature a man of peace. His maxim was, "It is better to plow round the log than to try to plow

(succeeded December 14, 1864, by James Speed); Postmaster-General, Montgomery Blair (succeeded October 1, 1864, by Wm. Dennison). *Second Term.* Cabinet changes: Secretary of the Treasury, Hugh McCulloch; Secretary of the Interior, James Harlan.

¹ See Johnston's American Orations, IV, 16; Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, III, 327.

through it"; but the question of relieving Anderson demanded immediate action, and such action seemed likely to precipitate civil war.

The Cabinet was divided. Seward thought that the secession difficulty would be satisfactorily settled within "sixty days," and suggested that the best way to reunite the North and the South would be to declare a foreign war. Chase, on the other hand, thought that if we must choose between civil war and peaceful separation, we had better accept the latter. General Scott, as the President's chief military adviser, believed that it would be best to compromise with the Southern States or else say, "Wayward sisters, depart in peace."

Meanwhile a terrific scramble for office was going on, and the President said that he felt like a man letting apartments in a burning building "likely soon to perish in ashes."

At a consultation of the Cabinet, Blair voted to relieve Fort Sumter, and Chase cast a conditionally affirmative vote; the remaining five members voted against it as inexpedient; but at a final meeting on this subject a majority favored it. The President, however, had already resolved to take the responsibility on himself and "send bread to Anderson." This decision brought matters to a crisis. General Beauregard was in command of the secession forces in Charleston, and Jefferson Davis ordered him to demand the immediate surrender of Fort Sumter. Major Anderson declined to give up the fort.

At daybreak the next morning (April 12, 1861) Beauregard's batteries opened fire. Anderson's guns replied as best they could. The artillery duel continued thirty-four hours. The commander of Fort Sumter could hold out no longer. His handful of men were utterly exhausted and his provisions and available ammunition were used up; he was forced to capitulate. No one had been killed on either side; it was the bloodless beginning of the bloodiest civil war known in modern history.

On Sunday morning (April 14, 1861) the brave defender of Sumter led his little garrison out of the fort. They departed

with the honors of war,—colors flying and drums beating. Major Anderson took with him the shot-torn national flag which had floated above the fort; on that very day, four years later, it was triumphantly restored to its old place. He and his men then embarked for New York.

450. The President's call for troops; Davis retaliates; the blockade; the uprising of the North; the first bloodshed. The next morning (April 15, 1861) the President summoned an extra session of Congress to meet on July 4, and issued a proclamation¹ calling for 75,000 "three-months' men"² (§ 508) to uphold the national flag and defend the national honor. Davis retorted by calling for 32,000 men and by inviting privateers (§ 312) to attack northern merchant vessels. A few days later (April 19, 1861), President Lincoln declared the ports of the Confederate States blockaded against foreign commerce.³ He also declared that the Confederate privateers would be treated as pirates, but the progress of the war compelled the national government to recede from this position (§ 460).

The North responded to the President's call with an alacrity and enthusiasm which could not be mistaken. Over 90,000 men enlisted. The streets of the great cities blazed with patriotic colors and resounded with martial music and the tramp of armed men hurrying to the defense of the nation. Party lines were thrown down; everywhere the cry rose, "Crush the rebellion!" Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln's old political antagonist (§§ 439, 441), hastened to the President to take him by the hand and assure him of his support. He saw that the time for compromise had passed.⁴ "Now," said he, "every man must be for the United States or against it." He died soon after the great war began, but he used his voice and pen to the last in behalf of the Union. The "War Democrats" responded nobly

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 1.

² As the law then stood, the President could not call out the state militia for a longer time.

³ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 2.

⁴ See Johnston's American Orations, III, 176.

to Douglas' appeal, and during the long struggle they vied with the Republicans in their devotion to the government.

Pennsylvania was first in the field, but the Massachusetts Sixth was the first fully armed regiment which entered the national capital. On its way through Baltimore (April 19, 1861) the regiment was attacked by a mob of howling "roughs"; a number of the soldiers were wounded and several were killed.¹ It was the anniversary of the battles of Lexington and Concord. On that day, sacred to the cause of American liberty, the first blood was shed for the preservation of the Union. The following day the garrison at Fort Monroe, the most important stronghold on the coast, was reënforced, and the next month General Butler took command there. Washington was speedily transformed into a military camp, and the first story of the national capitol was converted into a vast bakery to feed the men who had started out to fight in behalf of the Union.

451. The uprising of the South; what North and South fought for; secession of four more states; the "border states." The military activity of the South equaled that of the North; thousands of volunteers rushed to answer Davis' call. The politicians had started the secession movement (§ 443) purely in the interest of slavery and of their own selfish ambition. The first gun fired at Sumter roused the mass of the southern people to wild excitement, and they were ready to move even faster than their leaders wished.

The Secession Congress at Montgomery declared that President Lincoln's call for troops was an attempt to "overawe, oppress, and finally subjugate the people of the Confederate States." The rank and file of the secession army did not question the truth of this assertion. Most of them were men who recognized no authority higher than that of their own state. Misled by this idea, they believed that the North threatened to invade and destroy their homes, liberate the slaves, and "swamp the country with barbarism."

¹ But this attack did not represent the real feeling of the state; eventually many of its men entered the Union army.

Lincoln clearly stated the issue when he said later: "Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish; and the war came."

The call of the national government for troops compelled the remaining slave states to decide what course they would take. Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee joined the Confederacy, making a total of eleven states. This gave the seceding section an area nearly equal to that of the entire United States at the close of the Revolution. In May (1861) the Confederate capital was removed to Richmond.

The people of the western part of Virginia had but few slaves; they generally opposed secession, and later (1863) they organized a separate state under the name of West Virginia. The governors of the four border slave states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri refused to answer the President's call for volunteers to defend the national flag; but subsequently all of these states contributed large numbers of men to the ranks of the Union army. So, too, did eastern Tennessee, which was strongly loyal.¹

452. Mistakes of the secessionists; the situation; population of the North and of the South. The southern politicians who incited secession made three serious mistakes at the outset: (1) they believed that all of the slave states would join them and so form a "solid South"; (2) the utterances of prominent men of the "Peace party" at the North led the secessionists to think that the North would be in danger of civil war among its own people (§ 444), and that the President would be powerless to prevent the dismemberment of the Union; (3) finally, the secessionists thought that if the North did take up arms to save the nation, England's need of cotton and Napoleon's desire to get possession of Mexico would induce those powers to interfere and recognize southern independence. None of these things happened,

¹ The border slaveholding states contributed nearly 350,000 white troops to the ranks of the Union army, and even the states which seceded furnished over 86,000.

and the states which seceded had to accept the situation as best they could.

The condition of affairs in the early summer of 1861 was as follows: Of the thirty-four states then constituting the Union eleven had seceded and four were divided in their allegiance. Nineteen states stood firmly by the old flag.

The census of 1860 reported the total population of the United States at nearly 31,500,000. Of this number the seceded states had somewhat over 9,000,000, including about 3,500,000 slaves, who, though noncombatants, would by their labor keep many combatants in the field. The "border states" had a population of somewhat more than 3,000,000 and the free states about 19,000,000. The available military strength of the free states was probably three times greater than that of the South, and in the course of the war it was increased by the enlistment of negroes and by the arrival of over 600,000 immigrants (§ 374). Lincoln estimated the total force which the Union states could furnish in case of emergency at 4,000,000.

453. Material resources and military advantages of the two sections. The wealth of the North was immensely greater than that of the South. The census of 1860 reported the assessed valuation of the North in round numbers at nearly \$11,000,000,000, and that of the South at only a little more than \$5,000,000,000, and of this \$2,000,000,000 was slave property. With few exceptions, the North had the foundries, factories, workshops, and shipyards, — in a word, the "machine power" and mechanical skill of the nation. Besides this it had a thousand million acres of public lands north and west of the slave region and it possessed mines which annually produced gold and silver worth nearly \$100,000,000.¹ The North, too, had two thirds of all the railways, and her ports remained open to the commerce of the globe.

The South, after her ports were once fairly blockaded, was cut off from getting supplies from abroad. It was difficult, if not impossible, for her to repair a railway that had once been

¹ See Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 273-274.

destroyed in any large degree ; and after the war reached a certain point every man killed or crippled created a vacancy that even Jefferson Davis found it impossible to fill.

But on the other hand, the southern people were more accustomed to the use of firearms than those of the North. They had the immense advantage of fighting mainly on the defensive, on inside lines, and on territory where they, and they only, knew every foot of the ground.

The North was forced to employ colossal armies, for the Union troops were compelled not only to conquer but also to hold an ever-increasing area having a maximum of over 800,000 square miles. In nearly every instance they had to carry their supplies with them over a constantly lengthening line which was often liable to be broken by a sudden attack in the rear. General Grant states that when he advanced into the " Wilderness " in his campaign against Richmond, his wagon train extended between fifty and sixty miles in a straight line and required 18,000 horses and mules to draw it.

All things considered, Grant thought that the two contending forces, from a military point of view, were practically about equal. In the course of the war the North called out a total force, reenlistments included, of nearly 3,000,000 men (\$ 508). All were volunteers except a small number obtained by draft.¹

After the first enlistments liberal bounties had to be paid in order to secure troops. These bounties averaged \$400 per head, and amounted in the aggregate to about \$300,000,000, besides \$100,000,000 devoted to helping soldiers' families.² The greatest number of troops in the Union service at any one time was a little over 1,000,000 ; the greatest number in the Confederate service at one time has been estimated at about 470,000.

No trustworthy statistics of southern enlistments can be had ; but it is known that a merciless system of conscription eventually forced their entire available fighting population, from boys to old

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 31.

² See Rhodes' United States, IV, 430-432 ; Billings' Hard Tack and Coffee, 36-38, 214-215 ; Greeley's American Conflict, II, 760.

More Massachusetts Volunteers Accepted!!!

Three Regiments to be Immediately Recruited!

**GEN. WILSON'S REGIMENT,
To which CAPT. FOLLETT'S BATTERY is attached;
COL. JONES' GALLANT SIXTH REGIMENT,
WHICH WENT "THROUGH BALTIMORE";**

**THE N. E. GUARDS REGIMENT, commanded by that
excellent officer, MAJOR J. T. STEVENSON.**

The undersigned has this day been authorized and directed to fill up the ranks of these regiments forthwith. A grand opportunity is afforded for patriotic persons to enlist in the service of their country under the command of as able officers as the country has yet furnished. Pay and rations will begin immediately on enlistment.

UNIFORMS ALSO PROVIDED!

Citizens of Massachusetts should feel pride in attaching themselves to regiments from their own State, in order to maintain the proud supremacy which the Old Bay State now enjoys in the contest for the Union and the Constitution. The people of many of the towns and cities of the Commonwealth have made ample provision for those joining the ranks of the army. If any person enlists in a Company or Regiment out of the Commonwealth, he cannot share in the bounty which has been thus liberally voted. Wherever any town or city has assumed the privilege of supporting the families of Volunteers, the Commonwealth reimburses such place to the amount of \$12 per month for families of three persons.

Patriots desiring to serve the country will bear in mind that

**THE GENERAL RECRUITING STATION
IS AT
No. 14 PITTS STREET, BOSTON!**

**WILLIAM W. BULLOCK,
General Recruiting Officer, Massachusetts Volunteers.**

[Boston Journal of Sept. 12, 1861.]

GENERAL POPE'S ARMY.

***"Lynch Law for Guerillas and No Rebel
Property Guarded!"***

IS THE MOTTO OF THE

SECOND MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT.

**\$578.50 for 21 months' service.
\$252.00 State aid for families of four.
\$830.50 and short service.
\$125.00 cash in hand.**

This Regiment, although second in number, is second to none in regard to discipline and efficiency, and is in the healthiest and most delightful country.

Office at Coolidge House, Bowdoin Square.

**CAPT. C. R. MUDGE.
LIEUT. A. D. SAWYER.**

men, to enter the Confederate ranks ; as Butler said, " They robbed the cradle and the grave " to get fighting men.

454. The Union navy ; the Confederate cruisers and privateers. Shortly before the war broke out the scanty navy of the United States was dispersed in foreign waters, and a Congressional committee reported that only two armed vessels " were available for the defense " or blockade of the southern Atlantic coast. The line of blockade extended for 3000 miles with but a single Union port of refuge. To hold this line, and to conduct naval operations along the coast and on the western rivers, at least six hundred vessels would be required. With few exceptions, all of these had to be built, bought, or hired by the government.

The Confederate States had no navy, but they captured the hulks of a number of first-class vessels of war when (1861) they got possession of the Norfolk navy yard. They sent out a few privateers and a number of small armed cruisers, built several formidable ironclads at home, and built or fitted out the *Florida*, the *Shenandoah*, and the *Alabama* in England (§§ 503, 526). These cruisers, armed with British guns and manned largely by British sailors, destroyed Union property worth many millions and drove merchant ships flying the Union flag from the ocean.

455. The financial side of the war. The national government entered upon the war with an empty treasury, but loyal men came to the rescue and furnished money to meet the most pressing immediate calls. The gigantic contest cost the loyal states on an average over \$2,000,000 a day. The funds to meet this enormous demand were obtained from four sources : (1) duties on imports under the Morrill protective tariff¹ of 1861 and the higher tariffs of 1862 and 1864 (§ 404) ; (2) internal revenue taxes which drew tribute from almost every form of property, visible or invisible ; (3) the sale of interest-bearing bonds and interest-bearing treasury notes ; (4) the issue of over \$430,000,000 of legal-tender notes, popularly known as " greenbacks." But the chief reliance of the government was on the sale of bonds ; these were freely

¹ See Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 265.

taken by all classes of people and were largely purchased abroad. The success of these sales was due in very great measure to Jay Cooke, a Philadelphia banker, who became the sole financial agent of the government. He disposed of bonds aggregating the enormous sum of \$2,000,000,000. To further stimulate the sale of these bonds at home Congress established (1863) a system of National Banks, which were required to buy and hold government bonds as security for the notes they put in circulation.¹

The enormous issues of paper money caused proportionate depreciation, and the demand for gold compelled all banks to suspend specie payment. In spite of the vigorous efforts of Secretary Chase and of Congress to prevent it, gold kept rising, until it finally (1864) touched 285½, and the purchasing power of the "greenback" dollar fell to less than thirty-six cents. As "greenbacks" fell, prices, of course, rose, although wages failed to advance in anything like the same proportion. Silver, like gold, disappeared from circulation, all the banks in the country suspended specie payment, and in order to meet the demand for "change" the government had to issue fractional paper currency in notes ranging in value from three to fifty cents. The total issues and reissues of this currency amounted to nearly \$370,000,000.

The Confederate States likewise issued bonds and treasury notes. At first they were able to sell these securities abroad and to export considerable quantities of cotton in exchange for foreign arms and supplies. But the blockade gradually cut off all intercourse with Europe and the sale of Confederate bonds ceased. After the first year of the war the paper money of the South rapidly depreciated, and long before the close of the contest it had become practically worthless.

456. Extraordinary powers granted to the President. In order to successfully prosecute the war for the preservation of the Union, the President believed it necessary to do a number of things usually considered beyond the province of the Executive. In emergencies he took possession of railroad and telegraph lines,

¹ See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, ch. xii, xiii.

arrested many thousands of suspected persons, temporarily stopped the publication of several newspapers, and suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*.

Congress (1863) fully sustained him in the exercise of these powers,¹ although the "Peace party," and even many strong Union men, loudly protested. The extreme portion of that party — nicknamed "Copperheads" from a venomous snake which strikes without giving warning — did not hesitate to avow their sympathy with secession. They declared that the President deliberately violated the Constitution.² The truth is that no written frame of government has ever been planned which could meet the terrible exigency of a great civil war, and cases arose when the President felt that it was necessary to bend the Constitution in order to avoid breaking it. At the South, Jefferson Davis pursued a still more arbitrary course, and his administration seems to have become an absolute military despotism.

457. Attitude of foreign powers. In the spring of 1861 Queen Victoria issued a proclamation of neutrality forbidding British subjects to give aid to the combatants of either side and recognizing the Confederate States as a belligerent power.³ This proclamation virtually acknowledged the right of the United States to blockade the Confederate ports and to cut off their supplies. On the other hand, it recognized the Confederate flag on the ocean and so made the Confederate cruisers privateers instead of pirates (§ 450).

France and the other commercial powers of Europe followed the example of Great Britain. Russia remained friendly to the Union cause, and in 1863, when the success of that cause looked doubtful, a fleet of Russian war ships came into the harbor of New York. This visit was understood to be a sign of the czar's good will toward us.⁴ Later in the war, Confederate commissioners

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 32.

² See Johnston's American Orations, IV, 82.

³ The United States was soon forced to do the same thing (§ 460).

⁴ See Punch's cartoon of Lincoln holding a candle for the Russian bear, November 7, 1863.

attempted to obtain the recognition of southern independence by the pope, but the head of the Catholic Church simply expressed the wish to see the conflict ended and "peace restored."

The English press with few exceptions favored the cause of disunion. *Punch* had nothing but ridicule for the terrible struggle, and the London *Times* hastened to declare that "American institutions" had "collapsed." Carlyle said of the war that it was "the foulest chimney of the century burning out." English "society" and the commercial classes generally shared this feeling. The former accused the North of "fighting for empire"; the latter saw that the success of the South promised to secure free trade for British goods in exchange for cotton. But John Bright, John Stuart Mill, and the Duke of Argyll stood firmly by the Union; so too did the London *Daily News*. Notwithstanding the queen's proclamation of neutrality, English capital furnished fleet steamers to run the blockade and to supply the Confederates with arms of the latest pattern. The great mass of the English people, however, never lost faith in the ultimate triumph of the North; no hardships or privations could induce the starving cotton spinners of Lancashire to lift a finger in favor of opening the Confederate ports or of recognizing Confederate independence. This cordial feeling toward the Union has since gained ground among all classes; and the relations now existing between the two great English-speaking nations of the globe are such as do honor to both.

458. The Sanitary and the Christian Commissions; the working army and the fighting army. Soon after the war broke out the Sanitary and Christian Commissions were organized to give aid and relief to sick and wounded Union soldiers, to furnish them books and newspapers, and to minister to their spiritual as well as their bodily needs. Both did a noble work in a noble way.

Throughout the war there were two armies engaged in battling for the Union; one fought in the field, while the other worked at home to maintain, aid, and comfort those who had gone to "the front." In this home work women took a leading part. They did as much toward saving the nation as the men. They gave their

labor, their zeal, their tears, their prayers, — in a deep and true sense they laid down their lives for the cause. They organized and carried on more than seven thousand local societies, all tributary to the Sanitary Commission, and they sent many millions of dollars' worth of articles to be distributed by that commission.

In every city and hamlet throughout the North they met from week to week to work for their husbands, sons, brothers, and friends who had gone to the front. They rolled bandages, scraped lint, prepared delicacies for the sick and wounded, and in many ways made the soldier realize that his welfare held the highest place in their hearts. Without the efforts of the grand army of fighters the Union could not have been saved ; without the efforts of the grand army of workers those who fought could not have held out to final victory.

At the South the same intense devotion was shown, and the sacrifices which the people made in behalf of the Confederate forces were even greater, because their means were more limited. To-day the South is glad that it failed, for it sees that the success of the Union did not mean the triumph of one section over the other, but the reconstruction of the entire nation on broader and higher lines which secure the welfare of North and South alike.

459. Recapitulation of the object of the war ; Union plan of campaign. The South began the contest with the avowed object of breaking away from the Union and setting up an independent slaveholding Confederacy. The North reluctantly accepted the challenge hurled by the batteries which fired on Sumter. The object of the national government was not to subjugate the South (§ 451), not to liberate her slaves (§ 472), but simply and solely "to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and preserve the Union." The issue was not sought by the North, but was forced upon it, because, as Lincoln said, secession meant "immediate dissolution or blood."

The President (May 3, 1861) called for 40,000 more volunteers and directed an increase of 20,000 in the regular army. General Scott had strengthened the garrison at Fort Monroe (§ 450) and

was encircling Washington with earthworks. His plan was to surround the Confederate States and attack them simultaneously at every point by land and sea; this was what the newspapers called "Scott's anaconda."

Later, the plan adopted was: (1) to maintain a strict blockade along the Confederate coast and at the same time force open the Confederate ports; (2) to take the Confederate capital and so destroy the political as well as the military power concentrated there; (3) to open the Mississippi and its southern tributaries which the South had seized and fortified; (4) to break through the Confederate line in the West, march an army to the Atlantic, and thence northward.

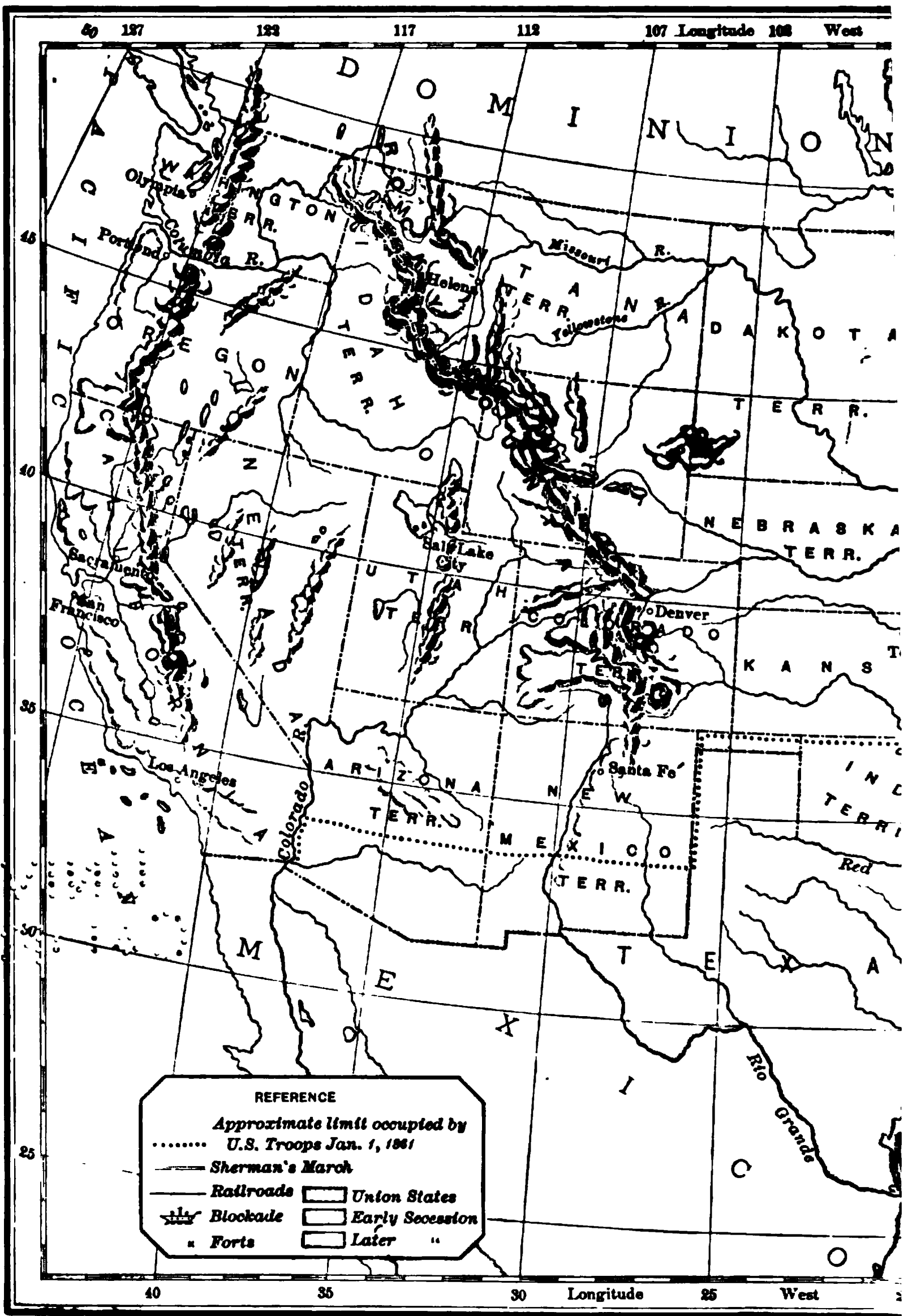
460. McClellan in West Virginia; Bull Run. The contest opened in West Virginia. McClellan drove out the Confederates (May-June, 1861) and reported that he had killed secession in that region. The Union line (see map facing page 413) extended from Fort Monroe along the southern bank of the Potomac to Harpers Ferry and thence southwesterly through Kentucky to the Mississippi just below Cairo, Illinois; thence northwesterly through Missouri to Fort Leavenworth and onward toward the Pacific. The total number of Union troops was about 180,000, confronted by a Confederate army of about 150,000.

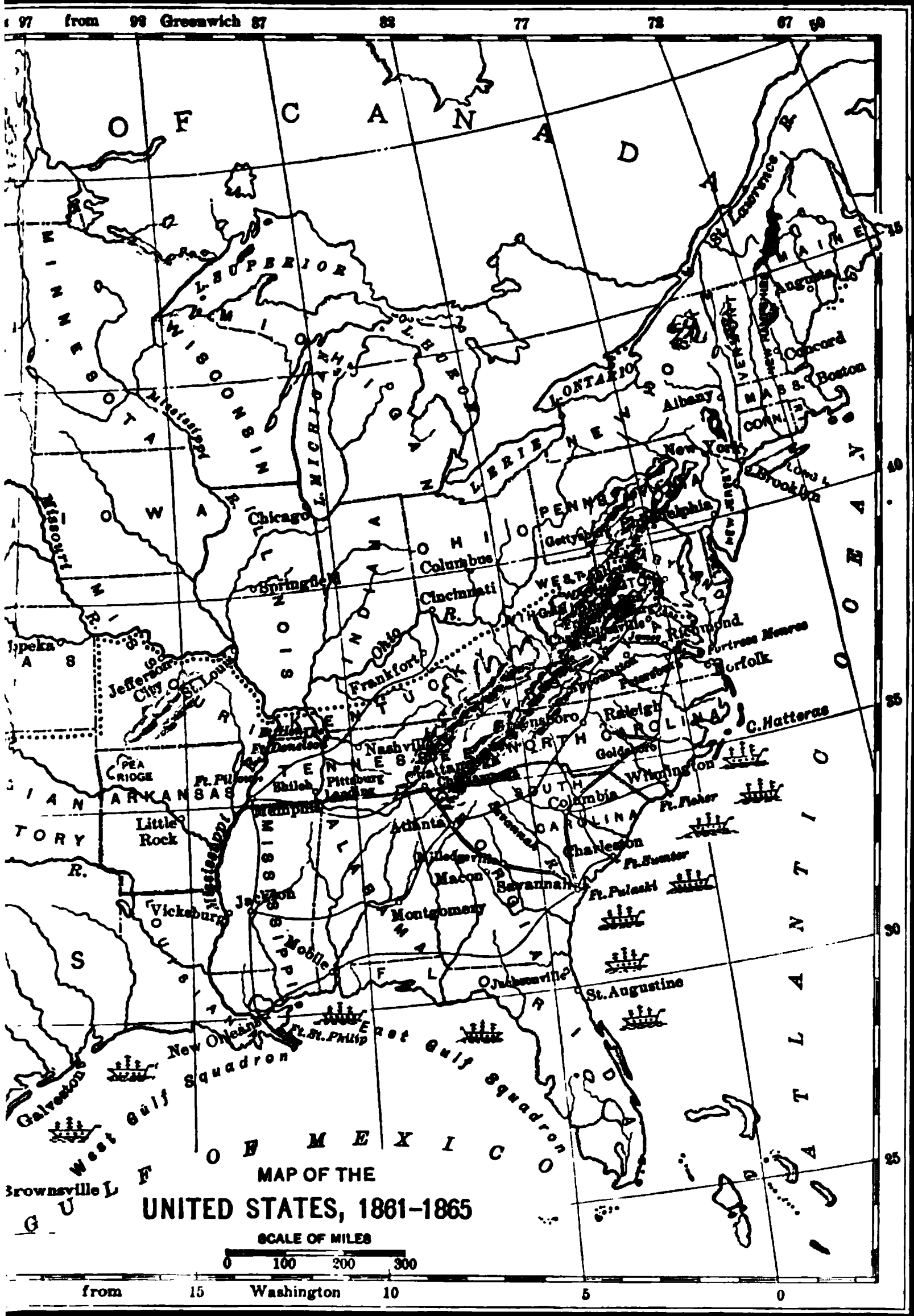
As the summer wore on the newspapers became impatient. The northern press cried, "On to Richmond"; the southern, "On to Washington." Scott himself was too old and infirm to take the field; he did not think the Union army ready to advance, but, yielding to pressure, reluctantly ordered McDowell to move against Beauregard. The Union men started out as if on a holiday excursion, stopping to pick blackberries as they went along.

The first great battle of the war ensued (July 21, 1861) at Bull Run.¹ The forces engaged were of equal strength, but,

¹ Official estimates give the Union forces engaged at about 18,000; Confederate forces engaged at about 18,000. Union loss, 2896; Confederate loss, 1982. No absolutely accurate returns are obtainable. See the Century Company's *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, I, 194, 195. In all reports of battles General Grant's statement should be borne in mind. He says, in speaking of the strength

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MAP OF THE
UNITED STATES, 1861-1865

SCALE OF MILES



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as General Joseph E. Johnston admits, the Confederates had the great advantage of being strongly posted and of fighting on the defensive. The beginning of the battle promised the success of the Union troops; but Johnston brought up reënforcements, and at a critical moment General Jackson, whose stubborn steadfastness here gained him the name of "Stonewall" Jackson, checked the federal advance by a bayonet charge.

Immediately afterward fresh Confederate reënforcements came up by rail from the Shenandoah Valley, struck the Union troops a sudden and terrible blow on the flank, and drove them from the field. Their broken ranks, drenched by pouring rain and disheartened by defeat, rushed into

Washington; but the Confederates made no attempt to follow. In fact, many left the southern army and went home, thinking that they had already conquered a peace. The national government did not lose heart, but rose to meet the emergency. That

of the Union armies in the field, that all present were generally counted, while the Confederates counted none but the actual combatants, in other words, the *effective* strength of their forces. See Grant's *Memoirs*, II, 290. So, too, the estimate of losses cannot be taken in any instance as entirely reliable. See Phisterer's "Statistical Record," in *Campaigns of the Civil War*, page 213.

very day (July 22, 1861) the special session of Congress (§ 450) voted to raise 500,000 three-years' men to prosecute the war, and at the same time the House passed a resolution declaring that the sole object of the government was "to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several states unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease." The Senate adopted a similar resolution.¹

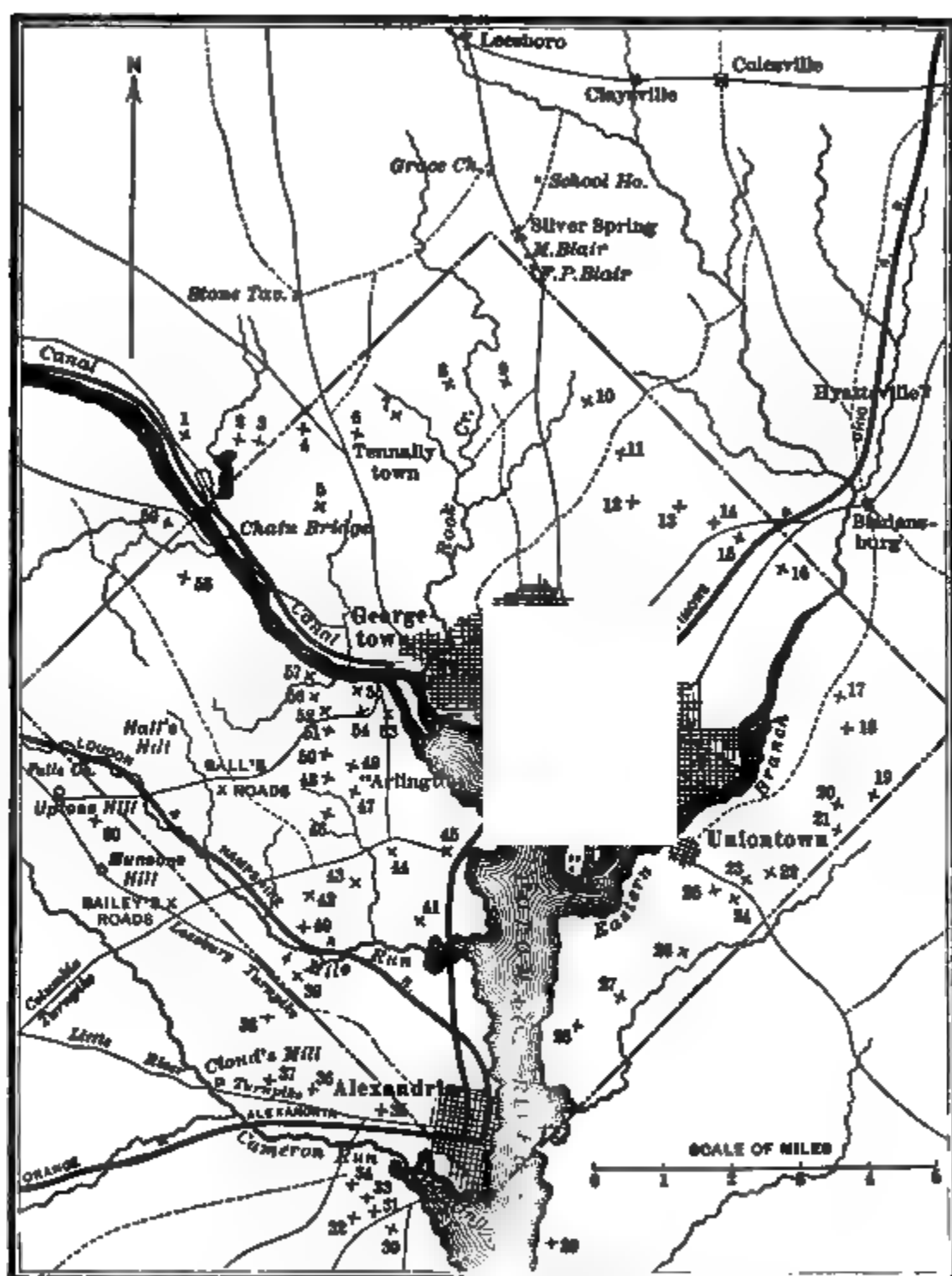
On the other hand, the Union defeat at Bull Run compelled the United States to make arrangements for the regular exchange of prisoners of war. In order to accomplish this the national government felt obliged to recognize the Confederates as belligerents (§ 457), and to give up the policy of treating the Confederate privateers as pirates (§ 450).

461. "Drill and organize!" McClellan; Missouri; the Atlantic coast. Throughout the North the cry now went up, "Drill and organize!" and McClellan (§ 460) was put in command of the Army of the Potomac. When Scott retired in November (1861) McClellan was made General Commander of the land forces of the United States.²

McClellan spent the remainder of 1861 in converting an army of civilians — many of whom had never handled a gun in their lives — into an army of disciplined soldiers. In this respect he did a great work and prepared the way for Union success. General Meade, the victor at Gettysburg, said, "Had there been no McClellan there could have been no Grant."

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, Nos. 5, 6.

² The armies of the United States were commanded by the President as Commander in Chief under the Constitution, and under him, as General Commanders, by Lieutenant General Winfield Scott until November 6, 1861; followed by Major General George B. McClellan until March 11, 1862 (from March 11 to July 12, 1862, there was no General Commander); Major General Henry W. Halleck from July 12, 1862, to March 12, 1864; Lieutenant General U. S. Grant from March 12, 1864, to March 4, 1869. On the Confederate side General Braxton Bragg held the office of military adviser to Jefferson Davis from February 24, 1864, to November of that year. Robert E. Lee was the first General in Chief; he was appointed February 6, 1865.



DEFENSES OF WASHINGTON

Showing the girdle of sixty forts which protected it during the war

In the West, Confederate forces from Arkansas and Texas had invaded Missouri and had made a desperate effort to carry the state over to secession. But the Union sentiment was strong under such leaders as Francis P. Blair, Jr.; and General Lyon, succeeded by Frémont and Halleck, gradually drove the invaders southward.¹ They were finally routed with great slaughter at Pea Ridge, Arkansas (March 7-8, 1862).

On the Atlantic coast, Union naval expeditions took the Confederate forts (1861) at Hatteras Inlet, Hilton Head, and Port Royal on the coast of the Carolinas; Roanoke Island, Newbern, and other points were captured later. These victories secured ports of refuge for the blockading squadron and established important bases for military operations against the interior.

462. The "Trent" affair; seizure of Mason and Slidell. In the autumn of 1861 Jefferson Davis sent James M. Mason, the originator of the Fugitive-Slave Act of 1850 (§ 414), and ex-Senator John Slidell of Louisiana to Europe as Confederate commissioners to obtain aid for the southern cause. They ran the blockade and embarked as "missionaries" at Havana on the British mail steamer *Trent*. Captain Wilkes, in command of the United States sloop of war *San Jacinto*, lay in wait for the *Trent*. When she hove in sight he forced her to stop (November 8, 1861), seized the Confederate commissioners, and carried them to Fort Warren in Boston harbor. The Secretary of the Navy officially congratulated Captain Wilkes on his capture of "these public enemies," and the House of Representatives requested the President to present him with a gold medal.

The President, however, said he feared that we had simply caught a couple of "white elephants," and added, "We fought Great Britain (in 1812) for insisting . . . on the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes has done."

¹ The chief fighting in Missouri was at Wilson's Creek, where the Union forces were overpowered by greatly superior numbers. The only fighting in Virginia during this time was at Ball's Bluff (October 22, 1861), where the national forces were defeated.

The queen's proclamation of neutrality (§ 457) expressly forbade her subjects carrying "officers, soldiers," or "dispatches" for either party in the Civil War; but the English government denied that we were justified in seizing the Confederate commissioners. It demanded their prompt surrender and a proper apology for the affront to the British flag, and hurried off troops to Canada with regimental bands gayly playing "Dixie" as they sailed.

In the correspondence that ensued Secretary Seward stated in the smoothest diplomatic language that he was happy to find that England now condemned the right of search (§ 264), hitherto so stoutly maintained by her. He congratulated her on having at length become a convert to the American principle which had compelled us to protest against the exercise of such a pretended right. He closed by saying that, since the British nation now asked us to do to her just what we had always insisted all nations ought to do to us, we could not consistently refuse to give up Mason and Slidell. They soon sailed for England, but the London *Times* gave them anything but a complimentary welcome, saying, "We should have done just as much to rescue two of their own negroes." Later, when Louis Napoleon asked if the English Cabinet would join him in recognizing the independence of the Southern Confederacy, that body declined. Gladstone, who was a member of the Cabinet, said that it made the decision "without qualification, hesitation, delay, or dissent." In the end the commissioners failed to obtain the official recognition of any European power and accomplished nothing in behalf of secession.

463. Fighting at the West; Grant takes Fort Henry and Fort Donelson. In the West, in the autumn of 1862, the Confederate general A. S. Johnston held an irregular line extending from the Cumberland Mountains through Mill Springs and Bowling Green, Kentucky, to the bluffs at Columbus on the Mississippi. Aside from Columbus, the two points of supreme importance on this line were Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, about twelve miles

apart, on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. Halleck, with his headquarters at St. Louis, was then in command of the department of the Missouri, which embraced western Kentucky. Grant was stationed at Cairo, Illinois; and Buell, with Thomas, was in command of the Union forces directly opposing Johnston's line.

The campaign began in January, 1862, by a battle at Mill Springs, Kentucky, in which Thomas gained a brilliant victory and drove the Confederates out of eastern Kentucky. General Grant, supported by Commodore Foote's gunboats, then moved



against Fort Henry and took it (February 6, 1862). He next moved against Fort Donelson. On the third day of the battle (February 16, 1862) Buckner, the Confederate commander, asked what terms his assailant would concede in return for the capitulation of the fort. Grant at once replied, "No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender." Buckner could not help himself, and promptly accepted Grant's ultimatum.

This victory was the most important which the national troops had thus far gained. It opened the Tennessee and Cumberland

No terms except unconditional and
immediate surrender can be accepted?
I propose to move immediately upon
your works.

I am Sir, very respectfully
your obt. servt.
U. S. Grant
Brig. Gen.

GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT'S UNCONDITIONAL
SURRENDER LETTER

rivers for a long distance and compelled the Confederates to abandon their stronghold at Columbus. This gave the Union army the control of the Mississippi as far south as Island Number Ten.

464. The battle of Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh; capture of Island Number Ten; Corinth. Grant now moved up the Tennessee River for the purpose of capturing the great Confederate railway center at Corinth, Mississippi. He halted at Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh, for Buell to come up from Nashville and join him. Before that general could arrive, A. S. Johnston, with superior numbers, suddenly attacked the Union forces (April 6, 1862). Johnston drove back Grant's army, but was killed in the thick of the fight and Beauregard took command.

By the next morning Buell's reënforcements came up. Grant now had the larger force. By nightfall (April 7, 1862) he had gained the day and the Confederates were in full retreat. In his report Grant said: "I am indebted to General Sherman for the success of that battle. It was," he said, "the severest engagement¹ fought at the West during the war." Grant was sharply blamed for his management of the first day's battle and the President was urged to remove him. He deliberated for a time and then said, "I can't spare this man; he fights."

On the day following the victory at Pittsburg Landing the Confederates surrendered Island Number Ten to the federal forces commanded by Commodore Foote and General Pope. This opened the Mississippi down to Vicksburg. In May Halleck moved on Corinth. Beauregard had not strength to hold it; he withdrew and the Union army took possession of this important railway center.

465. Battle of the "Merrimac" and the "Monitor." Shortly after Virginia seceded (§ 451) the federal officer in charge of the armory at Harpers Ferry destroyed and abandoned it. Following his example, the federal officer in command at the Norfolk

¹ Grant says his effective force at Pittsburg Landing on April 6 was 33,000; Wallace and Buell brought him, after the first day's battle, 25,000 more. The Confederate force was about 40,000. Union loss, 13,047; Confederate loss, 10,669.

navy yard abandoned that important station with about 2000 cannon. He set fire to the government buildings and scuttled and sunk the national war vessels. Among the ships thus destroyed was the steam frigate *Merrimac*. The Confederates raised the hulk and converted it into a powerful ironclad ram, which they christened the *Virginia*.

Early in the spring (March 8, 1862) this formidable floating fort, under the command of Captain Buchanan, sailed out and attacked the federal fleet of wooden war ships lying in Hampton Roads. Making a dash at the *Cumberland*, the *Virginia* cut that vessel nearly in two and sent her to the bottom with a hundred sick and wounded men. The *Virginia* next captured the *Congress*, set her on fire, and blew her up. The Confederate ironclad then retired to Norfolk, intending to complete her work of destruction the next day.

The news of this disaster caused great alarm at Washington. The President hastily summoned a Cabinet council. Stanton, the Secretary of War, expressed the fear that the "rebel monster" might even then be on her way up the Potomac. "It is not unlikely," said he, "that we shall have a shell or a cannon ball from one of her guns in the White House before we leave this room."

That night, lighted by the flames of the burning *Congress*, Ericsson's *Monitor*, under the command of the gallant Lieutenant Worden, steamed into Hampton Roads. She was an iron vessel built on a new pattern, having a revolving turret set on a deck nearly level with the water. On Sunday morning (March 9, 1862) when the *Virginia* appeared she found the diminutive *Monitor* waiting for her. The Confederates laughed at this Yankee "cheese box on a raft"; but the "cheese box" fought so effectively that the *Virginia* finally retired to Norfolk, leaving Ericsson's "little giant" practically master of the situation. When McClellan advanced up the peninsula in May (1862) the Confederates abandoned Norfolk and blew up their famous but discomfited ironclad.

The *Monitor* had not only saved the remaining vessels of the federal fleet, but had probably saved Washington. Had the *Virginia* come off victor, she might have steamed up the Potomac and shelled the national capital, besides doing incalculable damage in other directions.

This conflict between the two ironclads revolutionized naval warfare throughout the world. It sent wooden war ships to the rear and brought iron vessels to the front.

466. Summary of the first year of the war (April, 1861-April, 1862). The capture of Fort Sumter was immediately followed by the President's call for troops, the uprising of the North, and the organization of the Confederate force in the South. The Union defeat at Bull Run led to a call for 500,000 more federal soldiers.

In the West, the Confederates were driven out of Missouri, and their line of defense was broken in Kentucky. Grant took Forts Henry and Donelson and thus compelled the evacuation of Columbus on the Mississippi. Grant then defeated Johnston at the terrible battle of Pittsburg Landing, thus preparing the way for the capture of Corinth. Island Number Ten was next captured and the Mississippi opened down to Vicksburg.

On the water we have the seizure of Mason and Slidell, the capture of important Confederate ports on the Atlantic coast, and the great battle between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*.

SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR (APRIL, 1862-APRIL, 1863)

- 467. The capture of New Orleans and its results.** President Lincoln declared that he considered the Mississippi "the backbone of the rebellion." In the spring of 1862 Captain Farragut, commanding the most powerful naval expedition that had ever sailed under the United States flag, started from Fort Monroe to capture New Orleans and fracture, if not break, the "backbone." The land forces of the expedition were under General Butler. The fleet numbered nearly fifty wooden vessels, carrying

over two hundred guns, besides a fleet of mortar boats under Commander Porter.

Farragut had no easy task before him. In order to reach New Orleans he must break through a line of hulks chained together across the Mississippi, just below the forts of St. Philip and Jackson; he must next run past the guns of those forts, steer clear of the fire rafts sent to destroy his wooden vessels, and finally fight a fleet of gunboats, which included two ironclad rams constructed on the pattern of the *Virginia* (§ 465).

Porter began to shell the forts on April 18 (1862), and just one week from that day Farragut's fleet, "silent, grim, terrible," anchored in front of the blazing levees of New Orleans. Four days later, the city formally surrendered, the "stars and stripes" were hoisted above the customhouse, and the national forces triumphantly held the gateway of the river artery of the American continent. Mason and Slidell (§ 462) wrote from Europe that the fall of the chief port of the Confederate States had probably given the deathblow to European recognition of southern independence.

Farragut, having accomplished his great work, moved up the Mississippi against the Confederate strongholds at Port Hudson and Vicksburg; but the situation of these fortifications on high bluffs made it impossible for him to attack them successfully without the coöperation of a powerful land force.

468. McClellan begins his Peninsular Campaign; "Stonewall" Jackson's raid. Meanwhile McClellan began the second advance (§ 460) on Richmond. The Confederate capital was protected from a direct movement from the north by several rivers and many small streams, and by a dense tangled forest known as the "Wilderness." On the east the peninsula between the York and the James rivers is low and swampy, and heavy rains make it almost impassable; but as the distance from Fort Monroe on the peninsula to Richmond is but little more than half what it is by direct march from Washington, McClellan decided in favor of the short eastern route.

Leaving about 36,000 troops to hold the Shenandoah Valley and northern Virginia, and McDowell at Fredericksburg with

40,000 troops to protect the national capital, he transported his superb army of 100,000 men to Fort Monroe. Early in April (1862), he began to move up the peninsula. A part of Joseph E. Johnston's force barred the way at Yorktown. Here McClellan spent a month getting his siege guns in position. Just as he was ready to open fire the Confederates abandoned their works and fell back to Williamsburg, where an indecisive battle was fought (May 5, 1862).

McClellan then asked the War Department to send him every man that could be spared. The President promised to send McDowell's army; but just then "Stonewall" Jackson (\$ 460), with his famous "foot cavalry," dashed down the Shenandoah Valley and "hustled" Banks out of it and across the Potomac.¹ Jackson's sudden movement created such consternation at Washington that McDowell's 40,000 men were withheld from McClellan to defend the national capital.

Jackson then turned and, keeping up a running fight, moved with such celerity that before McDowell could get a chance to strike him he had joined the main body of the Confederate forces in the vicinity of Richmond. He arrived in season to coöperate with Lee in his attack on McClellan, whose army was straddling the Chickahominy River and floundering in the mud. If McClellan's success depended on his getting heavy reënforcements, then Jackson had completely upset his plans.

469. Fair Oaks; the Seven Days' battles. There was sharp fighting (May 31-June 1, 1862) at Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines. In this action Joseph E. Johnston was severely wounded, and a few days later, Robert E. Lee was put in command of the Confederate forces in Virginia. Only a short time before, General Lee had severely condemned slavery, and deprecated disunion; but he now decided to draw his sword in behalf of both.²

¹ Official estimate: The strength of Jackson's command is not stated, but Confederate authorities give him an effective force of from 16,000 to 17,000. The effective strength of Banks' command on April 30, 1861, was reported at 9178.

² See Lee's Letters (1856, 1861), cited in Long's Life of Lee, 83, 88.

McClellan now found himself cut off from his base of supplies on the York River, and was forced to set out for the James River to establish a new base. After seven days of terrible fighting, ending with the federal victory of Malvern Hill (July 1, 1862), the Union commander reached Harrison Landing on the James, where he could receive the support of the fleet of federal gunboats. Later, his forces were moved back to the vicinity of

Washington, and the President issued a call for 300,000 more men (§ 508).

McClellan attributed his failure to take Richmond to Secretary Stanton. He accused him of willfully holding back reinforcements, and wrote to him, "You have done your best to sacrifice this army." Military writers give McClellan credit for one of the most "brilliant

retreats" ever executed in the face of an enemy. Lincoln wrote to him, "All accounts say better fighting was never done." But the Union losses in the campaign had been very heavy;¹ and, though the Confederates had suffered greater losses, the North demanded that the next advance against Richmond should be led by a new commander.

470. Pope takes the reins; the second battle of Bull Run. Halleck (§ 463) was now (July 12, 1862) called from the West and made General in Chief of the Union forces. General Pope had done good service in the campaign against Island Number Ten

¹ Official estimate: Effective Union force, 105,445; Confederate force, 80,000 to 90,000. Union loss, 15,849; Confederate loss, 20,135.

(§ 464), and he was put in command of a newly organized force, the "Army of Virginia," intended to operate against Richmond. It was understood that part of McClellan's army would be taken to reënforce Pope.

Pope proposed to move straight on the enemy and declared that he should establish his headquarters "in the saddle." He issued orders to his army to subsist on the country through which they moved, to hold the people responsible for Union property destroyed by "rebel raids," and to send all secessionists out of the federal lines. Pope advanced to the Rappahannock and there halted for reënforcements. "Stonewall" Jackson saw his opportunity: aided by Stuart's cavalry, he hurried down the Shenandoah Valley, passed through a gap in the mountains, got into the federal rear at Manassas, and captured or destroyed a large part of Pope's stores of ammunition and supplies.*

A few days later, the Union commander met Lee's army near the old battlefield of Bull Run, or Manassas (§ 460). Pope asked for reënforcements and additional supplies of ammunition, but McClellan could not or would not send them to his rival in arms. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, the Confederate General Longstreet admits that Pope "made a splendid fight" (August 29–September 1, 1862); but he was badly beaten.¹ He fell back to Washington, where his army was united with the "Army of the Potomac," and McClellan received the command.

471. Lee enters Maryland; battles of Antietam and Frederickburg. Lee, at the head of 60,000 troops, flushed with victory, advanced northward. Now, while the "Copperheads" (§ 456) at the North were rampant over Pope's defeat he was confident that he could speedily conquer a peace. His gaunt, barefooted men, "flaunting their rags in the sunshine," crossed the Potomac above Washington and entered Frederick City singing "Maryland, my Maryland"; but Maryland failed to respond. Lee

¹ Official estimate: Union army, not less than 64,000; Confederate army, about 54,000. Phisterer gives the Union loss (August 28–September 1) at 16,000 and the Confederate loss at 11,500.

* See map on page 457.

issued a proclamation calling on the people to rise and throw off the "foreign yoke" of federal oppression; but not a man rose.

Less than ten days later, McClellan met Lee's army at Antietam, or Sharpsburg.* There occurred (September 17, 1862) the "bloodiest single day of fighting of the war." Whole regiments of raw recruits went to their graves, and the cornfield where the chief part of the battle raged was covered with windrows of the slain. At the end of the terrible day Lee retreated across the Potomac, leaving McClellan in possession of the field.¹ The President begged McClellan not to let Lee get off "without being hurt"; but that general moved so slowly in pursuit that Lincoln finally lost all patience and gave the command of the Union army (November 5, 1862) to Burnside, who reluctantly accepted the perilous honor thus thrust upon him.

When Burnside advanced against Richmond he encountered Lee at Fredericksburg,† strongly intrenched along the hills on the south bank of the Rappahannock. The Union army crossed the river and attacked him (December 13, 1862); but neither the "superb" Hancock nor "Fighting Joe" Hooker could carry the heights. Burnside lost heavily and was obliged to retreat.²

The next month (January 25, 1863) Hooker was placed in command of the "Army of the Potomac," but he did not make any general movement against Lee until late in the spring.

472. Slavery and the war; Butler's "contrabands." The winter of 1863 was one of the dark periods of the contest for the Union. The "Copperheads," like Vallandigham, whether in Congress or out, were denouncing the government as "one of the worst despotisms on earth,"³ and (§ 456) were uttering

¹ Official estimate: McClellan reported the Union force at 87,164, but the brunt of the battle was borne by not above 60,000 of this number. Lee does not give the strength of his army, but says in his official report that less than 40,000 men on his side took part in the battle. Union loss, 12,410; Confederate loss, 11,172.

² Official estimate: Effective Union force, 113,000; effective Confederate force, about 60,000. Union loss, 12,653; Confederate loss, 5377. * See map on page 457.

³ See Johnston's American Orations, IV, 82.

† See map on page 457.

gloomy predictions of impending disaster. At the same time "Bull Run" Russell, the correspondent of the London *Times*, was busily engaged in Lee's camp in gathering material for a history of the *Decline and Fall of the American Republic*. At this period, on New Year's Day, 1863, the President issued his Proclamation of Emancipation.

Neither the President nor Congress had looked forward to this decisive action. Events had forced it. Lincoln, as we have seen (§ 448), entered office making the explicit declaration that he would not in any way interfere with slavery at the South. After the great contest in behalf of the nation's life actually began, Secretary Seward told our minister at Paris that no matter what might be the issue of the war, "the condition of slavery" would "remain just the same."

A few months later (July 24, 1861), the special session of Congress (§ 450) resolved, by a nearly unanimous vote, that whatever battles they might be called upon to fight, they would not touch slavery. This resolution met the entire approval not only of the great body of conservative men at the North but of military men as well. Neither McClellan nor any other of the prominent early leaders in the Union army had any intention of helping the negroes to acquire their freedom.

Wendell Phillips said with truth that while "the South fought to sustain slavery, the North fought not to have it hurt." The northern people felt that the Constitution protected slavery, and they would not willfully and openly violate the great charter of the Republic. They acknowledged the inconsistency of battling against secession and yet letting the secessionists have the use of the negro to help the cause of disunion.

General Butler first saw how to cut the knot. Three fugitive slaves, the property of a Confederate officer in Virginia, fled to him at Fort Monroe (May 23, 1861) and begged for protection. Butler knew that if he returned them to their master they would be sent South to build "rebel fortifications." The owner of the negroes demanded their return under the Fugitive-Slave

Law (§ 414), but General Butler refused to surrender them. He declared that the Fugitive-Slave Act did not affect a foreign country, which Virginia then claimed to be.¹ "These men," said he, "are contraband of war. I will hold them and use them in behalf of the Union." The word "contraband" struck the slave system a staggering blow. Butler soon had nearly a thousand "contrabands" at work on the national defenses at Fort Monroe. His action was officially approved by the President, by Congress, by the Secretary of War, and by a majority of those who were resolved to put down secession if it cost the North's "last man and last dollar."

In the course of the summer Congress passed (August 6, 1861) a confiscation act² setting free all slaves used by the Confederates in military operations within the seceded states. The Confederate government retaliated by confiscating all debts due to northern merchants, and the estates of all northern men at the South, unless they supported the war against the Union. But this act of Congress did not apply to the border slave states or to the great mass of slaves in the Confederate States; and when General Frémont issued a proclamation of emancipation in Missouri (1861) and General Hunter did the same (1862) in South Carolina, the President declared both proclamations void.

473. Lincoln's scheme of compensated emancipation; District of Columbia; the territories. In his message to Congress in the spring of 1862 the President strongly recommended a scheme of compensated emancipation. He urged the nation to offer to "coöperate with any state which may adopt gradual abolition of slavery," and to give "to such state pecuniary aid." A resolution passed both Houses of Congress to that effect,³ but nothing came of it, for the South could not see its way toward giving up African servitude, since aside from any question of self-interest the people of that section felt that they would be confronted with the problem of what to do with a large population of free

¹ See Hart's American History told by Contemporaries, IV, No. 124.

² See Macdonald's Select Statutes, Nos. 11 and 24. ³ Ibid., No. 17.

negroes. A little later (April 16, 1862), Congress purchased, at an expense of nearly a million dollars, the slaves held in the District of Columbia — about 4000 in all — and gave them their liberty.¹

Congress next (June 19, 1862) applied the principle of the Wilmot Proviso (§ 404) to the territories. This act² set aside "Popular Sovereignty" (§ 422) and the Dred Scott decision (§ 434) by prohibiting slavery forever within any part of the public domain.

474. Lincoln's reply to Greeley's letter on emancipation. As far back as 1836 John Quincy Adams declared that if the slavery question should ever excite civil war, the President of the United States had power to free the negroes. Thaddeus Stevens, one of the great Republican leaders in Congress, urged the government to begin the work of emancipation and offered a bill to that effect. Late in the summer of 1862 Horace Greeley addressed an open letter to the President. He entitled it "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," and begged him to enforce the recent acts of Congress granting "freedom to the slaves of rebels coming within our lines" (§ 472).

No one detested negro bondage more than Lincoln did. "If slavery is not wrong," said he, "nothing is wrong." No one saw more clearly than he that the negro question was the taproot of the Civil War. "Without slavery," said he, "the rebellion could never have existed; without slavery it could not continue."

But the President was still uncertain whether it would be wise for him to take the course which Stevens and Greeley urged. In reply to the latter's letter he wrote (August 22, 1862): "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that." He felt then that the times were critical, and that if he should issue a

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 18.

² Ibid., No. 20.

proclamation of emancipation it might alienate the border states and, as he said, send "50,000 bayonets" from those states "over to the rebels."¹

475. Proclamation of warning. When Lee first entered Maryland (§ 471) the President made a solemn vow that if the invader should be driven back he would send the proclamation after him. Lee was driven back (§ 471) and Lincoln issued (September 22, 1862) a proclamation warning the seceded states that if they did not lay down their arms and return to their allegiance within one hundred days, namely, on January 1, 1863, he should declare all of their slaves "forever free." The governors of thirteen loyal states, at a meeting held at Altoona, Pennsylvania, hailed this action with "heartfelt gratitude." At midnight of the last day of the year (1862) thousands of negroes, both bond and free, prayed that God would take pity on them and would strengthen the hands of Abraham Lincoln to carry out his great purpose on the following day.

476. The Proclamation of Emancipation (1863). Promptly on the first day of the New Year (1863) the President issued his final proclamation.² It set free forever all slaves held in the sections then fighting against the Union. Thousands of these slaves were then raising corn to feed the Confederate armies, and thousands more were working on Confederate fortifications. For the first time in the history of the war the government had struck secession at its root, and had dealt it a deathblow. The President declared that this "act of justice" was warranted "by the Constitution upon military necessity"; he invoked for it "the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."³ But further action was necessary in order to prevent the reëstablishment of slavery after the war. For this reason, two years later (1865), Congress passed the thirteenth


¹ See Lincoln's Works, II, 227, 235. ² See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 28.

³ The war powers of the President, says Professor Burgess, justified the Emancipation Proclamation as a temporary measure; but they did not authorize him "to fix the permanent or civil status of anybody." Burgess' Civil War, II, 117.

REDUCED COPY OF A PART OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION
(Jan. 1, 1863)

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose of
rewards, I do order and declare that all persons held
as slaves within said designated States, and parts of
States, are, and henceforward shall be free; - - - - -

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be
an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon
military necessity, I invoke the consideration and
blessing of mankind, and the gracious favor of the
mighty God.

 Independence of the United States
of America the eighty-seventh.

Abraham Lincoln

By the President;
William H. Seward,
Secretary of State

amendment to the Constitution. The members of the House then joined in singing the doxology. The amendment confirmed the Proclamation of Emancipation and extended it to all slaves held in any part of the United States (see Appendix, page xvii).

The system of African servitude which the southern people had inherited from the colonial period victimized master and slave alike. It fell to the lot of Lincoln, the son of a "poor white" (§ 176), to emancipate both. He completed the great work of the "Fathers of the Republic" by including the negro in that Declaration of Independence which affirms that all men are created with an equal right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

477. Economic, political, and military results of emancipation; prisoners of war. From an economic point of view the act wrought an industrial revolution. The South estimated that it had \$2,000,000,000 invested in negroes; the proclamation did not destroy this investment, but simply transferred it to a new owner, giving the slave possession of himself.

Politically speaking, the proclamation temporarily hurt the administration and reduced the Republican majority in Congress. In the end, however, it proved to be a source of strength, for it changed the whole character of the war. Hitherto the North had been fighting to restore the Union as it stood before secession, that is, to save "a house divided against itself," half free and half slave. But henceforth the national forces would fight to perfect the Union by making it wholly free. Abroad, the proclamation strengthened the cause of the Union and practically destroyed the possibility of foreign recognition of the Confederacy.¹

Furthermore, emancipation had an important military result. It cleared the way for the unrestricted enlistment of the negro.² Before 1863 came to a close 50,000 "freedmen" had entered

¹ See Johnston's American Orations, IV, 93.

² In August, 1862, the government of the United States gave permission, for the first time, to the military governor of the coast islands of South Carolina to recruit 5000 volunteers of African descent.

the army and navy of the United States. Under the Enrollment Act¹ of 1864 this number was eventually increased to about 180,000. Grant praised the gallant behavior of these new recruits. At Vicksburg, Mobile, Fort Wagner, Fort Pillow, and other points they mingled their blood with that of the white soldiers who gave their lives for the Republic.

The Confederate authorities refused (May 1, 1863) to exchange negro prisoners of war or their white officers captured in battle. As the United States felt obliged to protect all, whether black or white, who entered its service, the national government refused to exchange at all until the South would recede from the stand it had taken. This deadlock led to the frightful overcrowding and terrible mortality at Andersonville and other Confederate prisons.² Later, the need of men forced the secession authorities to offer to exchange black soldiers for white; but as the Union forces were then nearing the point of final victory, General Grant refused to consider the offer. He said that he "did not deem it advisable or just to the men who had to fight our battles to reënforce the enemy with thirty or forty thousand disciplined troops at that time."

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 36.

² There is no accurate report of the number of Union prisoners who died in Confederate prisons and prison pens at the South; but it is estimated that out of about 188,000 federal soldiers captured by the Confederates, half were paroled, and that 36,000 of the remaining half died in captivity. The Union armies captured 476,000 Confederates; of these 227,000 were retained as prisoners; of these 30,000 died. The rate of mortality in the northern prisons was 13 in 100; that in southern prisons was 38 in 100, or nearly three times greater. See Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*, VII, 444, and Congressional Report on Treatment of Prisoners, No. 45, 40th Congress. A comparison of the two prison systems shows that the deaths in the southern prisons were caused in large degree by want of proper food, overcrowding, filth, and exposure to the weather. At Andersonville 35,000 prisoners were huddled together without shelter in a field of twenty-seven acres, the center of which was a pestilential swamp. The Confederate inspector reported that the prison pen was a "disgrace to civilization." At the end of the war Henry Wirz, the Swiss commandant at Andersonville, was convicted by court-martial of cruel treatment of Union prisoners, and was hanged November 10, 1865. The greater part of the deaths in the northern prisons appear to have been caused by the fact that the prisoners were often not in good physical condition when they entered them, and next because they were poorly clad and not able to bear the rigor of the northern winter. All the reports agree that the Confederate prisoners were not overcrowded and that they had good and sufficient rations.

Like Washington in the Revolution, Grant took this stand respecting exchange in order not to prolong the contest. The sooner the war ended, the sooner all prisoners would be set at liberty.

478. Operations in the West ; Bragg invades Kentucky ; battle of Perryville. Late in the summer of 1862, Bragg, the successor of Beauregard (§ 464), started from Chattanooga on an expedition northward. He invaded Kentucky, hoping to obtain supplies for his hungry men and to get possession of the state for the Confederates. Buell (§ 463) held Tennessee. Finding that Bragg was hurrying to get into Louisville, the chief city of Kentucky, Buell set off with all speed for the same place, won the race, and then turned on Bragg. The Confederate general retreated as far as Perryville.* When Buell came up a sharp battle ensued (October 8, 1862) in which both sides lost heavily.¹ The next morning Bragg retreated through the Cumberland Gap on his way back toward Chattanooga. He succeeded in getting off with a long wagon train of plunder. Buell was censured for letting Bragg escape him, and his command was turned over to General Rosecrans.

479. Battles of Iuka and Corinth ; Grant's first attack on Vicksburg ; battle of Murfreesboro. Meanwhile the Confederates made a desperate effort to drive the Union forces out of Corinth (§ 464) ; but in the battles of Iuka (September 19, 1862) and Corinth (October 3, 4, 1862) they met with a severe repulse.

In November Halleck (§ 463), who was now General in Chief, put General Grant in command of about 50,000 troops and told him to fight the enemy where he pleased. Grant determined to move against Vicksburg, the most important stronghold held by the Confederates on the Mississippi. He ordered Sherman, then at Memphis, to move down the river and, with the help of Porter's gunboats, attack the city from the rear.

¹ Official estimate: Union force, 54,000, but perhaps not more than half of these actually took part in the battle; Bragg reports the Confederate force at only 15,000, but he appears to have had not less than 68,000 in the field. Union loss, 4211; Confederate loss, 3396.

* See map on page 462.

Grant himself undertook to prevent Pemberton and his Confederate force in northern Mississippi from going to the aid of Vicksburg. Suddenly a troop of Confederate cavalry swooped down on Grant's base of supplies at Holly Springs, burned them (December 20, 1862), and so compelled the Union commander to fall back.* Sherman, who knew nothing of Grant's misfortune, advanced (December 27, 1862), but encountered natural obstacles which prevented his accomplishing anything.

Rosecrans (§ 478) was preparing to move from his headquarters at Nashville against Bragg (§ 478) at Chattanooga. Bragg came out to meet him. At Murfreesboro on Stone River, Tennessee, one of the most hotly contested battles of the war was fought (December 31, 1862-January 2, 1863). (See map of Tennessee in § 463.) Sheridan and Thomas saved the day for the Union army and the Confederate general retreated in the night to Tullahoma.¹ The battle of Murfreesboro compelled the Confederate commander to give up his attempt to break through the Union line which defended the free states against invasion.

480. Summary of the second year of the war (April, 1862-April, 1863). The second year of the war opened with Farragut's capture of New Orleans. This was the great military success of the year in the southwest. It was followed by Bragg's raid into Kentucky, Grant's unsuccessful attack on Vicksburg, and Bragg's repulse at Murfreesboro.

In the East, McClellan's indecisive Peninsular Campaign was followed by Pope's defeat at the second battle of Bull Run. Lee then advanced into Maryland, but was driven back at Antietam. Burnside attacked him at Fredericksburg and was forced to retreat. On New Year's Day, 1863, the President issued his Proclamation of Emancipation. This gave the war a new character; henceforth it was to be a contest not to restore the nation with slavery untouched, but to make it wholly *free*.

¹ Official estimate: Effective Union force, 43,400; Confederate force, 37,712. Union loss in the campaign, 13,249; Confederate loss, 10,266.

* See map on page 486.

THIRD YEAR OF THE WAR (APRIL, 1863—APRIL, 1864)

481. Battle of Chancellorsville. In the spring of 1863 "Fighting Joe" Hooker, Burnside's successor (§ 471), moved against Lee, who was intrenched at Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock. Hooker established his headquarters at the farmhouse of Chancellorsville on the edge of the "Wilderness" (§ 468). There (May 2, 1863) the fighting began. Lee sent "Stonewall" Jackson (§ 460) round with a force 20,000 strong to fall on Hooker's rear. Jackson's attack was a complete surprise and threw the federal army into confusion. The coming on of night saved it from defeat. After the battle Jackson, while reconnoitering, was fired upon and fell mortally wounded. In losing him Lee had lost his "right arm."

The battle was resumed the next day. At a critical moment a cannon ball struck a pillar of the farmhouse against which Hooker was leaning, and the concussion knocked him senseless to the ground. When he fully recovered the day was lost and that night the national forces retreated across the Rappahannock.¹

482. Lee's advance into Pennsylvania; discontent at the North; draft riots; first day's battle at Gettysburg. The President wrote to Hooker (June 10, 1863), "If he (Lee) stays where he is, fret him and fret him." But Lee had already determined to make a second invasion of the North (§ 471). He is reported to have said that he believed he "would swap queens"; in other words, let Hooker take the Confederate capital, if he could, while he moved on the checkerboard of war against Washington.

Many events seemed to unite in encouraging Lee to take this step. Burnside and Hooker had been defeated in the East (§§ 471, 481); Grant had failed in his attempt to take Vicksburg (§ 479); the desertions from the Union army averaged, at one time, two hundred a day; Congressman Vallandigham of

¹ Official estimate: Effective Union force, 130,000; effective Confederate force, not less than 60,000. Union loss, 12,145; Confederate loss, 12,463.

Ohio had been arrested for treasonable utterances against the government and sent into the Confederacy, and several other well-known men were denouncing the President as a "tyrant" and the war as "wicked slaughter."

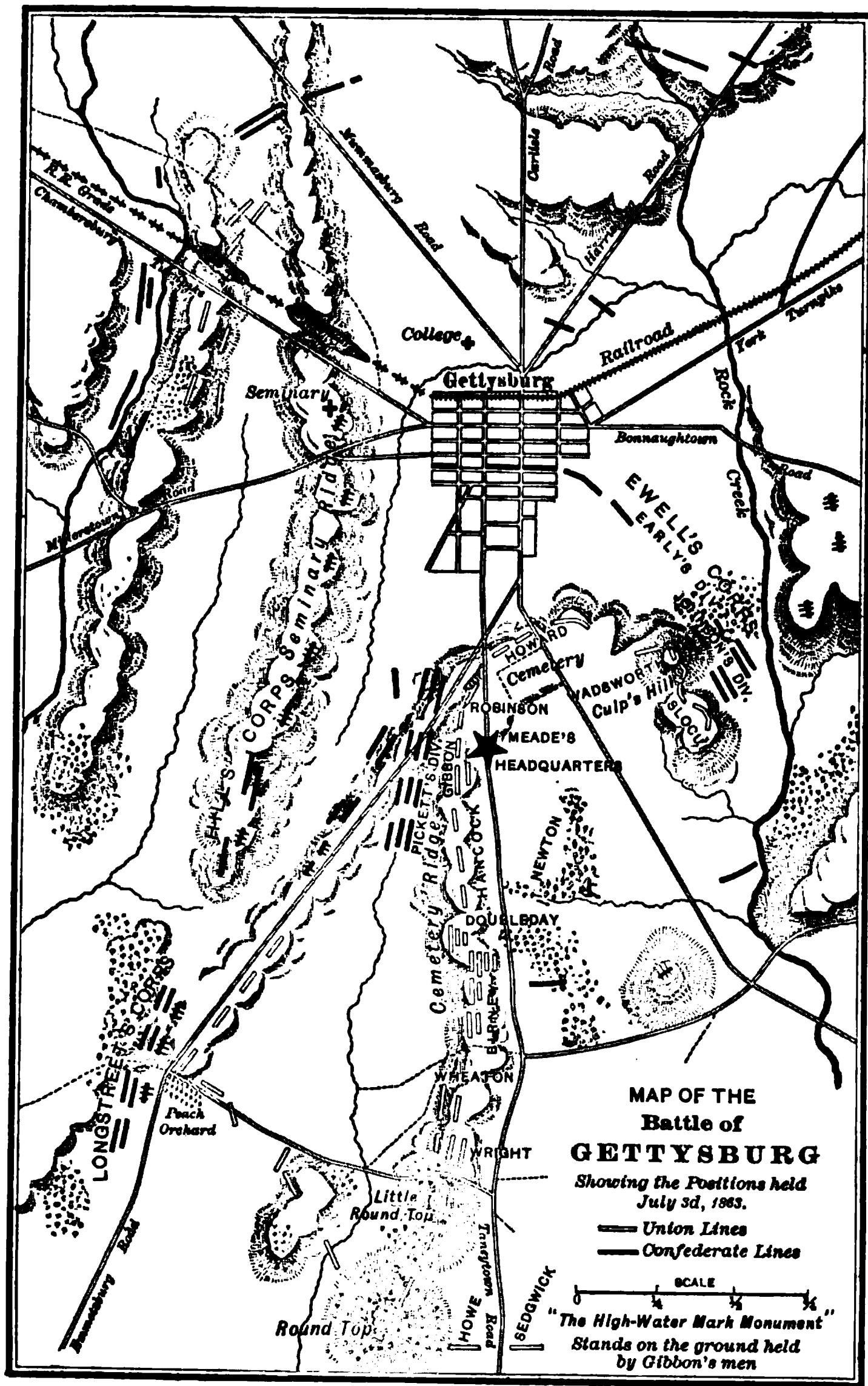
In order to fill the ranks the government ordered a draft.¹ Resistance to this measure was openly threatened, and when, a little later (July 13-16), an attempt was made in New York to enforce it trouble began. A mob set fire to buildings, attacked newspaper offices, hanged negroes, and for four days held the city at their mercy. The police were powerless to check the rioters; but a body of regular troops speedily dispersed them, though not until about a thousand were killed and wounded.

The knowledge of this element of discontent and turbulence at the North greatly encouraged Lee in his invasion; but he made the mistake of supposing that it represented the attitude of the majority of the people.

Concealed by the mountain wall of the Shenandoah Valley, he advanced, crossed the Potomac, and entered Pennsylvania. Hooker followed, but at this juncture he was relieved of his command (June 28, 1863) and General Meade was placed at the head of the "Army of the Potomac." On the same day Lee began his advance upon Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania; but hearing that the Union army was in his rear, and fearing that his communication with Richmond might be cut, he ordered his entire army to move on Gettysburg, where he could threaten either Harrisburg or Baltimore.

Gettysburg lies on a slope at the foot of two ridges. The nearer one, shaped like a fishhook, is known as Cemetery Ridge. It is about five miles in length and is marked by three elevations, — Culp's Hill, at the barb of the hook, and Little Round

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 31; Rhodes' United States, IV, 321-322.



Top, followed by Round Top at the extremity of the shank. Opposite, a little more than a mile away, rises Seminary Ridge. Neither army originally thought of fighting here, but at this point the first and last great battle on free soil was to be fought.

On the morning of July 1, 1863, the Confederate force struck the federal advance at Gettysburg. The brave Reynolds was killed while forming the Union line of battle and his men were driven back through the town to Cemetery Ridge. There they took up a very strong position where the crest of the Ridge would hide their movements from the observation of the enemy. Lee's whole army as it arrived took possession of the opposite height of Seminary Ridge.

483. The second day's battle at Gettysburg. Hancock reached the field that evening, and on hearing his report, Meade ordered the entire Union force to advance to Gettysburg. The Union commander resolved to hold Cemetery Ridge and fight a defensive battle. This gave him a decided advantage, since he not only had the greater force, but Lee's men in order to attack him must move across the broad, open valley, where they would be the target of the Union fire. On the other hand, the Confederates held ground which enabled them to employ their batteries with much greater effect than was possible for the Union men.

On the second day of the battle the Confederates, at heavy loss to themselves, drove back General Sickles from a position he had taken at the Peach Orchard opposite, just in front of Cemetery Ridge. They then made a determined movement to get possession of Little Round Top, which the Union forces had neglected to occupy. By desperate fighting Meade's men secured and held the coveted height, — the true key of the battlefield. On the other hand, the Confederates pierced Meade's center and a detachment got a temporary foothold on a part of Culp's Hill, but they were driven from it early the next morning.

484. The final battle at Gettysburg ; Pickett's charge (July 3, 1863). On the third and last day (July 3, 1863) Lee, against Longstreet's advice, decided to make a grand assault on the Union

center, held by Hancock. At one o'clock the Confederate batteries opened a terrific artillery fire, which was kept up for nearly two hours. The guns of the national forces hurled back defiance, and the whole valley between the two ridges was alive with shot and shell. While this furious cannonade was going on Lee sent Stuart's cavalry round to attack the Union rear; but Meade's cavalry met and defeated them in a "saber fight."

After a time the Union commander ordered the artillery to cease firing, in order that their guns might cool. Lee believed he had silenced the national batteries, and at three o'clock gave the order for General Pickett to charge. Pickett started at the head of a magnificent triple line of troops a mile long, numbering 15,000. Hancock's men, intrenched behind a stone wall, awaited the attack. Both sides realized that this was to be the death grapple. The Confederate force, the flower of Virginia, had to cross a level space over a mile in width. As they advanced the Union batteries opened upon them and tore great gaps in their ranks; but the main body of the assailing column pressed steadily forward without firing a shot or uttering a sound. As they dashed up to the Union line, a terrific front and flank fire swept great numbers of the "men in gray" out of existence and drove others to turn and fly or throw down their arms.

General Armistead led the remnant of Pickett's column. Holding up his cap on the point of his sword as a guide to his men, he leaped over the stone wall crying, "Boys, give them the cold steel!" The next instant he fell riddled with bullets. A brief hand-to-hand fight ensued, then all was over.¹ Here, at a point since marked by an appropriate monument, the great wave of attack reached its high-water mark; here its terrible force was spent and the tide turned, never to rise again.² One look at the

¹ See Hart's American History told by Contemporaries, IV, No. 120.

² Official estimate: Effective Union force (June 30), 101,679; Confederate force, 77,518. The actual Union force in the field was probably about 93,500 and the Confederate at least 70,000. Union loss, 23,003; Confederate loss, 20,451. No two authorities agree as to the number of men in Pickett's column. Longstreet (Manassas to Appomattox, page 314) says 15,000.

field of battle showed that the Union force had won; it showed, too, the truth of Wellington's words, "A great victory is the saddest thing in the world, except a great defeat." Forty years afterward General Longstreet magnanimously declared that he was thankful that the Confederates suffered that defeat (§ 513).

Meade's losses were so heavy that he judged it best not to pursue the retreating Confederates and bring on another battle. Lee crossed the Potomac unmolested and once more took up his line of defense before Richmond. A few months later, a part of the field at Gettysburg was dedicated as a national military cemetery, and the President, standing on the battle-consecrated height, delivered that address which will live as long as the memory of the conflict that inspired it.

485. The capture of Vicksburg; how Grant accomplished it. From a military point of view the Fourth of July, 1863, was the most memorable day in our national history since the close of the Revolution. On that day the telegraph flashed the news of the victory of Gettysburg throughout the loyal North; on that day, too, Grant entered the Confederate stronghold of Vicksburg.

Vicksburg was the "Gibraltar of the West." Standing on a clay bluff rising perpendicularly two hundred feet above the Mississippi, it defied attack in front. On the north it was protected, as Sherman had found to his cost (§ 479), by a network of almost impassable bayous and swamps. On the south and rear it could only be approached by climbing steep ridges cut by deep ravines.

Grant arrived on the west bank of the Mississippi just above Vicksburg in January, 1863. He made up his mind that the true way to attack the place would be to go back to Memphis, a distance of about two hundred miles, make that city his base of supplies, and then move his army down along the line of railway to the rear of Vicksburg. But political reasons, he says, forbade his adopting this course.

It was a period of gloom and doubt at the North. McClellan's movement on Richmond had failed, Pope had been defeated at Bull Run, and Lee had got away from Antietam and was once more

FACSIMILE OF MR. LINCOLN'S AUTOGRAPHIC COPY OF THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS, MADE
BY HIM FOR THE SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' FAIR AT BALTIMORE, IN 1864

From Nicolay and Hay's "Lincoln," by permission of the Authors.

*Address delivered at the dedication of the
cemetery at Gettysburg.*

*Four score and seven years ago our fathers
brought forth on this continent, a new na-
tion, conceived in liberty, and dedicated
to the proposition that all men are cre-
ated equal.*

*Now we are engaged in a great civil war;
testing whether that nation, or any nation
so conceived and so dedicated, can long
endure. We are met on a great battle-field
of that war. We have come to dedicate a
portion of that field, as a final resting
place for those who here gave their lives
that that nation might live. It is alto-
gether fitting and proper that we should
do this.*

But, in a larger sense, we can not ded-

etc— we can not consecrate— we can not
hallow this ground. The brave men, living
and dead, who struggled here have con-
secrated it, far above our poor power to add
or detract. The world will little note, nor
long remember what we say here; but it can
never forget what they did here. It is for us
the living, rather, to be dedicated here to
the unfinished work which they who fought
here have thus far so nobly advanced.
It is rather for us to be here dedicated to
the great task remaining before us— that
from these honored dead we take increased
devotion to that cause for which they gave
the last full measure of devotion— that
we here highly resolve that these dead shall
not have died in vain— that this nation,
under God, shall have a new birth of free-
dom— and that government of the people,
by the people, for the people, shall not per-
ish from the earth.

Abraham Lincoln.

November 19. 1863.

defiant. The election of 1862 gave no encouragement to the vigorous prosecution of the contest against secession. "Many strong Union men," says Grant, "believed that the war must prove a failure."¹ Voluntary enlistments had nearly ceased and the draft was resisted. Under these circumstances he feared that the North would regard any backward movement as a retreat; for this reason he finally determined to move down the western bank of the river, cross over, and then attack Vicksburg from the rear.

Grant had to solve the problem (1) of getting his army of over 40,000 men past the Vicksburg batteries, and (2) of crossing the Mississippi and securing a base of operations south of the city. The land on which the long line of Union forces was encamped was low and swampy, and incessant rains made it difficult for the troops to find ground on which to pitch their tents.

The winter was spent in endeavoring to turn the Mississippi from its course by digging a canal across the peninsula opposite Vicksburg so that the army might be moved south by water. This work, with other attempts of a similar character, failed; but, as Grant says, it served the important end of diverting the attention of the enemy, keeping a part of the troops busy, and pacifying the impatience of the press.

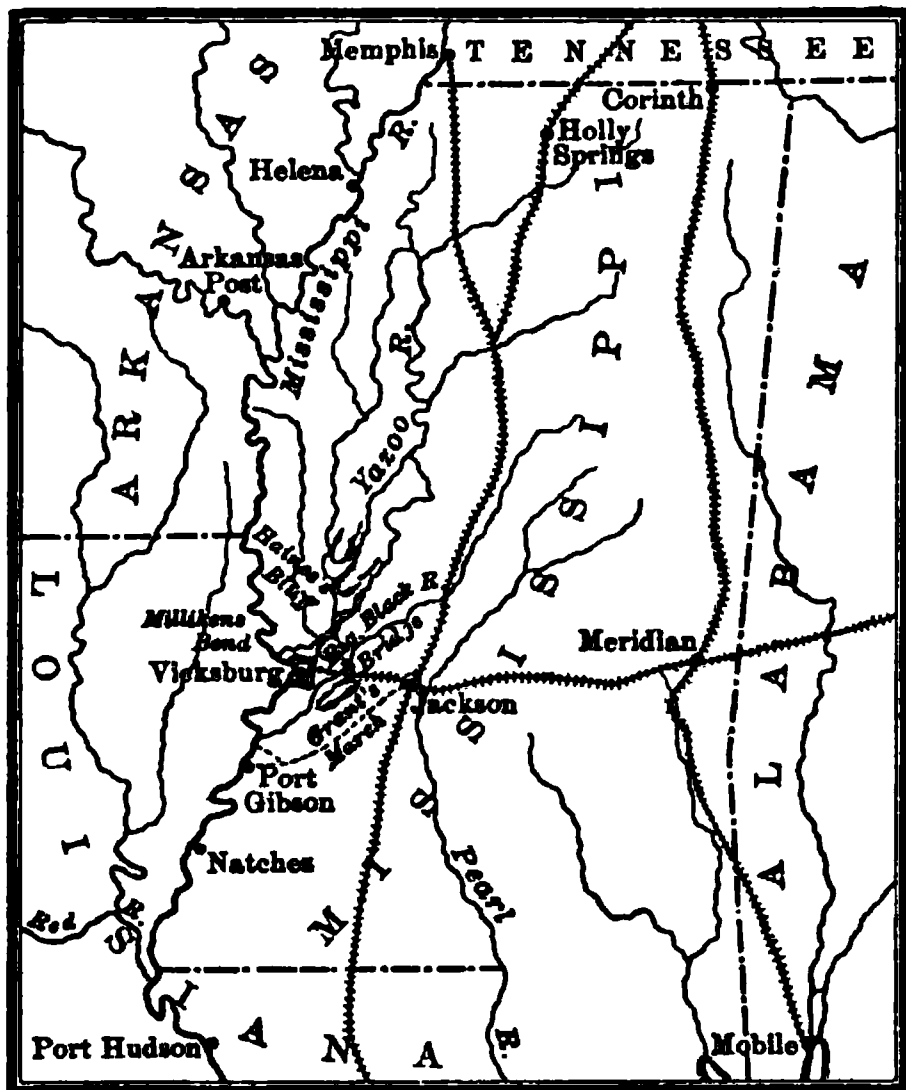
486. Grant crosses the river; campaign against Johnston and Pemberton. When spring came and the water had receded so that marching became practicable Grant gave orders to move. Porter, having protected his gunboats with bales of cotton and hay, ran past the Vicksburg batteries in the night (April 16, 1863). Grant's army then marched down the west bank a distance of about seventy miles, and on the last of April (1863) Porter's fleet began to ferry the men across the river. Pemberton, the Confederate general, had a force about 40,000 strong in and around Vicksburg. He attempted to prevent the Union army from landing, but without success.

General Joseph E. Johnston (§ 468) hurried up to Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, with reënforcements from Tennessee for

¹ See Grant's Memoirs, I, 443, 444, 446, 449.

Pemberton. Grant at once moved eastward on Jackson and drove Johnston out of the place (May 14, 1863). He then destroyed the railways centering there and the manufactories of military goods, and so cut off Pemberton's supplies, all of which had come through Jackson.

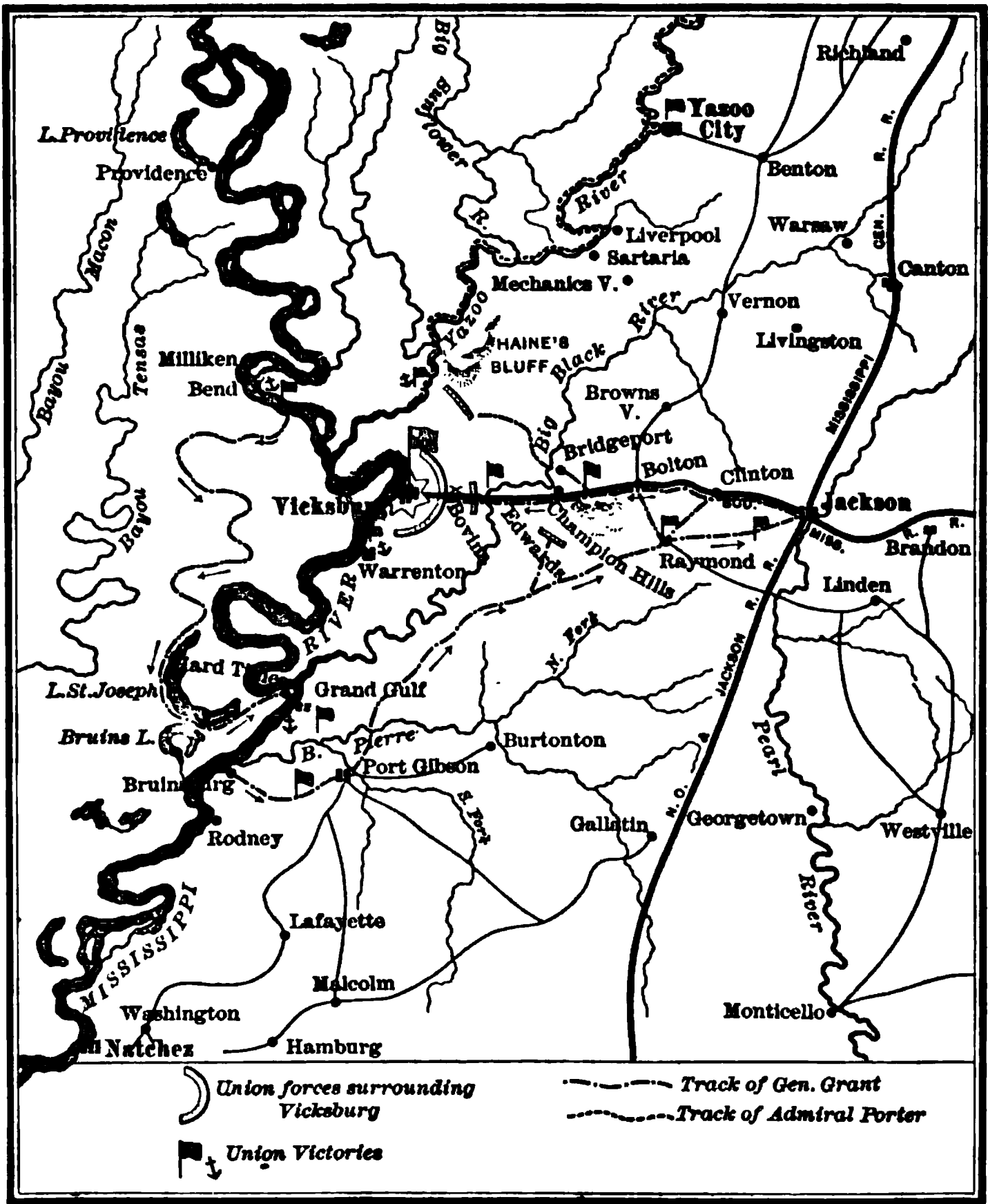
Grant next turned on Pemberton, who had come out from Vicksburg to join Johnston. He whipped the Confederate commander



in a battle at Champion Hills (May 16, 1863), and the next day at the bridge over the Big Black River he defeated him again. Pemberton then fled back to Vicksburg and shut himself up in that stronghold with his army, reduced to about 28,000 men. Grant followed and made two attempts to take the city by assault. Failing to force an entrance, he fortified his rear against Johnston and

towards the last of May (1863) sat down to begin the famous siege of Vicksburg.

487. Siege and capture of Vicksburg; fall of Port Hudson. The "boys in blue" set to work with a will. They dug trenches by the mile and set up batteries by the score. For nearly seven weeks Porter's fleet on one side and the Union army on the other kept up an incessant fire on the doomed city. Meanwhile the opposing forces were digging mines and countermines



SIEGE OF VICKSBURG

to blow each other up. The pitiless storm of shells drove many of the inhabitants of Vicksburg from their homes. They burrowed in the sides of the hills for safety until the place was so honeycombed with caves that the streets looked like avenues of tombs in a cemetery. Late in June (1863) the Union men blew up a fort they had mined, and, rushing into the breach, tried again to take Vicksburg by assault, but they met with a decided repulse.

The provisions in the city were getting dangerously low. The chief engineer of the Vicksburg defenses says that mule meat and rats were regarded as "delicacies." Meanwhile the sick and wounded were increasing so fast that the number at length reached 6000. Many of Pemberton's men began to lose heart, and said to him in a written appeal, "If you can't feed us, you had better surrender us."

Finally, the Confederate commander decided to hang out the white flag. He knew that Grant was making preparations for a grand assault; he knew, too, that even if his worn-out men could repulse the attack, they could not repulse starvation. Negotiations were completed at the very time that Meade's forces were driving back Lee at Gettysburg (§ 484). The victorious Union army entered the town on the Fourth of July (1863), and were soon sharing their provisions with those whom they had so recently been engaged in "starving out."¹

Nearly 32,000 prisoners (noncombatants included) were taken, besides many cannon and great quantities of small arms.² General Badeau says it was "the largest capture of men and material ever made in war," Napoleon's campaigns not excepted.

Port Hudson (§ 467) below Vicksburg capitulated to General Banks a few days later (July 9, 1863). The South no longer held a fort or a battery on the Mississippi. The Confederacy was fairly

¹ See Hart's American History told by Contemporaries, IV, No. 119.

² Official estimate: Union force at the beginning of the Vicksburg campaign, 43,000; at its close, 75,000. Confederate force under Pemberton, over 40,000; reduced before the siege of Vicksburg to 28,000. Union loss, 9362; Confederate loss, probably over 10,000.

and finally cut in two, and the "Father of Waters," as Lincoln declared, once more rolled "unvexed to the sea."

488. Battle of Chickamauga. While Grant was besieging Vicksburg (§ 487), Rosecrans (§ 479), in his brilliant Tullahoma campaign here (June 24–July 7, 1863), drove Bragg across the Tennessee into Chattanooga, and then, by threatening his communications, drove him out across the Georgia line. Bragg, having received reënforcements, turned on his pursuer at Chickamauga. Two severe battles were fought (September 19, 20, 1863), in which Rosecrans was badly beaten. Thomas saved the Union army from destruction. He held his ground, repulsed a force much larger than his own, and then fell back in good order to Chattanooga. In admiration of the stubborn courage of their commander, the Union troops named Thomas the "Rock of Chickamauga." He soon superseded Rosecrans and took command of the army he had saved.¹

489. Bragg besieges Chattanooga ; battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Bragg pursued the Union forces to Chattanooga and intrenched himself on the heights of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge above the town. He then destroyed the railway connecting Chattanooga with Nashville ; this cut off Thomas from his base of supplies. Grant saw that the situation was fast getting desperate and sent word to Thomas to hold on if possible until he could bring him help. The "Rock of Chickamauga" replied, "I will hold on till we starve."

Meanwhile Bragg, feeling confident that he had the Union army in a trap, sent off part of his forces under Longstreet to capture Burnside in Knoxville. Longstreet failed to compel Burnside to surrender and withdrew to strengthen Lee at Richmond.

Grant, with Sherman, Sheridan, and Hooker, hastened to the assistance of Thomas and ordered him to open the Chattanooga campaign (November 23, 1863). The next day Hooker swept

¹ Official estimate: Union force, 56,965; Confederate force, 71,551. Union loss, 16,179; Confederate loss, 17,804.

Bragg's force from Lookout Mountain in the famous "Battle above the Clouds" (November 24, 1863) and planted the "stars and stripes" on the crest of the height.

The day following (November 25, 1863) Sherman, supported by Thomas and Sheridan, led the attack on Missionary Ridge. When the Union men had stormed the first line of Confederate rifle pits the order to halt was given. But instead of stopping, the men with ringing cheers started up the steep sides of the Ridge and, scrambling over boulders and fallen trees, charged Bragg's flying forces with irresistible fury.¹ Bragg fell back across the Georgia line to Dalton to protect Atlanta; here he was superseded by Joseph E. Johnston (§ 486).

490. Sherman's raid on Meridian; Grant made General in Chief. Early in February (1864) Grant dispatched Sherman westward to destroy Meridian, Mississippi. It was a place of great importance to the Confederates on account of the railways centering there. Sherman set 10,000 men at the work of destruction. They labored with all their might for nearly a week. Nothing was left of the town that axes or sledge hammers could smash or that fire could burn. When the work of devastation was completed Sherman could truthfully report, "Meridian no longer exists." This liberated a large Union force, hitherto on guard in Mississippi, and so strengthened the army which could be used in advancing against Johnston.

The President had observed, as he said, that wherever Grant was "things moved," and he was anxious to give him a chance against Richmond. Congress revived the grade of Lieutenant General, and Lincoln now (March 12, 1864) conferred the honor upon the man who had taken Vicksburg and beaten Bragg. He was the first officer of the army who had regularly received the title since Washington.² Thus the "Unconditional Surrender" Grant of Fort Donelson (§ 463) came into command of all the

¹ Official estimate: Union force (effective strength), 60,000; Confederate force, probably about 45,000. Union loss, 5815; Confederate loss, 6687.

² Scott held it only by brevet.

Union forces, numbering nearly 700,000 men in active service. Leaving Sherman at the head of the western army, Grant went east to prepare for the great final campaign against the Confederate capital. Sherman on his part made ready to move against Joseph E. Johnston (§ 489) at Atlanta or wherever he should find him.

491. Summary of the third year of the war (April, 1863-April, 1864). The third year of the war opened with Lee's defeat of Hooker at Chancellorsville, but also with the Confederate loss of "Stonewall" Jackson. On July 3 Lee was driven back at Gettysburg and the next day Grant entered Vicksburg; the surrender of Port Hudson followed, opening the Mississippi and cutting the Confederacy in two.

In the autumn Rosecrans drove Bragg out of Tennessee, but was defeated at Chickamauga and driven to take refuge in Chattanooga. Grant's army came to the relief of the Union forces shut up in Chattanooga, and in the battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge compelled Bragg to retreat into Georgia. Sherman annihilated Meridian, and Grant was soon afterwards put in command of all the Union armies and called east to move against Richmond.

FOURTH AND FINAL YEAR OF THE WAR (APRIL, 1864-APRIL, 1865)

492. Grant's "hammering campaign"; the twofold advance; the battle of the "Wilderness." Up to the spring of 1864 the Union armies of the East and West had acted, said Grant, "like a balky team" — never pulling together. The new General in Chief resolved that in future both should start at the word "Go!" He was determined to "hammer" the Confederates day and night until he should literally pound them to pieces. His plan was to keep Lee so busy that he could not send help to Johnston, while Sherman kept Johnston so busy that he could not help Lee.

On May 4, 1864, Grant crossed the Rapidan just above Fredericksburg and entered the tangled forest of the "Wilderness," — a region filled with a gloom like that of the "shadow of death." Seated on a log in that desolate place, Grant telegraphed to Sherman to advance at once against Johnston (§ 490).

Meanwhile Grant had sent General Butler with a force nearly 40,000 strong up the James River to threaten Richmond from the south, while another Union army of 20,000 men commanded by General Hunter was sent up the Shenandoah Valley to threaten the Confederate capital from the west. The enemy "bottled up" Butler on a peninsula on the James River and drove the Union forces out of the Shenandoah Valley, so that in the end Grant had to rely entirely on his own army.

Grant had an effective force of 118,000 men, or nearly twice as many as Lee's entire army, counting the reserve held at Richmond; but Lee had the immense advantage of knowing every foot of the difficult ground, and as fast as he was driven from one line of intrenchments he had another ready to fall back upon.

The battle of the "Wilderness" (May 6-7, 1864) was a desperate two days' encounter in which neither side could show any positive

gain. The combatants fought in a labyrinth of woods where they scarcely saw each other. The losses on both sides were frightful.

493. Spottsylvania; Cold Harbor; change of base; Petersburg. Two days later, Grant, in making the attempt to get between Lee and Richmond, had to fight the battle of Spottsylvania Court House (May 9, 10, 1864). Again the Union army suffered terribly; Grant, however, was in no wise discouraged, and telegraphed to Washington, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." But even the conqueror of Vicksburg found that he could not continue to advance on that line farther than the North Anna River. He then swung round to the Pamunkey and advanced to Cold Harbor. There, within sight of the outer circle of the fortifications of Richmond, the "boys in blue" charged on Lee's intrenchments and lost over 12,000 men in their desperate attack. Grant himself said that he always regretted ordering that assault.

He now found the swamps of the Chickahominy (§ 468) such a serious obstacle to his further advance that he crossed over to the south side of the James River. Lee fell back behind the line of works which extended around Richmond. Petersburg, on a tributary of the James, formed part of that circle of defense. Grant tried in vain to storm the city; failing to do this, he resolved to carry it by siege as he had Vicksburg, but it proved to be a ten months' job.

During the six weeks of fighting (May 5-June 15, 1864) in which the Union army had been engaged since they left the Rapidan, Grant had lost nearly 55,000 men, or almost as many as Lee's entire force in the field. Lee's losses were only partially reported, but he must have suffered terribly. He knew that the Confederacy was fast exhausting its strength and that it could not replace the men that had fallen. Lee had succeeded in shaking off every other general that had attacked him, but now he felt a grip that he could not shake off.

494. Early's raid; the burning of Chambersburg; Sheridan retaliates. In the vain hope of compelling Grant to relax his hold

on Petersburg, Lee in June dispatched Early with about 20,000 men on a raid northward. He moved down the Shenandoah Valley, that convenient Confederate avenue of attack, and threatened the national capital itself. The alarm at Washington was so great that the President appealed to Grant to come to the rescue, and the convalescents from the hospitals and the clerks in the government departments were mustered into service. Had Early moved promptly (July 11, 1864), "he might have entered the capital"; but he delayed action just long enough to give Grant time to throw reinforcements into that fort-girdled city.

The Confederate general then fell back, carrying off many thousand horses and cattle, together with other plunder. Finding that he was not pursued, he sent a detachment of cavalry into Pennsylvania to levy a contribution on Chambersburg. The citizens were called on to furnish \$100,000 in gold or \$500,000 in "greenbacks." They could not or would not comply with the demand, and the raiders laid the town in ashes, leaving 3000 noncombatants without food or shelter.

Grant resolved to retaliate by cleaning out the Shenandoah Valley so that the Confederates could no longer draw provisions from it to feed their armies. He selected Sheridan, who had distinguished himself in his raids on the enemy's supplies, to do the work of destruction. Grant says that the only order this energetic soldier required was the simple command, "Go in!" Sheridan, with an effective force of about 26,000 men, "went in." He started from the lower part of the Valley at Harpers Ferry (September 19, 1864) and moved slowly up to the top, driving the last armed Confederate out of the region.

Then (October 6, 1864) he turned and moved down the Valley, devastating it as he advanced. He slaughtered or drove off thousands of cattle and sheep, burned more than seventy grist mills, and destroyed over two thousand barns filled with hay and grain. When he had finished he had stripped the Valley so bare of food supplies that it was said a crow could not fly through it unless he carried his provisions with him.

495. "Sheridan's ride"; the Petersburg mine. Lee now ordered Early to make an attempt to recover the desolated Valley which, though destitute of supplies, still remained a most convenient thoroughfare for raids on the North. Early moved cautiously and under cover of darkness attacked and nearly defeated the Union forces at Cedar Creek (October 19, 1864).

Sheridan had just returned to Winchester from Washington. Hearing heavy firing in the direction of Cedar Creek, and suspecting something wrong, he mounted his horse and rode toward that point. The retreating Union men when they met their commander turned of their own accord and started for the front. Sheridan's arrival on the field was greeted with cheer after cheer. Swinging his hat, he dashed along the line of battle shouting, "Never mind, boys, we'll whip them yet." The "boys" responded by throwing up their caps and hurrahing with the wildest joy. Before night set in they drove Early out of the Valley. The Confederates never entered it in force again and never attempted to make another raid through it.

Grant had been burrowing beneath the defenses of Petersburg (§ 493) for more than a month, and on the last of July (1864) he exploded a gigantic mine under one of the Confederate forts. A detachment of Union troops rushed into the "crater" to force their way into the city. The commander did not act promptly and the attacking party were caught in a death trap. The enemy's guns opened upon the struggling mass of men in the "crater," and about 4000 brave fellows were killed or taken prisoners. In his report Grant called the Petersburg mine a "stupendous failure."

496. Sherman advances on Atlanta. On May 4, 1864, the day on which Grant advanced into the "Wilderness" (§ 492), Sherman, in obedience to orders, moved against Joseph E. Johnston (§ 490). Sherman had an army nearly 100,000 strong. Johnston had only about half as many men, but he was strongly intrenched among the hills at Dalton, Georgia, and he knew the country. Again, Sherman had to draw his supplies over a single-track line

of railway, open to guerrilla raids, while Johnston was exposed to no such danger.

By a skillful flank movement Sherman compelled Johnston to abandon Dalton (May 13, 1864) and fall back to Resaca. From this point Sherman, in a series of battles, forced his antagonist back to Allatoona, then to Dallas, and then to Kenesaw Mountain. Sherman said that from this time on for an entire month his guns never stopped firing for a single minute. He pushed Johnston back step by step until he drove him across the Chattahoochee River (July 9, 1864) and the Union army caught sight of the spires of Atlanta, — the most important center in the Confederacy for the manufacture of military supplies and for their distribution by rail.

497. Sherman takes Atlanta. Jefferson Davis thought Johnston was too slow. He now relieved him of his command and put the impetuous Hood at the head of the Confederate forces in Georgia. Hood was a "fighter." He made a furious attack (July 20–24, 1864) on the Union army, but the "battle of Atlanta" went against him and Hood had to retreat and seek shelter within the intrenchments of the city.

Sherman, fighting his way, worked round to the right in order to cut the railway on which Hood depended for his supplies. The Confederate general, seeing that he could not continue to hold the city, blew up his works and decamped in the night (September 1, 1864). The next morning the Union forces entered Atlanta in triumph.¹

Jefferson Davis then ordered Hood to move northward and threaten Nashville. The Union commander heard with joy that Hood was advancing in that direction and sent Thomas to look after him. It is reported that Sherman said, "If Hood will go to Tennessee, I will give him rations to go with"; could he have foreseen the result of the conflict with Thomas, he would have promised his adversary double rations. But Jefferson Davis

¹ Official estimate: Union force, nearly 100,000; Confederate force not reported, but estimated at 60,000. Union loss in the advance from Chattanooga to Atlanta, about 40,000; Confederate loss, about the same.

declared that Sherman was lost. Hood, he said, was now in his rear, while Johnston was in front; he predicted that these two Confederate millstones would grind the Union army to powder.

498. Sherman removes the citizens of Atlanta. Sherman had decided to make Atlanta "a pure military garrison or depot with no civil population to influence military measures." The reasons he gave for coming to that decision were: (1) that if he permitted the inhabitants to remain, he would have to feed them, and he felt that he had all he could do to feed his army; and (2) he would have to maintain a strong force "to guard and protect the interests of a hostile population."

He therefore ordered (September 12, 1864) the inhabitants to leave the place, offering to provide free transportation for all, either northward or southward. Hood and the authorities of Atlanta protested against the "heartless cruelty" of this order. Sherman replied: "War is cruelty and you cannot refine it; and those who brought war into our country deserve all the curses and maledictions a people can pour out." "We don't want your negroes or your horses or your houses or your lands or anything you have; but we do want, and will have, a just obedience to the laws of the United States." "I want peace, and believe it can only be reached through union and war. . . . When peace does come you may call on me for anything. Then I will share with you the last cracker, and watch with you to shield your homes and families against danger from every quarter."¹

499. Admission of two new states; the presidential election (1864). During the progress of the war two new states, West Virginia (1863) and Nevada (1864), were admitted to the Union, making the total number thirty-six. The latter was admitted in order to secure the full number of states necessary to ratify the thirteenth amendment (§ 476); for, said Lincoln, "It is easier to admit Nevada than it is to raise another million of soldiers."² Its state constitution was the first ever adopted which formally denied the right of secession (§ 509).

¹ See Sherman's Memoirs, II, 126.

² See Dana's Civil War, 174-175.

While Grant was besieging Petersburg and Sherman was holding Atlanta the presidential election took place (1864). Originally three candidates were in the field. The Radical Republicans, who thought Lincoln moved too slowly and dealt too tenderly with "the rebellion," had nominated John C. Frémont (§ 472). In September (1864) Frémont withdrew his name, and the Radicals then joined forces with the regular Republicans. They, in connection with many War Democrats, united in renominating Lincoln, with Andrew Johnson, a War Democrat of Tennessee, for Vice President. The Union Convention warmly indorsed the measures of the administration. They voted the thanks of the American people to the army and navy that had vindicated the honor of the country's flag, they declared themselves in favor of the speedy construction of a railway to the Pacific, and they pledged the national faith for the payment of the public debt.

The Democratic Convention, under the control of the Peace Democracy (§ 456), declared that the object of the party was "to preserve the federal Union and the rights of the states unimpaired." They accused the administration of violating the Constitution under plea of military necessity: They further declared that "after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war," the public welfare demanded "that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities." Like the Republicans, they acknowledged the debt they owed to "the brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic," and pledged themselves to secure to them the care and protection that they had so "nobly earned."

The convention nominated General McClellan for the presidency. McClellan virtually repudiated the platform on which he was nominated. He said: "The Union must be preserved at all hazards. I could not look in the face of my gallant comrades of the army and navy, who have survived so many bloody battles, and tell them that their labors and the sacrifices of so many of our slain and wounded brethren had been in vain."

Twenty-five states took part in the election, and of these thirteen cast an army vote as well as a home vote. McClellan

received 21 electoral votes ; Lincoln received 212, carrying every state which took part in the election except New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky. The popular Democratic vote stood 1,808,725 to 2,216,067 cast for the Republican candidate.

500. Allatoona ; Sherman burns Atlanta and sets out for the sea. While Sherman was holding Atlanta (§ 498) a Confederate force had attacked Allatoona, Sherman's secondary base of supplies. General Corse fought desperately to hold the place. He lost nearly a third of his little force and reported himself "short a cheek and an ear," but he held out until help arrived and the attacking party withdrew. Sherman issued a general order giving Corse high praise for his gallant defense of this important position.

But the Union commander saw that he could hardly hope to advance into the heart of the Confederacy and at the same time keep his lines of communication open in the rear. His supplies of food, ammunition, arms, and clothing, amounting to 150 car loads a day, had to come all the way from Nashville by a single-track road, which might be cut at any time.

With Grant's consent, Sherman now decided on the boldest move of the war. He resolved to abandon Atlanta, sever all communication with the North, and strike out across the country for the sea, "smashing things" as he went.

He first destroyed the railway and telegraph lines in his rear so that the enemy could not use them. He next applied the torch to Atlanta, burning all factories, machine shops, and other works, so that they could be of no use to the Confederate forces in case they should reoccupy the city.

Then (November 15, 1864), with 60,000 "as good soldiers as ever trod the earth," he set off on his great march.¹ As the Union army left the smoking ruins of Atlanta a band struck up "John Brown's soul goes marching on," and regiment after regiment spontaneously broke out into the "Hallelujah" chorus of that famous song.

¹ See Sherman's Memoirs, II, 171-190.

501. Sherman's "bummers"; the "freedmen." Sherman carried a goodly store of provisions with him, but he purposed to draw largely from the region through which he passed. His orders were, "Forage liberally." Every morning a body of men nicknamed "bummers" set out to obtain supplies. They started on foot, scouring the country for many miles in every direction; at night they came back mounted on horses or mules or riding in some family carriage, and laden down with pigs, chickens, hams, bags of sweet potatoes, and jugs of molasses. What with his

SHERMAN'S MARCH

Chattanooga to Atlanta; Atlanta to Savannah; Savannah to Raleigh

cavalry and his foraging parties Sherman cut a swath not far from sixty miles in width. The Confederate forces were not strong enough to oppose him and retired as he advanced. Their "bummers" — for they, like Sherman, lived off the country — were quite as greedy for good things as the Union men. Between the ravages of the two the plantations were stripped bare.

As Sherman advanced he systematically destroyed all lines of railway in order to cripple the Confederate means of transportation. The soldiers not only tore up the rails but heated them red-hot in huge fires and then twisted them round trees.

The negroes welcomed the "boys in blue" with frantic joy. They shouted, hugged the regimental colors, and crowded round Sherman with prayers and tears that he says "would have moved a stone." To them the stern destroyer was the "angel of the Lord" who had come to set them free.

502. Milledgeville; Savannah; Thomas crushes Hood. Sherman reached Milledgeville, the capital of Georgia, late in November (1864) and burned all buildings which the Confederates could use for military purposes. He then moved forward, by way of Millen, to Savannah. Early in December (1864), twenty-four days after leaving Atlanta, he reached the sea and put himself in communication with the federal gunboats. He stormed Fort McAllister, entered the port which it guarded, and sent word to the President, "I beg to present you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah." The message reached the White House on Christmas Eve (1864).

Sherman remained at Savannah more than a month in order to rest his army. In his great march of 300 miles through the heart of the Confederacy he had lost less than 800 men.

At the battle of Franklin, Tennessee, Hood (§ 497) was repulsed by a part of Thomas' force, which then retired to Nashville. The Confederate general next moved against the "Rock of Chickamauga" himself (§ 488), but on that rock he was dashed to pieces. The battle of Nashville (December 15, 16, 1864) ended in the utter rout of Hood's army as an effective force.

The great mass of his men was reduced to a "disheartened and disorganized rabble," glad to throw down their arms in order to end their sufferings. But Hood's famous rear guard never flinched and Thomas gladly paid them the tribute of respect that a brave man never grudges to brave men, no matter how mistaken their cause may be. The victory at Nashville was far-reaching.¹ It put an end to all thoughts of the invasion of the

¹ Official estimate: Union force, 70,272; available force in and about Nashville, December 15, 1864, at least 55,000; Confederate force, nearly 39,000. Union loss, 3057; Confederate loss, 15,000.

North and left only one strong Confederate army in the field, and that was gathered about Richmond.

503. The "Kearsarge" fights the "Alabama"; Farragut enters Mobile; capture of Fort Fisher. While these stirring events were taking place on land the Union navy was doing its full part at sea and along the coast (§ 508). Of the score of Confederate cruisers (§ 454) which roamed the ocean "seeking what they might devour" none was so much dreaded as the notorious *Alabama*. She was built (1862) in a British shipyard, armed with British guns, and manned in great part by British sailors under the command of Captain Semmes.¹ In less than two years Semmes captured nearly seventy American merchantmen and destroyed property worth \$10,000,000.

Captain Winslow of the United States man-of-war *Kearsarge*, after vainly cruising for months, at length encountered the *Alabama* off Cherbourg, France. After a memorable battle (June 19, 1864) the Union commander sent this scourge of the ocean to the bottom.

Late in the summer (1864), Farragut,² the hero of New Orleans (§ 467), entered Mobile Bay. He said it was "one of the hardest earned victories of his life." The entrance to the bay was defended by forts on opposite sides, by a thickly rammed line of piles, and by a triple line of torpedoes, which left only a narrow opening into the harbor. Inside the bay the *Tennessee*,

¹ The *Alabama* was built by the Lairds of Birkenhead, England, for the Confederate States. Hon. Charles Francis Adams, our minister to England, urged the English government not to permit her to sail. After much delay the law officers of the Crown recommended her seizure, but on that very day (July 29, 1862) she escaped and soon afterward began her career of destruction. The following year the Lairds built two powerful ironclad rams for the Confederate States. Mr. Adams asked the English government to detain them. The head of the Foreign Office replied that the legal evidence was insufficient. Mr. Adams rejoined with a dispatch in which he said, "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your lordship that this is war." Shortly after the receipt of this letter the English authorities issued orders to seize and hold the rams.

² Farragut, Scott, and Thomas were all southerners by birth; but they, unlike General Lee, felt that they owed their first duty to the Union instead of to their state.

FLAG SHIP... *Hatteras*

WESTERN GULF BLOCKADING SQUADRON.

Off Mobile Aug. 4th 1864

My dearest Wife,
I write &
have this letter for you.
I am going into Mobile
Bay in the morning if
"God is my leader" as I
hope he is, & in him
I place my trust, for
he thinks it is the proper
place for me to die.
I am ready to submit
to his will, in that as
all other things *****

D. G. Farragut

FARRAGUT'S LETTER

a formidable ironclad ram, stood ready to receive the attacking party.

Farragut fully realized the desperate work before him. The day preceding the battle he wrote home, "I am going into Mobile in the morning, if God is my leader, as I hope he is."

The Union commander's favorite maxim was, "To hurt your enemy is the best way to keep him from hurting you." He acted on that maxim at Mobile. Lashed in the rigging of the *Hartford*, Farragut, with his fleet of four ironclads and fifteen wooden vessels, fought his way foot by foot into the harbor (August 5, 1864). The forts soon afterwards surrendered to the attack of a land force, and the last important port on the Gulf coast was occupied by the Union forces. In 1862 he was made rear-admiral.

In recognition of Farragut's distinguished service Congress created the office of vice admiral for him (December, 1864), and later (1866) that of admiral. He had fairly won them both.

Near the close of 1864 Porter's fleet, aided by a land force under Butler, made an attack on Fort Fisher, which guarded the entrance of the harbor of Wilmington, North Carolina. It was the only port in the Confederacy which remained open to blockade runners. The attack failed. The next month (January 13-15, 1865) a second assault was made by Porter and Terry. The garrison of the fort fought bravely, but none the less they had at last to haul down the "stars and bars" and see the "stars and stripes" hoisted in their place.

504. Sherman advances northward; arrival at Columbia. It was Grant's intention to transport Sherman's army from Savannah (§ 502) to Virginia by sea; but Sherman believed that if he marched through the Carolinas he could render the cause of the Union more effective service. He consulted Grant on this point and received permission to carry out his plan. The march through Georgia was regarded as something like a "military picnic," but the forward movement presented many formidable obstacles. It would be necessary for the men to build bridges over numerous swollen streams, to wade at times breast deep

in water, to hew their way through dense forests, to construct scores of miles of "corduroy" road over treacherous soil and swamp, and finally to hold themselves in readiness to fight Johnston's army. That the men did their work thoroughly is evident from the fact that Johnston himself complimented Sherman's veterans by saying, "There had been no such army since the days of Julius Cæsar."

Sherman began his march from Savannah on February 1, 1865, and in less than three weeks he entered Columbia, the capital of South Carolina. He found the city on fire. When Wade Hampton, the Confederate general, retreated, he applied the torch to a quantity of cotton and the flames spread to the houses. Sherman ordered his men to endeavor to stop the progress of the conflagration; but a high wind made this impossible and the heart of the city was burned out. The Union soldiers naturally felt no scruples about helping themselves to the old wines, silverware, and rich carpets which the wealthy secessionists of Charleston had sent to Columbia for safe-keeping. Had Sherman deliberately plundered and then burned the city he would have done no more than Early's cavalry had done at Chambersburg (§ 494). On the contrary, when the Union commander left Columbia he gave the mayor generous supplies of food to feed the destitute.

505. Capture of Charleston; battles of Averysboro and Bentonville; conference at Hampton Roads; Lincoln's second inauguration. Now that Sherman's army had got in the rear of Charleston, and by breaking up the railway had cut off supplies, the Confederates gave up the attempt to hold the city. The Union forces when they entered it (February 18, 1865) found it on fire, but by hard work they saved it from entire destruction.

By the middle of March (1865) Sherman was far on his way to Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina. He encountered Johnston's army near Kinston and at Averysboro and Bentonville (March 14, 16, 19-21, 1865). After some sharp fighting,

especially at Bentonville, the Confederates retreated and Sherman entered Goldsboro (March 23, 1865).¹ Here the great march virtually ended. Sherman then went to City Point to meet the President, General Grant, and Rear Admiral Porter to complete arrangements for beginning the last campaign of the war.

Meanwhile Alexander H. Stephens, with two other Confederate commissioners, met President Lincoln and Secretary Seward at Hampton Roads (February 3, 1865) and made overtures for peace.² The commissioners "were not authorized to concede the reunion of the states." The President would not treat on any other basis, and so the conference ended without accomplishing anything.

The next month (March 4, 1865) Lincoln entered upon his second term of office. He finished his inaugural address with these words: "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God will that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan, — to do all which may

¹ Official estimate: Union force, about 58,000; Confederate force reported by Johnston at much less than 20,000. Union loss at Bentonville, 1646; Confederate loss reported by Johnston, 2606.

² In July, 1864, certain Confederates in Canada wrote to Horace Greeley proposing a Peace Conference at Niagara. Greeley urged the President to respond favorably to it, saying, "It may save us from a northern insurrection." The President deputed Greeley to meet the Confederates in Canada, but explicitly declined to consider any terms proposed unless responsibly accredited agents of the Confederate government would come to Washington and present their case. The whole matter terminated in failure. See Greeley's *American Conflict*, II, 664.

achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

506. Sheridan's raid ; fall of Petersburg and of Richmond ; surrender of Lee and Johnston ; assassination of Lincoln. In the field of war, events now moved rapidly toward the final crisis. Sheridan's cavalry destroyed (March 19, 1865) a part of the James River Canal and the Lynchburg Railway which furnished supplies for Richmond. He then pushed on to Five Forks, twelve miles southwest of Petersburg, overwhelmed the Confederate garrison at that important road center (April 1, 1865), and took nearly 6000 prisoners. The capture of Five Forks cut off Lee's supplies for Petersburg. The Confederate general saw that he must abandon the town, and he knew that if he gave up Petersburg he must give up Richmond.

The next day (April 2, 1865) Grant ordered the final assault on Petersburg. It was gallantly defended, but it fell. That night Lee retreated from both Petersburg and Richmond, and Jefferson Davis fled, but was soon afterward captured.¹ On the following day (April 3, 1865) the Union forces entered the Confederate capital.

Lee's only hope of escape now lay in moving southward and uniting with Johnston. He had nearly 30,000 men left, but they were in a starving condition and many threw away their arms and took to the woods. Sheridan intercepted the remnant of the Confederate leader's force before he could reach Johnston. On April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House. Grant treated his fallen foe with characteristic magnanimity. He simply stipulated that Lee's army should lay down their arms and pledge themselves to obey the laws of the United States.

¹ Jefferson Davis was imprisoned in Fort Monroe; he was indicted for treason, but was released on bail in 1867. On Christmas Day, 1868, President Johnson granted a full, unconditional pardon to all persons who had been engaged "in the late insurrection or rebellion." The government, therefore, took no further action against Davis; with the single exception of disability to hold office, imposed by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution (which Congress refused to remove), Davis was relieved from all penalties for his attempt to destroy the Union. He died at New Orleans in 1889.

7th Apr '65—

Genl

I have rec^d your note
of this date, though not enter-
taining the opinion you express
of the hopefulness of further suc-
cess on the part of the Army
of N. Va. — I reiterate your
desire to avoid useless effusion
of blood, & therefore before consid-
ing your proposition ask
the terms you will offer on
condition of its surrender—

Very respt^{ly} your obt^l serv^t

R Lee
Genl

H Genl U. S. Grant

Command^g Armies of the U. States

He allowed the men to take their horses home with them "to work their little farms." The Union commander then issued an order to furnish Lee's half-famished army with 25,000 rations.¹ Meanwhile the "men in blue" and the "men in gray" were mingling as friends. The Union soldiers made haste to share their provisions with their former antagonists, and the officers of both armies greeted each other with the heartiness of fellow-countrymen who felt that they were no longer foes, but that henceforth they would fight under the same flag.

Less than three weeks later, Johnston surrendered his army (April 26, 1865) to Sherman near Raleigh. But in the midst of the nation's joy a terrible crime had been committed. On the very day (April 14, 1865) that the Union flag was restored on Fort Sumter (§ 449) President Lincoln fell by the hand of an assassin.² Many of the people of the South mingled their tears with those of the North over the bier of one whom "they knew to have wished them well." The work of reconstruction which Lincoln began (§ 511) late in 1863 now devolved on President Johnson.

507. Summary of the fourth and last year of the war. In the spring of 1864 Grant entered upon his famous "hammering campaign" against Richmond, while at the same time Sherman (by his orders) moved against Atlanta. After the capture of Atlanta, Sherman set out on his great march for Savannah. Thence he moved northward to Goldsboro, North Carolina, beating back Johnston as he advanced.

¹ In speaking of Lee's surrender Grant says: "I felt like anything rather than rejoicing at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and valiantly, and had suffered so much for a cause, though that cause was, I believe, one of the worst for which a people ever fought, and one for which there was the least excuse. I do not question, however, the sincerity of the great mass of those who were opposed to us." Grant's Personal Memoirs, II, 489.

² The President was shot by John Wilkes Booth, an obscure half-crazed actor, and died the following morning (April 15). Booth was one of a number of conspirators who formed a plot to assassinate the President, the Vice President, Secretary Seward, and General Grant. The plot had no political significance and the southern leaders had no knowledge of its existence. Booth escaped, but was soon afterwards shot in his hiding place; the remaining conspirators were tried by military commission, and four were convicted of murder and hanged.

Farragut had entered Mobile Bay, and Grant, after a series of terrible battles, had moved round to the south side of the James River and begun the siege of Petersburg, sending Sheridan to drive the Confederates out of the Shenandoah Valley.

In the spring of 1865 Grant took Petersburg and Richmond and forced Lee to surrender at Appomattox Court House. A few weeks later, Johnston surrendered to Sherman. The national flag had already been restored at Fort Sumter, but the President had been assassinated and the work of reconstruction had fallen to President Johnson.

508. The two decisive forces; the blockade; total number of battles; cost of the war in life and treasure. The Union armies and the blockading squadrons worked together like upper and nether millstones. While Grant and Sherman's immense land forces crushed all organized resistance, the national sea forces blockaded the coast of the Southern States and eventually cut off all help from abroad.

The work which this fleet of more than 600 war-ships accomplished attracted hardly any attention when compared with the military operations on land, but in its way it was equally effectual. Few coasts are more tempestuous than the southern Atlantic, and the men who for four years stood at their posts of duty along that storm-swept line braved hardships and perils that would have appalled any but the stoutest hearts.

When President Lincoln declared the thirty or more ports of the Confederate States sealed up, foreign powers looked upon it as a mere "paper blockade," which any daring vessel might break through at will. But gradually upwards of 3000 miles of coast were brought under patrol and more than 1500 blockade runners were captured, destroyed, or driven ashore and wrecked.

In time the blockade had a twofold effect: first, it shut out foreign supplies and so threw the Confederates entirely upon their own limited resources; next, it made it impossible for them to export their cotton, and it converted the slaves, who had been

wealth producers, into mere food producers. This prevented Jefferson Davis from getting money to keep up the contest, so that when the war ended cotton worth \$300,000,000 in gold was found stored away in different parts of the South.

On land, military operations never stopped, and fighting was taking place somewhere along the line every day.

The total number of engagements, great and small, counted up over 2000. On the Union side the loss of life reached a total of over 360,000, of whom the greater part are buried in the national cemeteries at Gettysburg and elsewhere. Probably the South lost as many as the North; if so, we have a total of over 720,000. At the North more than two thirds of the men¹ who entered the ranks were American born; at the South nearly all were so. The average age, at enlistment, of those who entered the Union army is said to have not exceeded twenty-two. The expense of the war to the national government, above the ordinary expenses, was about \$3,250,000,000, the average cost being over \$2,000,000 a day (or nearly \$1400 a minute) for the entire four years. Perhaps as much as \$600,000,000 of the total war expenses must be charged to the heavy depreciation in the paper money issued by the government.² On the other hand, allowance must be made for the fact that the government settled most of its bills,

¹ The total number of men who entered the Union army and navy is given by Phisterer, in his *Statistical Record of the Civil War*, at somewhat over 2,850,000 (counting those who reënlisted and including 186,097 colored troops); but Greeley (*American Conflict*, II, 759) estimates the actual number of men who effectively participated in putting down the rebellion at about 1,500,000. The border states of Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky furnished no less than 252,122 men to the Union army; Tennessee (mainly eastern Tennessee), 31,092; and West Virginia, 32,068. On April 15, 1861, President Lincoln called for 75,000 three-months' men; between May and July, 1861, he called for 500,000 men for from six months to three years; in July, 1862, he called for 300,000 three-years' men; and in August, 1862, for 300,000 militia for nine months' service, but obtained only 87,588; in June, 1863, a call for militia for six months' service brought 16,361; in October, 1863, and February, 1864, he called for 500,000 men in the aggregate for three years. In these calls the men raised by draft in 1863 are included. In March, 1864, he called for 200,000 three-years' men; in July, 1864, for 500,000; and finally, in December, 1864, for 300,000.

² See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 293.

including those due the army and navy, in "greenbacks,"¹ which were worth much less than gold (\$ 455).

The United States, says Colonel Dodge,² paid its soldiers more liberally than any other nation ever did before ; besides this they received \$300,000,000 in bounties, and the government has since paid them over \$3,000,000,000 in pensions (\$ 555) ; including the pensions still to be disbursed, the sum may easily reach a total of more than \$5,000,000,000. If we add the amounts spent by states and towns for the war, the grand total would probably exceed \$8,000,000,000, — or more than the entire assessed valuation of the loyal states at the outbreak of the contest (\$ 453).

The expenditure on the secession side cannot be reckoned ; but it may be said with entire truth that the people of the South stripped themselves bare and spent their last dollar in their desperate effort to tear the Union asunder. Besides these losses, the Union armies destroyed property in that section to an incalculable amount.

509. Results of the war. But however enormous the expenditure of life and treasure, the economic, political, and moral results of the war for the Union have fully justified the cost. It is true that it entailed serious evils on the country, for it begot extravagance, criminal waste, wild speculation, gigantic frauds,³ and political corruption ; it disorganized regular labor to a considerable extent and temporarily increased pauperism ; but in the end the good it achieved far outbalanced these evils.

1. The war freed not only the South, but the whole country, from the burden and curse of slavery. It made it possible to develop the immense natural resources of that section, which had in great measure lain dormant since colonization began. New

¹ Up to May 1, 1864, the pay of a private was \$13 a month, after that date it was raised to \$16 a month.

² See Dodge's *Bird's-Eye View of the Civil War* (revised edition), 326.

³ Colonel Henry S. Olcott, who was employed by Secretary Stanton to unearth frauds perpetrated by contractors and others on the government, estimated that "over \$700,000,000 was paid to public robbers or worse than wasted through improvident methods." See *The Philadelphia Weekly Times*, "Annals of the War," 723.

energy, new life, new enterprises have sprung up, which have stimulated industry, disseminated education, and re-created the South. These influences are making it one of the most prosperous and wealthy parts of the Republic. The negro shares in this new life. A little more than a generation ago he was so poor that he did not own himself; to-day he is a free laborer, the maker of his own future and the possessor of property assessed at many millions.

2. The war not only saved the Union but perfected it. It prohibited the secession principle forever (§ 355) and stamped that prohibition ineffaceably upon the Constitution "by blood and iron." Ex-Governor Wise of Virginia said after the long struggle was over and the negro was set free, "It was God's war." In that magnanimous spirit the South, generally, has, as General Longstreet shows (§ 513), accepted the issue, and nine of the states which seceded have adopted new constitutions or amended old ones, repudiating disunion as treason.¹ Thus the terrible contest completed the work of the founders of the Republic, and, in the words of the Supreme Court (*Texas vs. White*, 1868), it made the nation "an indestructible union" of "indestructible states." In doing this the war showed the world that there is nothing stronger or more stable than what President Lincoln called "government of the people, by the people," and "for the people."

3. Finally, the contest lifted the whole nation to a higher moral level. In doing away with slavery and with the evils which slavery inflicted on black and white alike, it made the Declaration of Independence true not of one favored race but of all who to-day claim the name and the rights of American citizens. By accomplishing this great work the war has made North and South one in purpose, in patriotism, in brotherhood. It has established a Union resting on mutual respect, and on heart and conscience, which will stand as long as heart and conscience are obeyed.

¹ See Poore's Federal and State Constitutions.

VII

RECONSTRUCTION, THE NEW NATION¹

(1865 TO THE PRESENT TIME)

For authorities for this chapter, see footnotes and the classified list of books in the Appendix, page xxiv

510. President Johnson (1865-1869); his previous record; attitude toward the South. A few hours after the death of Lincoln (April 15, 1865) Vice President Johnson took the oath of office which made him head of the Republic. Like Lincoln, Johnson sprang from the class then known at the South as "poor whites." He began the practical work of life at the tailor's board in a log cabin in eastern Tennessee. He had never attended school, but he taught himself to read, and his wife taught him to write. His ambition and force of character led him to enter the field of local politics. He became one of the leaders of the workingmen in his section in their contest with the slaveholding aristocracy. He rose step by step until he became governor of his state; soon afterward the Democrats elected him (1857) to the United States Senate. He was the only southern man in the Senate who stood resolutely by the Union and openly denounced secession as "unholy rebellion."

¹ See Wilson's *Division and Reunion*, 254-299; Bryant and Gay's *United States* (revised edition), V; Wilson's *United States*, V; Rhodes' *United States*, V; Burgess' *Reconstruction and the Constitution*; Andrews' *The United States in our Time* (1870-1903); Scribner's *American History Series*, V, VI; Blaine's *Twenty Years of Congress*; Johnston's *American Politics* (revised edition); Brown's *United States since the Civil War*; Macdonald's *Select Statutes*; Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*; Woodburn's *Political Parties*; Stanwood's *The Presidency*; Mason's *Veto Power*; Merriam's *Political Theories*; McPherson's *Political History of Reconstruction*; McKee's *Conventions and Platforms*.

In the spring of 1862 President Lincoln appointed Senator Johnson military governor of Tennessee. He greatly strengthened the Union cause in that state, and when the Republicans renominated Lincoln to the presidency (1864) they recognized the services of the War Democrats by putting Johnson on the ticket as Vice President. When the assassination of the President raised Johnson to the highest office in the nation, he entered upon his duties with the declaration: "The American people must be taught to know and understand that treason is a crime." "It must not be regarded as a mere difference of political opinion." Again he said, "Treason must be made infamous and traitors must be impoverished."

511. The "freedmen"; plans for reconstruction. Two political questions of prime importance pressed for settlement: (1) What should be done to aid and protect the "freedmen"? (2) What action should be taken respecting the restoration or reconstruction of the seceded states?

At the close of the war the government was confronted with the stupendous problem of providing for several millions of negroes. Tens of thousands of them had followed the Union armies and had been gathered into camps at different points. These poor people were legally free, but that was all. They were "landless, homeless, helpless," and there was danger that many of them would sink into a state of permanent pauperism. One of President Lincoln's last acts was to sign a bill (March 3, 1865) creating the Freedmen's Bureau.¹ The Bureau was to continue for one year; its object was to place the freedmen, as far as practicable, on abandoned or confiscated lands at the South and render them self-supporting. General O. O. Howard was appointed commissioner and was invested, he says, with "almost unlimited authority."

The second problem, that of reconstruction, was even more formidable than the negro question, which was necessarily closely bound up with it.

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, Nos. 44, 51.

The Constitution was silent in regard to secession and civil war, and it threw no light on the delicate, difficult, and dangerous work of restoring or reconstructing the Southern States. Three questions arose: (1) What was the condition of the seceded states, — were they still members of the Union, as a dislocated arm is still a member of the body, — or had secession put them wholly out of the Union and were they now simply conquered territory? (2) Did the power to restore or reconstruct rest with the President or with Congress? (3) What action should be taken respecting the negro? Should he be made a citizen and a voter or simply left free? If the ballot was put in his hands, he might swamp the white vote in the South by force of numbers; if simply left free, his presence would increase the basis of representation and so increase the power of the South in Congress. On the other hand, if he could not protect himself, he might be virtually reënslaved.

President Lincoln, in accordance with his inaugural address (§ 448), took the position that the Union and the states were alike indestructible (§§ 509, 512), and that secession had simply thrown certain states temporarily out of gear with the rest. He believed that it was his work to set them right again. His plan was essentially that of restoration. In December, 1863, he issued a proclamation of amnesty.

By it he granted "a full pardon" to "all persons," except the leaders of secession, who had been engaged in the "existing rebellion," provided they should take an oath to support the Constitution and all acts of Congress to date. He furthermore declared that whenever one tenth or more of the loyal voters of 1860 in the seceded states should reëstablish a state government in accordance with the Constitution and the oath of allegiance, he would recognize it as "the true government of the state."

President Lincoln added, however, that the admission of such reconstructed states to representation did not rest with him but with Congress. The President did not favor negro suffrage and he made no provision for it in his plan of reconstruction. But

later (1864), he suggested to the governor of Louisiana that possibly a few of the colored people in that state might be permitted to vote.

The Radical Republicans in Congress denounced the President's policy as dangerous to the welfare of the nation, and the next spring (1864) Henry Winter Davis introduced a reconstruction bill which put the whole control of the late Confederate States in the hands of Congress; but, like the President's method, it was silent in regard to negro suffrage. President Lincoln killed the bill by a "pocket veto" (§ 365), mainly on the ground that it was too rigid in its character. The angry Radicals, under the leadership of Senators Davis and Wade, issued an address "to the supporters of the government," in which they charged Lincoln with deliberately striking "a blow at the friends of the administration, at the rights of humanity, and at the principles of republican government."¹

The President did not lose his temper, but in the last words which he spoke in public (April 11, 1865) he declared his adherence to his own plan of restoration or reconstruction. He earnestly advocated a policy of conciliation toward the seceded states, saying, "We shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it."

512. How Congress regarded President Johnson's plan of reconstruction. Johnson declared that he held the view of reconstruction which Lincoln had defended (§ 511). His idea of liberty for the negro was that it gave him the right to work for himself but did not include the right to vote. He believed that this is a "white man's government" and must remain such. He insisted that the question of negro suffrage rested solely with the people of the Southern States.

Congress was divided; some members held with Senator Sumner that the Southern States had committed political suicide and that the government should proceed to deal with them as so much federal territory. In the House, Thaddeus Stevens went

¹ See Johnston's American Orations, IV, 129.

further still and proposed to confiscate the "estates of rebels" worth more than \$10,000, to give forty acres of land to each "freedman," and to use the remainder in paying off the national war debt. He wished to grant the negro full political rights, and at the same time deprive the southern whites of their former political rights.¹ But the great majority in Congress held that the states still existed as states, and that the Constitution, though suspended, was still in force in that section. They insisted, however, that Congress, and Congress only, should decide on the readmission of the seceded states to their political rights. This view of the States and the Union was confirmed (1868) by a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States (*Texas vs. White*).

Johnson had none of Lincoln's tact; he stood up stubbornly in defense of his theory. Congress was equally determined; the result was a prolonged battle between the executive and the legislative powers. In that battle Secretary Seward took his stand firmly by the President. Eventually Seward's influence induced President Johnson to adopt a more conciliatory attitude toward the South.

513. The grand review; disbanding the army; the war debt; condition of the South. The struggle between the Executive and Congress over reconstruction did not begin at once. The close of the war called for a grand military review at Washington. The parade of even a part of the Union armies occupied two entire days (May 23, 24, 1865). On the first day the "Army of the Potomac," with General Meade at the head, marched from the national capitol down Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House.

The following day General Sherman at the head of the "Army of the West" passed over the same ground. These men were no "holiday troops," but a great body of war-worn veterans "who had not slept under a roof for years." They bore the shot-torn banners which they had carried on a hundred hard-fought fields. On those fields they had left dead comrades far more numerous

¹ See Woodburn's *Political Parties*, 93.

than the throngs who now joined with them in celebrating the final victory of peace.

The muster out of the Union forces, of nearly a million in number, had already begun. It continued at the rate of about 250,000 a month, until all but a comparatively small force of regular troops had been disbanded. At the same time the government began to pay off the war debt (\$ 508), and, before all the soldiers had been discharged, the net debt, which was then \$2,758,000,000, had been reduced \$30,000,000. The European press predicted that men who had so long been accustomed to the use of arms would not return peacefully to their homes; but they went back as quietly as they came. The Confederates did the same; they, like the Union forces, had that American sense of self-respect which forbade disorder.

But the "men in blue" and the "men in gray" returned to widely different fields. The devastating hand of war had hardly touched the North in a material sense. No invading armies had ravaged the loyal states. In that section, throughout the terrible contest, trade, commerce, agriculture, and manufacturing flourished and thousands prospered and grew rich.

At the South everything was different. The followers of Lee and Johnston, "ragged, half-starved, heavy-hearted," went back to find practically everything gone. Their money was worthless, their states bankrupt, their railways and manufactories destroyed, their houses in ruins, their barns empty, their plantations stripped, their slaves set free.

But though the people of the South had little left but the land and their hands with which to work it, yet they did not despair. Alexander H. Stephens (§ 445) spoke for multitudes when he said: "We should accept the issues of the war and abide by them in good faith." "The whole United States is now our country, to be cherished and defended as such by all our hearts and all our arms." The speaker claimed "full protection" for the negroes, so that they should "stand equal before the law in the provision and enjoyment of all rights of person, liberty, and property."

Lee exhibited the same loyal purpose. He applied to the government for pardon in order to encourage others to do likewise. When Johnston bade farewell to his men he urged them to devote all their energies "to discharge the duties of good and peaceful citizens." Finally, General Longstreet wrote (1902) to General Sickles, his former antagonist, respecting the Confederate defeat on the hard-fought field of Gettysburg (§ 483), saying: "It was the sorest and saddest reflection of my life for many years; but to-day I can say with sincerest emotion that it was and is the best that could have come to us all, North and South, and I hope that the nation, reunited, may always enjoy the honor and glory brought to it by that grand work."¹ Out of this spirit and the life and labor it has inspired a "new South" has arisen, progressive, prosperous, patriotic.

514. Proclamations respecting the South; ratification of the thirteenth amendment. Before Congress met, the President issued a proclamation (1865) opening the southern ports east of the Mississippi and removing all restrictions on trade and intercourse. He next offered free and full pardon to all save the leaders in the "late rebellion,"² on the same general conditions as those offered by Lincoln (§ 511), and he soon afterward declared the insurrection over in Tennessee. The following spring (1866) he made the same declaration respecting all the Southern States except Texas. A few months later, he proclaimed that peace and civil authority existed "throughout the whole of the United States of America."

When Congress met (1865) it omitted the names of the late Confederate States from its roll call and appointed a committee to inquire into their condition. The announcement was made by the Secretary of State that the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution (§ 476) had been duly ratified (Appendix, page xvii). It was the first such amendment, out of the hundreds that had been proposed, which had been adopted in more than sixty years.

¹ See The Army and Navy Journal, October 4, 1902, 106.

² See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 46.

It clinched and extended the Emancipation Proclamation so that it covered all the states (§ 476) and made the reëstablishment of slavery impossible.

515. Veto of the second Freedmen's Bureau Bill and of the Civil Rights Bill; the fourteenth amendment. The original Freedmen's Bureau Act was about to expire by limitation (§ 511). Congress therefore (February 6, 1866) passed a bill renewing that act. It extended the powers of the commissioner and provided military protection for the "freedmen." President Johnson vetoed it. His objections were: (1) that the bill was a war measure which was uncalled for in time of peace; (2) that it took land from former owners without due process of law and gave it to the destitute "freedmen" and "refugees";¹ (3) finally, he took the ground that the bill was unconstitutional because it had been passed by a Congress from which "all the people of eleven states" were excluded.

The veto killed the proposed act, but later (July 16, 1866) Congress passed a similar bill over a second veto.²

Meanwhile the President bitterly denounced Congress in a public speech, and declared that two prominent members, whom he called by name, were laboring to destroy the government. Congress retaliated by passing the Civil Rights Bill³ (reënacted in 1875, but declared unconstitutional⁴). This bill gave the negro the full benefit of all laws for the security of person and property which are enjoyed by white citizens, and it therefore made the recently liberated slave the equal of his former master in the courts.

The President vetoed the bill mainly on the ground that since many of the Southern States were still unrepresented in Congress, that body had no constitutional right to declare several millions of ignorant negroes citizens of the Republic. This stirred the temper of Congress, and both Houses united in promptly passing

¹ The white men in the South who stood by the Union and who fled for protection to the Union armies were called "refugees"; many of them had lost everything.

² See Mason's Veto Power, on Johnson's vetoes, 46, 151.

³ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, Nos. 50 and 99.

⁴ See U.S. Supreme Court decision in the *Civil Rights Cases*, 1883.

the bill over the veto. From this time the President and the majority in Congress were openly at war. Johnson broke more completely with the Republicans who had elected him than even Tyler did (§ 378) with the Whigs a quarter of a century earlier.

In June (1866) Congress enacted, by joint resolution, the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution (Appendix, page xviii). This amendment did four things: (1) it confirmed the Civil Rights Act; (2) it reduced the basis of representation of any state which excluded the negro from the polls; (3) it declared that no prominent person who had been engaged in the rebellion should be eligible to election to Congress, should be a presidential elector, or should hold any civil or military office under the United States, or under any state, unless Congress removed such disability; (4) it declared that the validity of the Union war debt must not be questioned, and that neither the United States nor any state should pay any portion of the Confederate debt or any claim for the loss or emancipation of the slaves. The President protested against submitting this amendment to the country for ratification until all the Southern States had been readmitted to Congress.

516. Contest between the President and Congress; readmission of Tennessee; negro suffrage in the District of Columbia; "swinging round the circle." In the long contest which ensued between the President and Congress each resolved to defeat and humiliate the other. Johnson henceforth regularly vetoed every bill — eleven in all — which favored the Republican reconstruction policy; Congress, on the other hand, just as regularly "vetoed his veto."

Tennessee had adopted a state constitution which abolished slavery and all ordinances and laws of secession, repudiated the Confederate debt, and ratified the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution. Tennessee was therefore readmitted (July 24, 1866).¹ It was the first seceded state which was fully restored to all its former rights and privileges as a member of the Union.

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 52.

The next winter (1866-1867) the remaining seceded states rejected the fourteenth amendment, and South Carolina enacted laws which seemed intended to reduce the freedmen to a state of subjection not far removed from slavery itself. Toward the close of 1866 Congress passed an act over the President's veto which granted suffrage to the negroes of the District of Columbia.¹ They were the first freed slaves who obtained the ballot directly from the hands of the nation.²

During the occurrence of these events the President had been making a northern tour, or "swinging round the circle." He spoke in a number of the principal cities and made bitter attacks on Congress. He declared that it was not a true Congress since it did not represent all the states, that it was "trying to break up the government," and that the Freedmen's Bureau (§ 515) was simply a swindle and a disguised form of slavery.

517. New proclamation of amnesty; action of Congress; admission of Nebraska; the Tenure of Office Act; the Military Reconstruction Act; readmission of states. In the autumn of 1867 the President issued a proclamation of general amnesty (§ 514) by which pardon was extended to a large class hitherto excepted.

When the new Congress met (1867) it adopted a series of retaliatory measures: (1) it made provision for an almost continuous session; (2) it took from the President the power of issuing general proclamations of pardon; (3) it virtually deprived him of the command of the military forces of the United States by requiring that all orders respecting them should pass through General Grant; (4) it set aside his power to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*; (5) it admitted the state of Nebraska (1867) — the thirty-seventh — over the President's veto, and granted negro suffrage there; (6) it passed the Tenure of Office Act³ over the executive veto. Secretary Stanton denounced this act at the

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 54.

² The form of government of the District of Columbia has since been changed, and none of the inhabitants have the right of suffrage.

³ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, Nos. 57, 80. This act was modified in 1869 and repealed in 1887.

time, but he later (§ 518) took advantage of it. The object of this measure was to prevent the President from carrying out his threat of removing public officers who sided with Congress and opposed his reconstruction policy. The act forbade his dismissing such officers, even when they were members of his Cabinet, without the consent of the Senate.

✓ Congress next proceeded to deal with the seceded states by passing the Military Reconstruction Bill (March 2, 1867). This bill provided that (1) the ten "rebel states" should be divided into five military districts, each to be placed under the command of a general of the army appointed by the President; (2) under the supervision of these military authorities each state was to hold a convention to frame a state constitution; (3) negroes were to have the right to vote for delegates to this convention and to act as delegates in it, but all prominent ex-Confederates were excluded; (4) if the constitution so framed was accepted by the duly qualified voters of the state and approved by Congress, the state might then be readmitted to representation, provided its Legislature had ratified the fourteenth amendment, which gave the "freedmen" full civil rights, repudiated the Confederate debt, acknowledged the validity of the Union war debt, and renounced all claim for emancipation of slaves (§ 515). This bill set aside the provisional governments which President Johnson had created and put the whole work of reconstruction in the hands of Congress.¹

The President vetoed the bill on the ground that its object was to coerce the people of the Southern States by military force into adopting measures to which they were known to be opposed, and that such a measure was "in palpable conflict with the plainest provisions of the Constitution." Congress at once passed the bill over the veto. The United States Supreme Court (*Texas vs. White*, 1868) virtually confirmed the constitutionality of this act, though it also declared in this case, and later (*Slaughter-House*

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, Nos. 56, 62, 64, 67; Johnston's American Orations, IV, 129, 141, 149, 168, 181.

Cases, 1872), that the power of the Southern States as states remained in all respects unimpaired.

Under this stringent Reconstruction Act the six states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina were readmitted in 1868. Georgia ratified the fourteenth amendment in 1868, but was not fully and finally readmitted until 1870. Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia refused to accede to the conditions laid down by Congress and held out until 1870, when they accepted them and were readmitted.¹

518. Johnson removes Stanton; impeachment of the President. The President, in disregard of the Tenure of Office Act (§ 517), which he considered unconstitutional, resolved to remove Secretary Stanton, with whom he had long been at swords' points. He accordingly (August 5, 1867) sent the Secretary this brief note. "Sir: Public considerations of a high character constrain me to say that your resignation as Secretary of War will be accepted." Mr. Stanton, in his almost equally brief reply, said: "Sir: . . . I have the honor to say that public considerations of a high character, which alone have induced me to continue at the head of this department, constrain me not to resign the office of Secretary of War before the next meeting of Congress." Senator Sumner telegraphed to Stanton this one emphatic word, "Stick!" and "stick" he did.

The President thereupon suspended the Secretary from office, but Congress promptly reinstated him. He then ordered the Secretary to resign. Instead of doing so, Mr. Stanton sent the order to the House of Representatives. Thereupon that body resolved by a vote of 128 to 47 to impeach the President for "high crimes and misdemeanors." The offenses with which he was charged were: (1) the removal of Secretary Stanton in direct violation of the Tenure of Office Act (§ 517); (2) commanding General Emory not to obey the law (§ 517) requiring all military orders to be issued through General Grant; (3) attempting

¹ Congress required that they should ratify the fifteenth amendment, passed subsequently to the readmission of the first six reconstructed states.

to excite the resentment of the people against Congress by declaring that it was not a true Congress (§ 516) and that the President was not bound by its laws.¹

The impeachment trial began the last of March (1868) before fifty-four senators, representing twenty-seven states; Chief Justice Chase presided. It ended May 26. Thirty-five senators voted "guilty" and nineteen "not guilty." A two-thirds vote was required to secure conviction; the President, therefore, escaped removal by the narrow margin of a single vote.

519. The presidential election (1868). The campaign was fought on two questions: (1) Should the presidential or the congressional plan of reconstruction be adopted? (2) Should the national debt, in cases not specified on the face of the bonds,² be paid in coin or in "greenbacks"?

The Republicans adopted a platform which heartily indorsed the reconstruction policy of Congress; at the same time they commended the "spirit of magnanimity and forbearance" shown by the recent secessionists, and asked for the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the "late rebels" as far as might be "consistent with the safety of the loyal people."

They resolved that the national honor required the payment of the national debt "not only according to the letter but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted."

They nominated General Grant for President, with Schuyler Colfax of Indiana for Vice President.

The Democrats demanded the "immediate restoration of all the states"; they charged Congress with subjecting ten states, in time of peace, to "military despotism and negro supremacy." They condemned the Tenure of Office Act (§ 517) and the Reconstruction Acts (§ 517) as "unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void." They demanded complete "amnesty for all past political

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 66.

² The Republicans held that the bonds should be paid in coin unless paper had been agreed upon; the Democrats, that they should be paid in paper unless coin had been agreed upon.



The vote of the Senate, sitting as a High Court of Impeachment for the trial of ~~ANDREW JOHNSON~~ President of the United States, upon the 11th, 2nd and 3rd Articles.

W. Wells, Chief Justice.

W. F. Johnson, Secretary.

Guilty.

1 <i>P. J. Leach</i>	13 <i>Geo. Harlan</i>	24 <i>Chas. Sumner</i>
2 <i>H. W. Cook</i>	14 <i>W. F. Johnson</i>	25 <i>Geo. A. Coates</i>
3 <i>Samuel Chase</i>	15 <i>Thos. Ramey</i>	26 <i>Geo. W. Williams</i>
4 <i>J. C. Hume</i>	16 <i>Thos. Cornwell</i>	27 <i>John Sherman</i>
5 <i>W. M. Standish</i>	17 <i>Quincy Edmunds</i>	28 <i>Ed. Morgan</i>
6 <i>W. Patterson</i>	18 <i>John A. Andrew</i>	29 <i>John Sherman</i>
7 <i>John S. Davis</i>	19 <i>W. H. Hunt</i>	30 <i>John M. Thayer</i>
8 <i>James W. Adams</i>	20 <i>Mr. Myers</i>	31 <i>Thos. F. Bailey</i>
9 <i>John C. Breckinridge</i>	21 <i>W. C. Pennington</i>	32 <i>C. D. Davis</i>
10 <i>Henry Wilson</i>	22 <i>W. J. Miller</i>	33 <i>Samuel Johnson</i>
11 <i>A. M. Briggs</i>	23 <i>Rich. Yates</i>	34 <i>S. T. Ogden</i>
12 <i>W. F. Johnson</i>		35 <i>C. P. Morton</i>

Not Guilty.

1 <i>J. A. Danaher</i>	1 <i>J. P. Stanton</i>	16 <i>John Sumner</i>
2 <i>W. A. Adams</i>	2 <i>Lyman T. Sumner</i>	17 <i>David T. Atwood</i>
3 <i>W. F. Johnson</i>	3 <i>E. C. R. 11</i>	18 <i>Richard D. Webb</i>
4 <i>W. A. Adams</i>	4 <i>W. F. Johnson</i>	19 <i>Henry Johnson</i>
5 <i>W. A. Adams</i>	5 <i>Wm. C. Davis</i>	20 <i>Wm. C. Davis</i>
6 <i>W. A. Adams</i>	6 <i>John F. Johnson</i>	21 <i>James D. Davis</i>
7 <i>W. A. Adams</i>	7 <i>W. F. Johnson</i>	

offenses," "the regulation of the elective franchise in the states by their citizens," and the taxation of "government bonds."

They resolved that, except in cases where coin was stipulated in the bond, the obligations of the government "ought in right and in justice to be paid in the lawful money of the United States," in other words, in "greenbacks" (§ 455).¹

They nominated Governor Horatio Seymour of New York for President, with General F. P. Blair of Missouri for Vice President. Grant and Colfax were elected by 214 electoral votes against 80 cast for Seymour. The popular vote stood 3,012,833 for Grant to 2,703,249 for Seymour.

The states of Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas (§ 517) were excluded from taking part in the election.

520. Proclamation of general amnesty; the Atlantic telegraph; purchase of Alaska; China; Mexico; the fifteenth amendment. Notwithstanding the prohibition of Congress respecting proclamations of pardon (§ 517), the President issued on Christmas Day (1868) a final proclamation of amnesty by which he granted a full and unconditional pardon "to every person who directly or indirectly participated in the late insurrection or rebellion."²

In a wholly different direction Cyrus W. Field of New York had accomplished a remarkable work destined to have a lasting influence on both America and Europe. About ten years after Morse opened the first line of telegraph in the world (§ 386) Mr. Field organized a company to establish a line between England and the United States. In 1858 a cable was laid and for a few weeks messages were sent over it; then it ceased to act. A large amount of money had been sunk in the enterprise, but the originator of it at once began the work anew and millions more were spent. Finally, after thirteen years of labor and after crossing the ocean more than forty times, Mr. Field succeeded (July 27, 1866) in laying a permanent Atlantic telegraph cable, which, as John Bright said, "moored the New World alongside the Old."

¹ See McKee's National Conventions, 132-139.

² See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 75.

From a political, diplomatic, and commercial point of view the success of the cable was of great significance. It brought the most highly civilized nations of the globe into electric touch with each other.

Such events change the whole current of history. When at the close of the War of 1812 the United States commissioners signed the Treaty of Ghent, it took a fast-sailing sloop seven weeks to bring the intelligence to our shores ; when, in the next generation, the Indian mutiny broke out we did not hear of it for a fortnight, although the news was sent forthwith by a Cunard steamer ; but when the Franco-Prussian War began the Atlantic cable flashed the news to us a few minutes after the first gun was fired.

To-day London and New York are such near neighbors that a rise or fall in the English stock market or the passage of an important bill in Parliament is published in our papers as soon, or, it may be, even sooner than it is in London itself.

In the autumn of the following year (1867) the United States purchased Russian America for \$7,200,000 in gold.¹ The territory received the Indian name of Alaska, or "Great Country." During the Civil War, when Confederate cruisers were destroying Union vessels in the North Pacific, the government felt the need of a foothold on the coast in that vicinity. The annexation of Alaska gave more than half a million square miles of territory to the United States and secured to us a country rich in fish and furs, timber and mineral wealth. Including the returns from the gold mines, the total products to the present time have been over \$150,000,000. The purchase was ridiculed as "Seward's folly," — "a waste of money on rocks and ice, fit only for a polar-bear garden"; but, as we have seen, it has since repaid its cost more than twenty fold.

The next year (1868) the Burlingame Treaty with China (\$ 430) was ratified and the Monroe Doctrine was applied to the French occupation of Mexico. During the Civil War, Louis Napoleon had sent a French army to Mexico to overthrow the

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 63.

**POSSESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT
FROM THE TIME OF THE REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT DAY**

(See, too, the map of the world, facing page 590)

Republic and place the Austrian prince, Maximilian, on the throne. President Johnson notified Napoleon that the Monroe Doctrine (§ 331) must be respected and sent General Sheridan with a strong force to the Mexican frontier. This bayonet-pointed hint was sufficient; Napoleon withdrew his forces and left Maximilian to his fate.

The fifteenth amendment to the Constitution, whereby the negro would receive the right to vote (Appendix, page xviii), was ratified in 1869. But it is now practically inoperative (§ 571).

521. Summary. Politically, the entire administration of President Johnson was occupied with the readmission of the Southern States and with legislation for the "freedmen." The President urged the immediate restoration of the late Confederate States, but Congress insisted on reorganization according to its own will. The conflict between the President and Congress led to the passage of the Freedmen's Bureau, Civil Rights, Tenure of Office, and Military Reconstruction Acts over the executive veto.

The refusal of the President to obey the Tenure of Office Act resulted in an impeachment trial in which he was acquitted.

Six Southern States were reconstructed and readmitted during Johnson's administration, and the entrance of Nebraska raised the whole number in the Union to thirty-seven.

We note, too, the successful laying of the Atlantic cable, the Burlingame Treaty with China, the purchase of Alaska, the withdrawal of the French from Mexico, the ratification of the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments, and the passage by Congress of the fifteenth.

ULYSSES S. GRANT (REPUBLICAN), TWO TERMS (1869-1877)

522. Grant's inaugural address; completion of the Pacific railway. In his inaugural address General Grant (§ 519) laid especial emphasis on the necessity of extending suffrage to the "freedmen" and on the payment of the war debt in coin. "To protect the

national honor," said he, "every dollar of government indebtedness should be paid in gold, unless otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract. Let it be understood that no repudiator of one farthing of our public debt will be trusted in public place, and it will go far toward strengthening a credit which ought to be the best in the world." In response Congress passed the Act to strengthen the Public Credit (March 18, 1869) (§ 535).¹

In conclusion the President expressed the hope that the ratification of the fifteenth amendment (§ 520) might soon place the ballot in the hands of the negro.

A little more than two months later, the last spike was driven (May 10, 1869) which completed the building of the first railway to the Pacific. This great undertaking was brought to the attention of Congress in 1846 by Asa Whitney, a New York merchant who was engaged in the China trade.

The discovery of gold in California renewed the interest in the project. Between the Western States, which lay just beyond the Mississippi, and the Pacific Coast, there stretched a vast wilderness broken only by the Mormon settlement at Salt Lake (§ 372). The people felt that regular communication must be established across that wilderness. Whitney induced Congress to make a survey, and the discovery of precious metals in Colorado, together with the settlement of Denver, stimulated the work still more. A pony express between Leavenworth and Denver and Denver and Sacramento for San Francisco was put on in 1860. This was followed, two years later, by a line of stagecoaches driven by such men as the famous "Buffalo Bill," — men who took their lives in their hands and who had to hold themselves ready at any moment to fight Indians and stage robbers. In 1860 both of the great political parties declared that a transcontinental railway was "imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country." The outbreak of the Civil War soon gave unmistakable emphasis to the demand for joining the East and the far West in closer political, commercial, and military union.

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 78.

While the war was in progress the government offered to give nearly 13,000 acres of land and a loan of over \$28,000 for every mile of the proposed road which any company would build and equip with a line of telegraph. Two companies accepted the offer. The Central Pacific Company began work (1865) at the San Francisco end and the Union Pacific at Omaha. While the Central Pacific was climbing the Sierras on its way eastward the Union Pacific was rapidly pushing its way westward across the plains of Nebraska. Five years later, the engines met at Promontory Point, near Ogden, Utah. There the last rail was laid.

THE FIRST PACIFIC RAILWAY

The next day (May 11, 1869) a through train from New York, the first that ever crossed from ocean to ocean, passed Promontory Point on its way to San Francisco. That meant that steam and electricity had conquered 3000 miles of space, and that the Republic at last held the whole breadth of the continent with an iron grasp.

The Pacific Railway put the Eastern States in quick communication with China, Japan, and the Indies. Our cotton goods could be delivered in Asia in thirty days, and in the same time teas, silks, and spices could be unloaded in New York.

Politically, the road had a most important influence. Before it was built the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts seemed so far distant from each other that many believed it doubtful if they could be held together under the same central government. But the completion of the road changed all that, for a member of Congress from California could leave the Golden Gate with the certainty that in less than a week he would be in his seat in the national capitol.

The road was of equal importance from a military point of view. In case of need the far West could call on the East for help, and a corps of United States troops could be speedily transported from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific.

Nor was this all. In piercing the heart of the continent the railway opened up a great central region for settlement. Between the tier of states bordering on the west banks of the Mississippi and the states of the Pacific slope there was, as has been said, a vast half-explored wilderness, which, with few exceptions, the Indian and the buffalo shared between them. Here was a broad field inviting immigration. General Grant says that when the Civil War came to an end great numbers of young men who had fought in the Union armies went West. The construction of the first Pacific railway was tainted with the Credit Mobilier scandal,¹ but — together with the four other lines which followed — it powerfully stimulated the western emigration movement, and aided in planting bodies of settlers who became the connecting link in population between the states of the Atlantic and of the Pacific coast.

523. Reconstruction completed; the negro in Congress. When Congress met it completed (1869-1870) the work of reconstruction by removing the greater part of the remainder of the

¹ In 1864 the Credit Mobilier, a Pennsylvania company deriving its name from a French financial company formed to promote industrial enterprises, undertook the construction of a part of the Pacific railway. In the presidential campaign of 1872 the Vice President, the Vice President elect, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Speaker of the House, and a number of members of Congress were charged with selling their political influence in favor of the road in return for stocks furnished them by the Credit Mobilier Company. Congress ordered the charge to be investigated; two representatives were censured and there the matter dropped.

legal and political disabilities which had been imposed upon the southern whites ; it then readmitted the remaining four (§ 517) seceded states.

The Secretary of State (1870) announced that the fifteenth amendment (§ 520) had been duly ratified and was henceforth in force. This finished the constitutional work of reconstruction. The first of those amendments (§ 476) declared the negro free forever, the second made him a citizen, the third made him a voter. He now had every right, every privilege, every opportunity which the law gives the white man ; in the courts and at the ballot box he stood on an equality with his old master ; henceforth if he failed to advance, the fault would be chiefly his own.

The same year that the fifteenth amendment was ratified (1870) the "freedmen" entered Congress. H. B. Revels, a negro from Mississippi, took the seat in the Senate which Jefferson Davis had vacated less than ten years before. South Carolina sent Joseph H. Rainey, the son of slave parents who had worked in the rice swamps, as a representative from that state. From that time, for a period of nearly twenty years, every Congress had from four to six negro members.

524. The "Carpetbaggers." At the close of the war many northern men went South. Some of them settled there as cotton planters and did everything in their power to aid the work of reconstruction in the best interests of all concerned. Others went simply to get political office and plunder. It was but natural that the southern people should regard the newcomers with suspicion. They lumped good and bad together under the general name of "Carpetbaggers," — a synonym for greedy and unscrupulous adventurers. The name sometimes did great injustice to worthy men ; but in a majority of cases it truthfully described those to whom it was applied.

But however much the former slaveholding aristocracy hated the "Carpetbagger," they hated the "Scalawag" still more. The "Scalawag" was a renegade southerner who joined hands with the political "Carpetbagger" in the scramble for spoils. By

themselves they probably could not have done much harm; but using the negro voter as their tool, they did an enormous amount of mischief from which the South has not yet fully recovered.

Congress gave the "freedmen" (§ 511) the ballot in order that they might protect themselves. At the beginning of the Civil War there were but four states in the Union, out of the thirty-four, where the black man could vote; these were at the North. In the South the number of colored people, taken as a whole, was only one fifth less than that of the whites, and in three states it exceeded it. The former slave fully realized his power. "Now," said he, "the bottom rail is on the top, and we're going to keep it there."

For a number of years the "Carpetbagger," the "Scalawag," and the negro ruled supreme at the polls and in the legislatures. They pillaged the prostrate states which lay helpless at their feet until they had rolled up debts aggregating nearly \$300,000,000.¹ All things considered, perhaps South Carolina suffered most from this "carnival of crime and corruption"; but eight other states were in the same pitiful case. Judge Black of Louisiana felt moved to declare that a "conflagration sweeping over all the state from one end to the other and destroying every building and every article of personal property would have been a visitation of mercy in comparison with the curse of such a government."

525. The "Ku-Klux Klan"; the "Force Act"; end of the "Carpetbag" government. This state of things roused the spirit of retaliation and gave rise to the "Ku-Klux Klan." It was a secret oath-bound organization formed especially to intimidate the negro and prevent his voting or getting office. At first the "Ku-Klux" confined themselves mainly to threats, but later they resorted to violence. Bands of masked men broke into negro cabins at midnight, dragged the occupants from their beds, and flogged them without mercy. In some cases the "Ku-Klux" pushed matters

¹ The debts imposed on the reconstructed states were as follows: Alabama, \$52,761,917; Arkansas, \$19,398,000; Florida, \$15,797,587; Georgia, \$42,560,500; Louisiana, \$40,021,734; North Carolina, \$34,887,464; South Carolina, \$22,480,516; Texas, \$14,930,000; Virginia, \$47,090,866.

to the farthest extreme and deliberately maimed or murdered their victims. Eventually, the organization became a gang of marauders and robbers, who preyed on white and black alike.

President Grant in a special message to Congress (1871) called the attention of that body to the fact that the "Ku-Klux" not only rendered life and property unsafe, but that they interfered with the carrying of the mails and the collection of the revenue. In 1870 Congress passed the first so-called "Force Act" against the "Ku-Klux Klan"; but finding that the emergency demanded a more "ironclad" measure, a second "Force Act" was passed in 1871.¹ The three chief features of this act were: (1) it empowered the federal courts to severely punish all attempts to deter any citizen, white or black, from voting or holding office; (2) in case of need it authorized the President to employ military force to suppress disorder and to protect the polls; (3) it temporarily suspended the operation of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

Under this law many arrests were made, the "Ku-Klux Klan" was broken up, and order was established. In 1872 Congress passed the Act removing Political Disabilities.² It restored full civil rights to all persons at the South, with the exception of a few hundred who had made themselves especially conspicuous as leaders in the war of secession. The whites now gradually obtained the political control of the reconstructed states, and the reign of the "Carpetbagger," the "Scalawag," and the negro came to an end.

526. The Knights of Labor; the Federation of Labor; establishment of the Weather Bureau; San Domingo; the Treaty of Washington. On Thanksgiving Day, 1869, the first attempt in this country was made to organize all branches of manual labor on a permanent basis. Under the leadership of Uriah S. Stephens of Philadelphia, seven clothing cutters met in that city and organized the secret society of the "Five Stars," or the Knights of Labor. They later (1878) adopted a platform denouncing "the alarming development and aggressiveness of the power of money

¹ See McPherson's History of Reconstruction, 546; Political Hand Books for 1870-1892.

² See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 94.

and corporations under the present industrial and political systems." They stated their object to be "to secure to the workers of society the fullest enjoyment of the wealth they create." A few years later (1881), the oath-bound obligation of secrecy was abolished. The Knights report a membership of 40,000.

The American Federation of Labor was organized in 1881 for purposes similar to those of the Knights of Labor. The Federation claims a total membership of over 2,000,000. The American Railway Union, organized in 1893, confines its membership to men employed on the railways of the United States.¹

These societies, though professedly nonpolitical, have exercised a marked influence on state and national legislation with respect to factory laws, hours of labor, and industrial arbitration; and they have probably helped to shape the platforms issued of late years by the Labor parties. In fact, these organizations are to-day reckoned among the chief forces in American life.

In 1870 Congress, acting on a suggestion made many years earlier, established a Weather Bureau at Washington for the purpose of predicting the probable course of the weather throughout the country a day or more in advance. The Bureau has done service of great value to mariners and farmers; and, directly or indirectly, has been the means of saving much life and property from destruction by storms and floods, and has contributed greatly to the health and comfort of the whole community.

Near the close of this year (1870) the President, acting contrary to the advice of his Cabinet, signed a treaty with San Domingo for the annexation of that negro Republic to the United States. He believed the possession of the island would secure a very valuable coaling station for the vessels of our navy. The Senate refused to ratify the treaty and the President reluctantly abandoned the annexation project.

The following year (May 8, 1871) the Treaty of Washington was concluded with Great Britain.² It provided for (1) the settlement

¹ See Wright's Industrial United States, ch. xix-xx.

² See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 93.

by arbitration of certain questions relating to the boundary line between Washington Territory and British America; (2) the settlement of the *Alabama* claims,—of damages demanded by citizens of the United States for destruction of property by the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers equipped in England (§§ 454, 503); (3) the settlement of the claims of Great Britain for the alleged interference by our fishermen with those of Canada.

The boundary question was referred to the emperor of Germany and his decision was duly accepted. The *Alabama* claims were referred to a board of five arbitrators,¹ who met in Geneva, Switzerland. After a lengthy session they decreed (1871) that Great Britain should pay the United States \$15,500,000 in gold, which was accordingly done.

A board of commissioners meeting in Halifax (1877) decided the perennial fisheries dispute, at least for a time (§§ 197, 235, 548), by decreeing that we should pay Great Britain \$5,500,000 in gold and remit duties amounting to \$4,200,000 more.

This treaty of arbitration established a precedent for disposing of similar international questions in the future without the costly and cruel aid of bayonet and cannon.²

527. The presidential election (1872). The President's persistent attempt to annex San Domingo (§ 526) created a strong opposition to the administration and alienated Chase, Sumner,³ Seward, and Greeley, with other influential members of the Republican party. They not only refused to support General Grant for a second

¹ The Geneva tribunal met December 15, 1871. Charles Francis Adams, Esq., represented the United States and Lord Chief Justice Cockburn represented England; the remaining three members of the tribunal were appointed by the king of Italy, the president of the Swiss Republic, and the emperor of Brazil.

² Between 1794 and 1893 more than forty cases of international dispute between the United States and Great Britain and other European powers were disposed of by arbitration. Twenty-five of the decisions were in favor of the United States. Since then the establishment of the Hague Tribunal (§ 585) gives further promise of the peaceful settlement of international difficulties.

³ Senator Sumner made a noted speech in the Senate (May 31, 1872) on "Republicanism *versus* Grantism," in which he concentrated "in one massive broadside all that could be suggested" against Grant. See Sumner's Works, XV, 85-171, and Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress, II, 533.

term, but charged his administration with having directly or indirectly encouraged the rise of political "bosses," who secured offices for their favorites, to the exclusion of better men. Furthermore, many Republicans were dissatisfied with the working of the "Force Act" (§ 525). They questioned whether it did not go "beyond constitutional limits" and doubted if it helped forward the cause of good government.

This opposition to what Sumner called "Grantism" caused a split in the party and led to the formation of an organization which took the name of Liberal Republicans. They adopted a platform severely condemning the administration and calling for the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion. They nominated Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, for President, with B. Gratz Brown of Missouri (the Labor Reform candidate) for Vice President.

The Democrats adopted the Liberal Republican platform and candidates; but some of the party "bolted" and, under the name of "Straight-Out Democrats," nominated Charles O'Connor. He, however, declined to accept the nomination.

The regular Republicans reaffirmed the principles of the party, heartily indorsed the work of the administration, and renominated General Grant for President, with Henry Wilson of Massachusetts for Vice President.

The Prohibitionists and the Labor Reformers now made their first appearance as national political parties; both have since continued in the field, though neither have yet obtained electoral votes for their respective candidates. The Prohibitionists, in addition to the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquor, first adopted woman suffrage as one of the planks in their platform.¹

¹ In 1896 a number of Prohibitionists calling themselves "Broad Gaugers," or "Workers for Humanity," endeavored to secure the insertion of a "free-silver" plank in the platform adopted by the National Convention. The plank was rejected; the "Broad Gaugers" then seceded and formed an independent organization, under the name of the National Party, advocating prohibition, woman suffrage, and the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. See Stanwood's *Presidential Elections* (revised edition), Appendix, pp. 494-497.

The political movements and combinations of recent years make the original platform of the Labor party of much interest. It demanded (1) that the federal government should issue all money and that banks of issue should be abolished; (2) that no public land should be sold or granted to any but actual settlers; (3) that the immigration of Chinese laborers should be stopped; (4) that the government should adopt an eight-hour day for its employees; (5) that the civil service should be removed from all partisan influences; (6) that the government should regulate the charges made by railways and telegraph lines; (7) that the occupancy of the presidential chair should be limited to a single term.¹

At the election the popular vote stood 3,597,132 for Grant to 2,834,125 for Greeley. Mr. Greeley died before the presidential electors met. Grant received 286 electoral votes against 63 votes given for T. A. Hendricks, B. Gratz Brown, and other candidates. Grant was therefore reëlected by an overwhelming majority.

528. The new Coinage Act demonetizing silver; the Salary Act; postal cards. When Congress met it passed a Coinage Act² (February 12, 1873) which had been debated on and off for between one and two years. The measure did not then excite any particular interest, though it has since been denounced as "the Crime of 1873." At that time neither gold nor silver was in circulation. The government had not resumed specie payment and "greenbacks," or national bank notes, were in use throughout the country. Very few silver dollars had been coined since the mint was established. The average value of the issue for a period of eighty years was only about \$100,000 a year. These silver dollars had disappeared and none had been seen for more than a quarter of a century.³

¹ The demands made under Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6 have since been obtained either wholly or in part. Nos. 3 and 5 were first demanded by the Labor party.

² See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 96.

³ The act of 1792 established a double standard with free coinage of gold and silver in the ratio of 1 to 15 (§ 255). This act undervalued gold, which was therefore exported and ceased to circulate. The act of 1834 was passed to remedy this by changing the ratio to 1 to 16 and reducing the fineness of the gold dollar from 25.8 grains to 23.2 grains. The act of 1834 undervalued silver, as that of 1792 had

In the Coinage Act, Congress now dropped the standard silver dollar, "the dollar of our fathers," from the list.¹ The act provided for the coinage of gold and of fractional silver pieces. It also ordered the coinage of a special "trade dollar," much heavier than the former standard silver dollar. This new piece was issued in order to facilitate trade with China. It was used as legal tender for a short time until an act forbade it; a few years later (1878), the issue of this special coin was discontinued.

In addition to this legislation respecting coinage Congress passed another noted financial measure (1873) which received the nickname of the "salary grab." The act raised the President's salary from \$25,000 to \$50,000, where it has since remained. It also increased the salaries of the judges of the federal courts and of the members of Congress, including that of the Congress which passed it. Popular indignation was aroused and Congress was compelled to repeal so much of the act as related to the increase of members' salaries.

The same year (1873) Congress passed a bill which received the hearty approval of the whole country. It ordered the issue of the first one-cent postal cards (§ 404).

done in the case of gold; the result was that silver was withdrawn from circulation and exported to Europe. The act of 1837 made the fineness of gold and silver coins uniform, but silver still continued to be exported. The act of 1853 reduced the weight of silver coins of all denominations less than one dollar and provided that they should be legal tender to the amount of \$5.00 only, whereas under the previous acts they had been full legal tender. Up to February 12, 1873, the entire number of silver dollars coined was only \$8,031,238; after 1853 that coin practically disappeared from circulation. The act of February 12, 1873, recognized this fact by omitting the silver dollar from the list of coins. It provided that the unit of value should be the gold dollar of the standard weight of 25.8 grains; it furthermore provided for the coinage of a silver "trade dollar" of 420 grains (for trade with China) and of fractional silver coins which were made legal tender for an amount not exceeding \$5.00. By oversight the use of the "trade dollar" as legal tender was not prohibited. In 1876 this oversight was rectified. See William C. Hunt's *Notes on the Money of the United States* (compiled from the Report of the Director of the Mint for Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor, No. 2, January, 1896, pp. 181-196); and compare John Sherman's *Recollections*, I, 464; II, 1063-1065. See, too, Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 403; McMaster's *Essay on A Century of Silver*, and White's *Money and Banking*, 213-223.

¹ See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 403-405.

529. Political "rings" and "bosses"; the panic of 1873; the Farmers' Alliance; the Inflation Bill; Resumption. One of the evil results of the Civil War was the speculative spirit it encouraged (§ 509). The country was full of paper money, which was subject to great fluctuations. The actual value of the "green-back" was at the best not quite eighty-nine cents in coin. Speculation bred extravagance and political corruption. A "ring" of politicians, under the leadership of "Boss Tweed," managed to get possession of the government of New York City and (1865-1871) robbed the taxpayers of many millions. Tweed and his gang of fellow-plunderers were finally overthrown (1871) through the efforts of Samuel J. Tilden and other prominent citizens.¹

The Erie Ring got possession of the Erie Railway, and the Whisky Ring defrauded the government of an immense amount of revenue. Many government officials were indicted (1875) for their connection with this gigantic liquor swindle.

Later, serious frauds were unearthed in the Custom House departments and in the Indian Bureau. Furthermore, the Secretary of War was charged (1876) with selling sutlerships in the army; he escaped impeachment by resigning his office. Senator Hoar of Massachusetts denounced the corruption of the times in a powerful speech (May 6, 1876) in which he declared that these frauds, with others that had been exposed, were eating the heart out of the Republic and turning our national triumph to "bitterness and shame."

But if the political results of speculation were disastrous, so, too, were the commercial results. Cheap money encouraged overproduction in manufactures, overtrading with foreign countries, and led to the building of many thousands of miles of railways in excess of the actual demand, and through sections of the country where the population was insufficient to support them. In addition to losses through unwise investments, the great fires of Chicago (1871) and of Boston (1872) wiped out

¹ See Breen's *Thirty Years of New York Politics*, 552.

not less than \$200,000,000 worth of property and ruined many business men and insurance companies.

In the autumn of 1873 a prominent banking house in New York, which was largely interested in the construction of the Northern Pacific Railway, suspended payment. This failure was speedily followed by the collapse of another important house in the same city and the panic of a second "Black Friday"¹ at the Stock Exchange. The panic spread from the great money center of the country to the country at large.² Credit was refused, many savings banks were forced to close their doors, large corporations were driven into bankruptcy, and mills and factories shut down, throwing thousands out of work. The crisis was soon reached and passed, but it was followed by a very long period of depression.

Meanwhile a secret association had been formed at Washington (1867), which spread rapidly, especially in the Western States. The new order took the name of the Farmers' Alliance, or "Patrons of Industry." Later, the members were commonly known as "Grangers." Their chief object was to secure lower freight rates for farm produce. The panic of 1873 stimulated the growth of the "Grangers," and in some states they obtained the passage of legislative measures regulating the charges for grain transportation and storage.³ The order exercised a strong political influence, which helped to secure the Interstate Commerce Act (1887), and which was one of the causes favoring the organization (1892) of the People's party, or "Populists."

In the spring following the panic of 1873 Congress passed the Inflation Bill. Its object was to relieve the financial strain by issuing \$100,000,000 more "greenbacks" (\$ 455). The President vetoed it.⁴ He said that the country had an abundance of

¹ The first "Black Friday" was in the autumn of 1869, when Jay Gould and James Fisk's attempt to "corner" gold collapsed.

² See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 370, 397.

³ The United States Supreme Court decided (1876) six cases in favor of the "Grangers," thereby sustaining the constitutionality of the legislation they had obtained.

⁴ See Richardson's *Messages of the Presidents*, VII, 268; Mason's *Veto Power*, 80.

paper currency and that Congress had pledged (1869) the faith of the United States to resume specie payment at the earliest practicable moment (§ 522). In 1875 Senator John Sherman secured the passage of the Resumption Act,¹ but it did not go into operation until four years later (§ 535).

530. The Centennial Exhibition ; admission of Colorado. In the spring of 1876 a national exhibition, held under the auspices of the government, was opened at Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. Its object was to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. All the leading nations of the world took part in it, and it was visited by nearly ten millions of persons. The substitution of machine power for hand labor was the most marked feature of the great fair. It showed that a hundred years had completely revolutionized manufacturing, transportation, and means of communication. Two of the most remarkable novelties exhibited were the recently invented electric light and the Bell telephone, which was then generally regarded as an ingenious and amusing toy of no practical value.

The centennial year was further marked by the admission of Colorado, the thirty-eighth state. It represented the "New West." Its entrance emphasized the territorial growth of the nation, which began its career a century before with but thirteen states stretched along the Atlantic seaboard, and with no claim to a single acre of the vast wilderness extending from the Mississippi to the Pacific.

531. The "Greenback" party ; the disputed presidential election of 1876 ; Indian wars. The distress caused by the long-continued financial depression (§ 529) induced the formation of a new political organization calling itself the Independent National, or "Greenback," party. It demanded an increase, but not an unlimited increase, of the paper currency issued by the government, and declared that the money which was good enough for the soldier was good enough for the bondholder. In 1869 the

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 98; Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 372.

Supreme Court (*Hepburn vs. Griswold*) had decided that such currency was not legal tender for the payment of all debts. Chief Justice Chase then said "that the Legal Tender Act violated justice, that it was inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution, and that it was prohibited by the Constitution."¹ But after the retirement of Chief Justice Chase, the Court reversed that decision in two new cases (*Knox vs. Lee*) 1871 and (*Juilliard vs. Greenman*) 1884. Eventually (1884) the "Greenback" party advocated the issue of General B. F. Butler's "fiat money."² This movement developed its greatest strength in the Western States.

A part of the Republicans urged the renomination of General Grant for a third term; but the House of Representatives passed a resolution by 234 to 18, declaring that such a nomination would be "unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions."

The Republican Convention demanded the resumption of specie payment at the earliest practicable date. It nominated Governor Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio for President and William A. Wheeler of New York for Vice President.

The war cry of the Democrats was "Reform." They nominated Governor Samuel J. Tilden of New York,—a "hard-money" man who had labored successfully to destroy the robber gang led by the infamous "Boss Tweed" (§ 529). For Vice President they nominated Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana.

The "Greenback" party nominated Peter Cooper of New York.

The South dreaded negro supremacy and cast a "solid vote" for Tilden. The election was so close that each party claimed success and charged the other with gross fraud. In order to settle the dispute, which was fast growing serious, Congress appointed

¹ See Rhodes' *United States*, III, 568; *North American Review*, April, 1870, 325.

² **Fiat Money**: Paper money issued by decree or "fiat" of the national government and not redeemable in coin. In 1884 the "Greenback" party and the Anti-Monopolist party both nominated General Butler for President. Speaking of "greenbacks," he said, "I desire that the dollar so issued shall never be redeemed." He added that he saw no more reason why such a paper dollar should be redeemed than why a yardstick or a quart measure should be redeemed. *Butler's Book*, page 953.

a commission composed of five senators, five representatives, and five judges of the Supreme Court. The commission was in session for more than a month, during which time the whole country was kept in a perilous state of anxiety and alarm. The commissioners finally decided (March 2, 1877), two days before inauguration day, by a vote of eight to seven, that the certificates of returns showed that Hayes had received 185 electoral votes to 184 cast for Tilden.¹ The popular vote stood 4,033,950 for Hayes to 4,284,885 for Tilden. Governor Hayes was therefore declared President by a majority of one.

In the course of Grant's presidency the Apache Indians of Arizona and the Modoc Indians of California began hostilities (1871-1872), but were speedily overcome. A few years later (1876), the Sioux Indians led by "Sitting Bull" massacred the gallant General Custer and his entire force near the Black Hills in Dakota territory. General Miles, the commander of the Army of the United States, forced the savages to surrender, but "he adds his weighty testimony to that of leading military men who have gone before him, in saying that he has never known an Indian war in which the white man was not the aggressor."

532. Summary. The chief points in Grant's administration were: (1) the completion of the first transcontinental railway; (2) the admission to Congress of representatives from all the seceded states; (3) the passage of the "Force Act"; (4) the settlement by arbitration of the *Alabama* claims, the fisheries dispute, and the northwest boundary question; (5) the organization of the Knights of Labor and the "Grangers"; (6) the demonetization of silver; (7) the financial and business panic of 1873; (8) the opening of the Centennial Exhibition and the admission of Colorado; (9) the rise of the "Greenback" party and the Hayes-Tilden disputed election.

¹ See Stanwood's Presidential Elections, 332-344; McClure's Magazine, May, 1904.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES (REPUBLICAN), ONE TERM
(1877-1881)

533. Inaugural address ; civil-service reform ; withdrawal of troops from the South. In his inaugural address President Hayes (§ 531) declared that he should endeavor to wipe out the "color line" in politics and "the distinction between North and South," to the end that we might have "a united country."

There had long been an earnest demand for reform in the civil service (§ 527). The leader in that movement was George W. Curtis. But Lincoln saw its necessity before Curtis began his great work. A few days after the fall of Richmond, as he was standing with a friend, Lincoln pointed to the crowd of office seekers besieging his door, and said: "Look at that! Now we have conquered the rebellion; but here you see something that may become more dangerous to this Republic than the rebellion itself."

Grant was conscious of the same danger and made an unsuccessful effort to break up the "spoils system" (§ 349), but he could not drive the wedge deep enough.¹ The first demand for a reform in this method, made in any political platform, originated with the Labor party in 1872 (§ 527).

President Hayes pledged himself to labor for a "thorough" reform in the civil service; he was a man who meant every word he said;² but although both of the great political parties had

¹ In 1865 Mr. Thomas A. Jenckes of Rhode Island introduced the first bill in Congress for the reform of the civil service. The bill met with ridicule and overwhelming defeat; but in 1871 a bill was passed giving the President power to establish rules for the admission of applicants for places in the civil service. President Grant appointed George W. Curtis of New York chief of a commission for that purpose. The object sought was to do away with the system which gave positions simply as rewards for party services, and to substitute competitive examinations which would secure an equal opportunity for all candidates. In 1873 Congress refused to make further appropriations for continuing the work of the commission, and the following year the President was obliged to abandon it.

² President Hayes "had a resolute will, irreproachable integrity, and a comprehensive and remarkably healthy view of public affairs." See Andrews *The United States in Our Time*, 223; Mason's *Veto Power*, 132, 133.

urged it in their platforms, nothing practical was done. Many men were indifferent; others believed with Jackson (§ 350) that frequent rotation in office was best for the interests of all; while the "machine politicians" in and out of Congress naturally fought with all their might against any change which would deprive them of their influence and of the votes and profits it brought them.

On another important point the President met with better success. He believed that the time had come for the withdrawal of federal troops from the South, and that the people of the reconstructed states must be trusted to manage their own affairs. Both South Carolina and Louisiana had dual and rival governors and legislatures, one elected by the Republicans, the other by the Democrats. After a conference with the governors of those states, President Hayes withdrew (1877) the troops and the Democrats came peaceably into power.

534. Great railway strike. In the summer of 1877 a formidable strike broke out on the Baltimore and Ohio Railway and spread rapidly over a large part of the Northern States. Carroll D. Wright calls this movement the first great labor revolt in our history.¹ It began with a protest against reduction of wages. At one time more than 100,000 men were out. They held control of from 6000 to 7000 miles of road. Serious riots took place, especially at Pittsburg. Machine shops, freight houses, and freight cars were burned and many people were killed and wounded. The governors of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Illinois, and Maryland appealed to the President for help. He sent detachments of troops, who happily succeeded in restoring order without resorting to force. The strike was unsuccessful; its total cost in loss of wages and dividends, in increased taxes to cover damages, and in interruption to business was estimated at between \$80,000,000 and \$100,000,000.

535. The Bland-Allison Silver Act; resumption of specie payment. By the Public Credit Act (1869) (§ 522) "the faith of the United States was solemnly pledged to the payment in

¹ See North American Review, June, 1902.

coin,¹ or its equivalent," of all government bonds, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of such obligations provided that the same might be paid in paper currency. Some persons regarded this law as unjust since it might compel the government to pay specie in return for loans it had received in depreciated "greenbacks"; but others took the ground that since it had always been understood that the government would redeem the "greenbacks" in coin, the holders of bonds were entitled to receive specie payment.

When the Public Credit Act (1869) was passed "coin" literally meant either gold or silver, but the act of 1873 dropped (§ 528) the silver dollar from the list of coins (§ 255); hence, as the law stood, all bonds calling for specie must be paid in gold.

A majority in Congress urged the restoration of the silver dollar as legal tender, and the House voted for the free and unlimited coinage of silver.² But a minority objected because the enormous output of that metal by the western mines had caused it to fall heavily in value in the world's markets. They argued that to revive the old standard dollar would be to issue "dishonest money."

A resolution making all bonds of the United States payable, at the option of the government, in silver dollars passed both branches of Congress in January, 1878, by a large majority. Later, Congress (February 28, 1878) passed the Bland-Allison Bill.³ It did not restore the free coinage of silver (§ 255) but it authorized the purchase of from \$2,000,000 to \$4,000,000 worth of silver per month to be coined into standard dollars.

President Hayes vetoed the bill on the ground of the depreciated value of silver. He urged that it would be a grave breach of the public faith to pay the bondholders in any coin worth less in the market than that which had been received from them.

¹ The Secretary of the Treasury has always interpreted the word "coin" to mean gold.

² See Johnston's American Orations, IV, 296, 312.

³ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 102.

"If," said he, "the country is to be benefited by a silver coinage, it can be done only by the issue of silver dollars of full value¹ which will defraud no man."² But Congress did not take the President's view; some members believed, as did certain eminent bimetallists, that if the government made large purchases of silver, the price of that metal would rise and so bring the silver dollar to a parity with gold; others argued that the community demanded more money and that the recoinage of silver could alone satisfy this demand. Others, again, asked for a "cheap dollar" on the ground that it would lessen the burden of taxation by enabling them to pay the interest and principal of the national debt in silver.

For these reasons Congress passed the bill over the President's veto on the same day it was received. The act continued in operation from 1878 to 1890, during which time more than 378,000,000 silver dollars were coined and stored in the Treasury vaults at Washington. Later, the total reached \$450,000,000. Less than a twelvemonth afterward (January 1, 1879), the government, having accumulated more than \$140,000,000 in gold coin and bullion, mainly by the sale of bonds, resumed specie payment³ (§ 529), and all "greenbacks" presented at the Treasury or its agencies were promptly redeemed in gold. Very few notes were presented for redemption, for as soon as it was known that gold could certainly be had "nobody wanted it." Up to that date more than \$400,000,000 of the principal of the public debt (§ 508) had been canceled. The payments from the close of the war to 1897 averaged more than \$2500 for each hour of the entire time, and reached a total of nearly \$1,000,000,000; this left the outstanding debt at that date at about \$1,800,000,000.⁴ The effect of the resumption of specie payment was to greatly strengthen the credit of the government and enable it to borrow all the money

¹ The market value, by weight, of the standard silver dollar was then from 90 to 92 cents.

² See Richardson's Messages of the Presidents, VII, 486; Mason's Veto Power, 82.

³ See John Sherman's Recollections, II, 701-702; Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 374.

⁴ On January 1, 1901, the national debt was \$1,099,191,310.36.

it required at low rates of interest. The result was that the chief part of the debt was refunded, greatly to the profit of the Treasury and of the taxpayers.

536. The presidential election (1880). The presidential question and the question respecting the division of honors and offices had split the Republican party into two factions.¹ One demanded the renomination of Grant for a third term, while the other bitterly opposed it. The Republican National Convention adopted a platform demanding a tariff which should "favor American labor" and restrict Chinese immigration. They declared that now that slavery had been destroyed, Mormon polygamy must go. After a hard struggle the factions in convention compromised by nominating General Garfield of Ohio for President and Chester A. Arthur of New York for Vice President.²

The Democratic Convention demanded a tariff for revenue only. They nominated General W. S. Hancock for President and W. H. English of Indiana for Vice President.

The Greenback party (§ 531) repeated its demands for the substitution of "greenbacks" for the notes of national banks and for the unlimited coinage of silver.

The electoral vote stood 214 for Garfield to 155 for Hancock. The popular vote gave Garfield 4,454,416 to 4,444,952 for Hancock.

537. The improvement of the Mississippi. In 1874 Captain James B. Eads completed the great steel bridge across the Mississippi at St. Louis, — "the finest specimen of metal-arch construction in the world." Captain Eads then laid before the government plans for deepening the South Pass, or chief mouth of the Mississippi, which was blocked by a sand bar, that seriously obstructed navigation. Both the state of Louisiana and the

¹ One faction styled itself "Stalwarts," or Thorough-Going Republicans; they advocated the nomination of Grant and dubbed the opposition "Half-Breeds," or Half Republicans. The "Stalwarts" were under the leadership of Senator Conkling of New York, while Senator Blaine of Maine marshaled the "Half-Breeds."

² General Garfield ranged himself on the side of the "Half-Breeds," while Mr. Arthur was a prominent "Stalwart."

United States had spent a great deal in endeavoring to permanently deepen the channel of the river, but without effect.

Captain Eads' plans were accepted, and he began the construction of a system of jetties, or artificial banks. His object was to narrow the river and thereby increase the force of the current so that it would not only deepen the channel but carry the sediment out to sea. He completed his great work four years later (1879). It proved to be an entire success. The river, as he anticipated, deepened its own channel to a depth of thirty feet, so that large ocean steamers now have no difficulty in reaching New Orleans. This improvement has saved the expenditure of many millions for dredging and has added enormously to the commerce of the chief port of the South.

538. Summary. The principal events of the Hayes administration were: (1) the withdrawal of federal troops from the South; (2) the great railway strike; (3) the passage of the Bland-Allison Silver Act over the President's veto; (4) the resumption of specie payment; (5) the improvement of the navigation of the lower Mississippi.

JAMES A. GARFIELD (REPUBLICAN), ONE TERM (1881-1885)

539. Trying position of the President; his assassination. The President (§ 536) was anxious to bring about a reconciliation between the opposing factions of the Republican party, but at the same time he resolved to pursue an independent course and make nominations to office from either side, as he thought best. This course involved him in difficulty and made his position peculiarly trying. Among the disappointed office seekers was Charles J. Guiteau, a political adventurer, "half fool and half fanatic."

Not being able to secure the appointment of consul general to Paris, which he coveted, he resolved to murder the President.

His avowed object was to throw the executive power into the hands of Vice President Arthur, who belonged to the faction opposed to that which chose Garfield as head of the Republic (§ 536). Guiteau shot the President (July 2, 1881);¹ when arrested he exulted in the act of assassination and declared that the Almighty had inspired him to commit the deed. He was tried for murder, found guilty, and hanged.

540. The Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act; the "Star Route" frauds. The murder of the President gave an unmistakable emphasis to the demand for civil-service reform (§ 533). Senator Pendleton of Ohio introduced a bill (1882) to give "all citizens, duly qualified," "equal opportunities" to secure employment in the civil service of the United States. The bill received the hearty support of both the great political parties. It was promptly passed (January 16, 1883),² and President Arthur at once appointed a Civil Service Commission to carry the law into effect.

The new method of filling minor government offices, by the system of competitive examination, was put in operation at Washington, where many thousand clerks are employed in the different departments. It was gradually extended to all custom-houses and post offices having upwards of fifty clerks. It was the beginning of the "Merit System" and the end of the spoils system (§ 349). Henceforth Napoleon's maxim was to be the rule: "No favoritism, but give the tools to those who know how to use them."

Meanwhile Congress set itself to investigate the "Star Route" frauds. The name "Star Route" was used to designate stage lines for carrying the mails in parts of the country where they could not be carried by railways or steamboats. The whole number of such routes was between nine and ten thousand. A number of mail contractors and government officials formed a "ring." This "ring" got appropriations on false estimates and

¹ President Garfield lingered until autumn and then died (September 19, 1881).

² See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 109; Johnston's American Orations, IV, 367, 400.

on fictitious pay rolls, by means of which they robbed the government — that is to say, the taxpayers of the country — of about \$500,000 yearly. The gang was broken up, but unfortunately the swindlers who composed it managed to get off without punishment.

541. The Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Act; the tariff; labor legislation; panic of 1884. For twenty years a law had existed forbidding polygamy in the territories. The Mormons protested that this law was a direct violation of that article of the Constitution which forbids Congress prohibiting the "free exercise of religion" (Appendix, page xvi, I). But the United States Supreme Court (*Reynolds vs. United States*) decided (1878) that the act was constitutional.¹ In 1882 Senator Edmunds of Vermont brought in a bill² which provided that polygamy in the territories should be punished by fine and imprisonment, and, furthermore, that the person convicted should be deprived of the right to vote or to hold any office or place of public trust. The bill passed, and more than a thousand Mormons were convicted and sent to the penitentiary.

The year following (1883) the tariff was thoroughly revised for the first time since the war (\$ 455). The succeeding year (1884) Congress established the National Bureau of Labor Statistics at Washington for the purpose of collecting information which might be of use in the equitable adjustment of the relations of labor and capital, and which would help to promote the best interests of workingmen. In 1882 Congress prohibited Chinese immigration for ten years;³ in 1884 it enacted a more stringent law. It also passed the Alien Contract Labor Act,⁴ which excluded all foreign laborers under contract, when their work would compete with American labor.

¹ The court took the ground that while Congress had no power to interfere with religious belief as such, it had the same right to prohibit the members of a church from practicing polygamy that it had to forbid their offering up human sacrifices as part of their religious worship. See Carson's History of the United States Supreme Court, pp. 498, 499.

² See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 106. ³ Ibid., No. 107. ⁴ Ibid., No. 110.

A commercial and financial panic occurred in 1884, but it was not as serious as that of 1873 (§ 529). It was generally attributed to the overconstruction of railways or to the mismanagement of important lines. Much capital had been badly invested and iron and steel industries felt the depression. Leading bimetalists believed that the action of Germany in demonetizing silver (1871-1875) was a chief cause of the panic. It was followed by an unusual number of strikes and lockouts.¹

542. The presidential election (1884). There was a strong reaction in both of the great parties against "machine politics" and professional politicians. The issue, so far as one existed, was between the Republican policy of protection and the Democratic demand for a simple revenue tariff.

The Republican party nominated James G. Blaine, with John A. Logan of Illinois for Vice President. The Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland, with Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for Vice President. Many members of the Republican party declared themselves strongly opposed to the action of the National Convention. These Independent Republicans were nicknamed "Mugwumps."² They cast their votes for the Democratic candidate in the belief that he would use his influence to extend civil-service reform (§ 540).

The electoral vote stood 219 for Cleveland to 182 for Blaine; the popular vote gave Cleveland 4,874,986 to 4,851,981 for Blaine. But although the Democrats triumphed, the Senate remained Republican. This made party legislation practically impossible.

543. The New Orleans Exposition. The following December the Cotton Planters' Association opened (1884) a World's Fair in New Orleans, the largest cotton port in the United States. The exhibition was designed to commemorate the one hundredth

¹ See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 409-410.

² "Mugwump." An Indian word occurring in Eliot's *Indian Bible* (1661) and meaning a leader or chief. The Independent Republicans accepted the nickname as an honorable title.

anniversary of the shipment of cotton from this country to Europe. In 1784 a few bags of it, amounting in all to about one bale, were exported from Charleston to Liverpool.

Slavery and the invention of the cotton gin (§ 259) gave an immense impetus to the production of cotton, and in 1860 the crop amounted to 5,000,000 bales. This made cotton the "king" of American staples. When slavery was overthrown many believed that the chief industry of the South was ruined; but under free labor the production of cotton increased enormously, and 8,000,000 bales were put into the market in 1884.

Side by side with this increase another most lucrative industry had grown up. Under slavery the cotton seed was thrown aside and every year thousands of tons were burned as useless. Free labor found by experiment that the seed could be made to furnish "food, fuel, oil, and fertilizer," which would sell for more than \$30,000,000 annually. In fact, high authorities believe that if the cotton plant did not produce a single pound of cotton, it would still pay to cultivate it solely for the valuable products which can be obtained from the seed.

The New Orleans Exhibition did a much-needed work in calling attention to the national wealth and immense resources of the Southern States, and it helped to foster friendly political and social relations between those states and the North. Both sections stood on a common basis of labor; both recognized the fact that whatever contributed to the prosperity and progress of one could not fail to be of use to the other, and that however good independence might be, interdependence might be better still.

544. Summary. The chief events of the administration were: (1) the assassination of the President and the succession of Vice President Arthur; (2) the Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act; (3) the Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Act, followed by important labor legislation and by the opening of the New Orleans Exposition.

GROVER CLEVELAND (DEMOCRAT), ONE TERM (1885-1889)

545. The inauguration ; death of General Grant. President Cleveland (§ 542) was the first Democratic President who had been inaugurated (§ 433) for more than a quarter of a century, and many southerners who had not visited Washington since Buchanan's day came to the capital to witness the ceremony. Mr. Cleveland made no sweeping changes respecting government officials ; his declared purpose was to be faithful to the spirit of the civil-service reform (§ 540).

Toward the close of July (1885), General Grant died. He had spent the last months of his life in writing his "Memoirs" in order to save his family from the consequences of bankruptcy, which came upon them through the fraud of a partner in business. It has been well said that nothing in his whole career was more heroic than the diligence and determination with which he worked at his task while he was slowly dying from an exhausting and painful disease.

His funeral showed what progress reconciliation had made between North and South. Many of the prominent men who fought against him followed him to the grave, and among the pallbearers were several Confederate generals.

546. Cleveland's first annual message ; the tariff ; silver coinage ; public lands. In his first annual message to Congress (1885) the President called attention to the fact that the revenue of the government was in excess of its actual needs ; he recommended the adoption of a tariff which should yield enough to meet all reasonable demands, while at the same time it should "protect the interests of American labor." The Mills Bill was introduced "to reduce taxation," but it was defeated in the Senate, where a majority regarded it as a "free-trade" measure.

He urged Congress to suspend "the compulsory coinage of silver dollars" by repealing the Bland-Allison Act of 1878 (§ 535). He recommended that steps should be taken to recover public land which had been obtained by fraudulent means or through defective

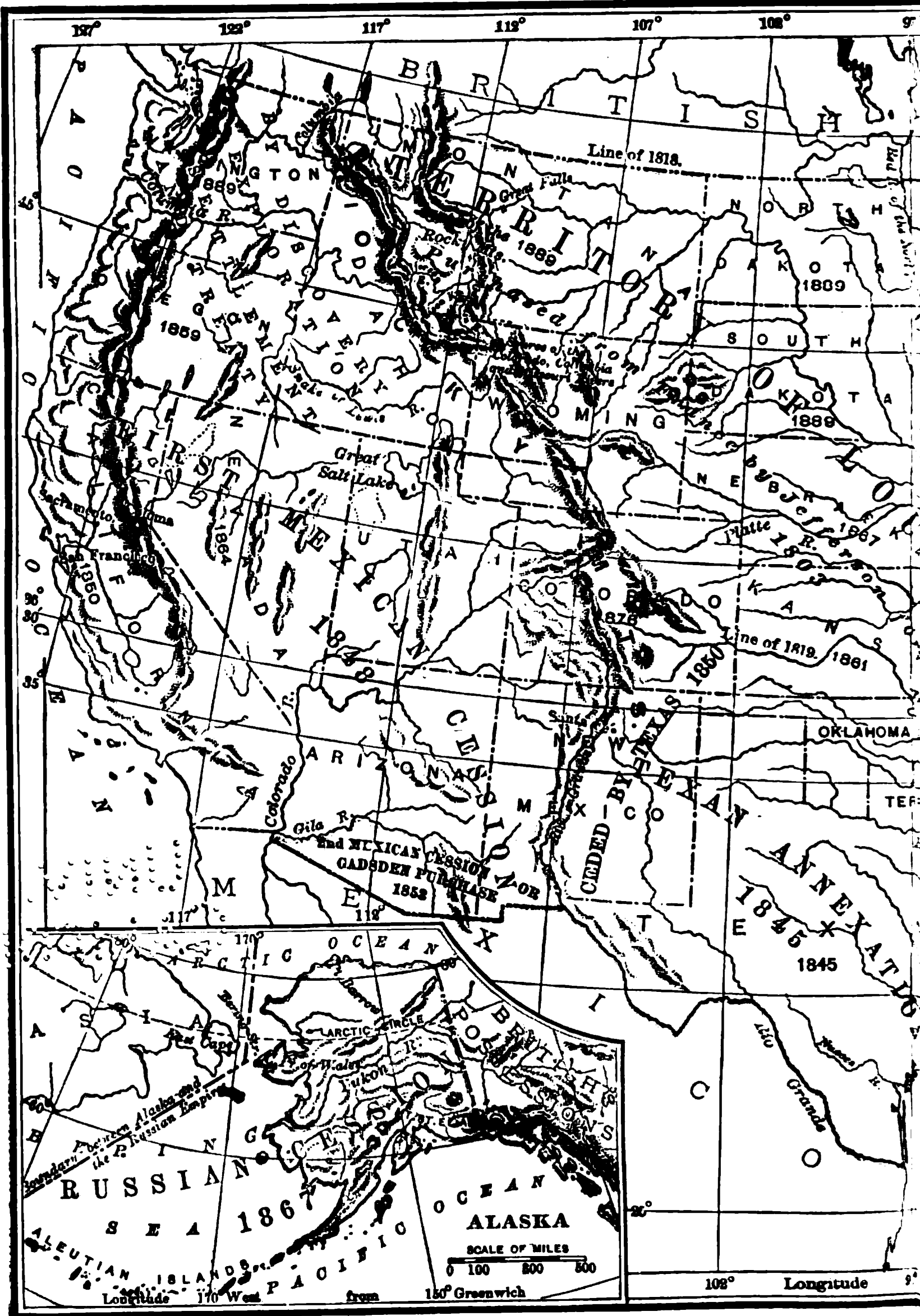
legislation for purely speculative purposes. The Land Department acted on this suggestion and succeeded in getting back more than 100,000,000 acres, to be disposed of as farms and homesteads to actual settlers.

547. Strikes and Anarchist riots in Chicago. The year 1886 was noteworthy for labor troubles and strikes. The agitation began at the West; it was particularly violent in Chicago. On the first of May 40,000 workmen struck in that city on the question of a reduction of time. Nearly all labor came to a standstill and every railway was crippled. Two days later, a band of strikers made an attack on the McCormick Reaper Works. The police undertook to defend the works, and a fight occurred in which several of the attacking party were wounded.

The following evening the strikers met in the Old Haymarket. Violent speeches were made and the police ordered the gathering to disperse. As they were preparing to enforce the order a dynamite bomb was thrown, which killed and wounded sixty officers. The mob then drew revolvers and began firing on the officers. The officers returned the fire, charged on the mob with terrible effect, and arrested a number of the leaders of the riot; all were foreigners. They were tried for murder and four were executed; a fifth escaped the gallows by blowing out his brains with some of his own dynamite.

The result of the riot showed conclusively that the number of anarchists in the country was by no means large, and that the great body of American workingmen utterly repudiated the use of bombs in place of ballots as a means for securing rights or rectifying wrongs.

548. Five important laws; bills vetoed; the Fisheries Controversy. The death of the Vice President (1885) led to the passage of a law regulating the order of presidential succession. Had his death been followed by that of the President, the country might have been left in a very unsettled condition, since the Constitution (Appendix, page xii) left the matter in the hands of Congress and Congress had taken no satisfactory action respecting it.





Congress now passed a new Presidential Succession Act (1886). It provided that in case the offices of President and Vice President should both become vacant, the executive office should pass to the Secretary of State, and then, if necessary, to six other members of the Cabinet in a prescribed order.¹

The excited and perilous contest over the disputed election of 1876 (Hayes *versus* Tilden) (§ 531) induced Congress to pass (1887) the Electoral Count Act,² which empowers each state, in case of controversy, to decide how its own vote stands; if it fails to decide, the question then comes before Congress.

The same Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act³ (1887) (§ 529). Under it five commissioners were appointed to maintain a just and uniform rate of transportation on all railway and steamboat lines passing from state to state.

The Edmunds Act relating to the suppression of polygamy among the Mormons (§ 541) was now supplemented by the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act (1887).⁴ It dissolved the Mormon Church as a corporate body, confiscated all of its immense property in excess of \$50,000, and put it in the hands of trustees, but later restored it (§ 558).

The next year (1888) Congress passed a new Chinese Immigration Act (§ 541) (reënacted in 1892 and in 1902),⁵ which absolutely excluded further immigrants from that empire.

During his administration President Cleveland vetoed more than three hundred bills, or more than double the number which had been vetoed by all preceding Presidents. These

¹ The first Presidential Succession Act, passed in 1792, provided that in case the President and Vice President should both be removed, the succession should devolve on the person acting as President of the Senate, and next on the Speaker of the House. The present order of succession is as follows: (1) the Secretary of State; (2) the Secretary of the Treasury; (3) the Secretary of War; (4) the Attorney-General; (5) the Postmaster-General; (6) the Secretary of the Navy; (7) the Secretary of the Interior. The Cabinet was enlarged in 1889 so as to include the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, and in 1903 the Secretary of the new Department of Commerce and Labor was made a member of the Cabinet.

² See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 113.

³ Ibid., No. 114.

⁴ Ibid., No. 118.

⁵ Ibid., No. 119.

vetoed covered the Dependent Pension Bill (1887)¹ and several hundred private pension bills. The President gave as his reasons for refusing to sign the first measure that (1) it was badly drawn and would lead to litigation; (2) that the Union soldiers had been better provided for by pay and bounties than any other soldiers "since mankind first went to war," and that those who had been disabled in service were receiving liberal pensions, amounting to \$75,000,000 a year; finally, (3) that the bill would subject the taxpayers of the country to an enormous additional expense.

Congress failed to pass the measure over the veto, but it was passed and approved under the next administration (1890).² One of President Cleveland's last acts was to veto the Direct Tax-Refunding Bill, for reducing the surplus by refunding \$16,000,000 collected in behalf of the Union at the outbreak of the Civil War. The bill was finally passed under the next administration (1891).

It will be remembered that the fisheries controversy between the United States and Great Britain was temporarily settled in 1877 (§ 526). In 1885 the President notified the English government that we desired to abrogate the articles of the Treaty of Washington relating to this subject. This was done, and the right of American vessels to take fish in Canadian or Newfoundland waters became again a matter of dispute.

The real difficulty was to determine the three-mile line of coast limitation (originally adopted by the Convention of 1818) which both governments held as in some sense binding. It was agreed that we should not fish within this line, but the question was how it was to be drawn. We assumed that it should follow the curves and indentations of the shores of the fishing grounds; but England

¹ This bill pensioned all who served ninety days in the War of the Rebellion and had been honorably discharged, and who were unable to perform manual labor, and the widows, children, and dependent parents of such persons. Previous acts (1862-1879) had provided pensions for soldiers and sailors disabled in the Civil War, for the dependent kinsmen of those who had died, and back pay on all pensions claimed in 1879 and subsequently. See Richardson's Messages of the Presidents, VIII, 549.

² See Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia for 1890, 234.

insisted that, in all cases, it should be drawn straight from headland to headland, thus excluding our vessels from entering bays or inlets. This important difference of opinion could not be settled, and it still remains open to negotiation.

549. Increase of the navy; centennial celebration. The navy which had done such noble service in the Civil War was rapidly falling into decay. Congress took the matter in hand (1883) by ordering the construction of a number of first-class steel cruisers. At present the United States has a fleet of two hundred and fifty-two war vessels (besides forty-five in construction or authorized), which in point of efficiency and speed equal any in the world.¹

The autumn of 1887 completed the one hundredth birthday of the Constitution (§ 247). At the celebration held at Philadelphia the President delivered an address on the great charter of the Republic. "We receive it," said he, "sealed with the tests of a century. It has been found sufficient in the past; and in all the future years it will be found sufficient if the American people are true to their sacred trust."

The following year (1888) the centennial of the settlement of Ohio (§ 258) and of the organization of the Northwest Territory (§ 237) was celebrated at Marietta, Cincinnati, and Columbus.

550. The presidential election (1888); the Australian ballot. In the presidential campaign the Democrats made "tariff reform" — in other words, "the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation" — the principal plank in their platform. They renominated Cleveland for President, with Allen G. Thurman of Ohio for Vice President.

The Republicans declared themselves "uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection." They nominated General Benjamin Harrison of Indiana for President and Levi P. Morton of New York for Vice President.

¹ This fleet includes 16 armored battle ships, 2 armored cruisers, 13 turret monitors, 17 unarmored steel vessels, and 204 other vessels comprising rams, gunboats, torpedo boats, auxiliary cruisers, submarine vessels, and torpedo-boat destroyers.

The issue at the election was the question of the adoption of a revenue or of a protective tariff. The electoral vote stood 233 for Harrison to 168 for Cleveland; the popular vote was 5,540,329 for Cleveland and 5,439,853 for Harrison.¹

In 1889 Massachusetts resolved to introduce, for the first time in American history, the Australian or secret ballot. It was found to possess great merit in securing independent action on the part of voters. Other states soon began to adopt it or some method suggested by it, and such ballots are now in use for both local and national elections in forty-two states.²

551. Summary. The principal events of Cleveland's administration were: (1) the anarchist riot in Chicago; (2) the passage of the five following important laws: the Presidential Succession, Electoral Count, Interstate Commerce, Dissolution of the Mormon Church, and Chinese Immigration Acts; (3) the President's veto of the Dependent Pension and Tax-Refunding Bills; (4) the recovering of many millions of acres of public lands; (5) the increase of the navy; (6) the introduction of the Australian or secret ballot; (7) the Fisheries Controversy; and (8) the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

BENJAMIN HARRISON (REPUBLICAN), ONE TERM (1889-1893)

552. "Protection" and the South; opening of Oklahoma. In his inaugural address President Harrison (§ 550) said, "I look hopefully to the continuance of our protective system and to

¹ See McKee's National Conventions and Platforms, 232-259.

² The claims made for the Australian or secret ballot are: (1) that it facilitates independent nominations for office; (2) that the ballots are officially printed; (3) that they are distributed to voters by sworn election officers; (4) that the voter is isolated while preparing his ballot, that it is impossible for any one to know how he votes, and hence that opportunities for fraud, intimidation, or bribery are thereby greatly diminished. For qualifications for voting see the World Almanac for 1904, 92.

the consequent development of manufacturing and mining enterprises in the states hitherto wholly given to agriculture, as a potent influence in the perfect unification of our people."

The region called by the Indians Oklahoma, or the "beautiful land," constituted the heart of the Indian Territory. The whites coveted it, and "boomers" had made repeated attempts to take forcible possession. In 1889 the government purchased this tract of land from the Indians.

The President declared that it would be thrown open to settlement on April 22. At noon of that day the blast of a bugle was the signal for "a wild rush across the borders." Before night-fall more than 50,000 emigrants had entered the new territory. Towns of tents and portable houses sprang up in a day, and a few months later Guthrie, the capital, could boast of its four daily papers, its six banks, its city waterworks, street cars, and electric lights.

553. The Washington Centennial; the Pan-American Congress; admission of six new states; woman suffrage. A week after the opening of Oklahoma the centennial anniversary of the inauguration of Washington was celebrated in New York City (§ 249).

In the autumn (1889) the Pan-American Congress met in Washington. It consisted of delegates from the leading South American Republics and the Republic of Mexico, who met delegates appointed by the United States, with the view of forming a closer political and commercial union.

The following month (November, 1889) four new states, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington, were admitted to the Union. The next summer (1890) Idaho and Wyoming were added, making the total number forty-four. Wyoming was the first state admitted to the Union with a constitution granting equal rights of suffrage and complete political equality to women. Colorado, Utah, and Idaho have since adopted similar constitutions; in 1894 Colorado elected three women to the Legislature.¹

¹ **Woman Suffrage.** Twenty-seven states (1904) recognize woman suffrage in some form; of these states 20 give women school suffrage; 1 (Kansas), full municipal

554. A Century of Progress (1789-1889). Let us pause here for a moment and see what a century accomplished in the development of our national history.

1. *Extent of national territory.* When Washington entered office in 1789 (§ 249) we were a poor and struggling people, weak in numbers and having a comparatively small territory.

On the north the boundary line between Maine and Canada was disputed ground (§ 380). Furthermore, British garrisons still held forts within our frontier at Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and Mackinaw (§ 249). On the south Spain held the entire shore of the Gulf of Mexico, including the city of New Orleans and the mouth of the Mississippi. For this reason we had neither a foothold nor a port of any kind on the coast of the "American Mediterranean." On the west the United States was bounded by the Mississippi, which, with all the vast region extending beyond it, was in the grasp of Spain, and Spain was then an unfriendly power (see map facing page 226). But by the time the century had run a little more than half of its course all these conditions had changed to our advantage.

The dispute over the northern boundary line had been satisfactorily settled (§ 380) and the forts on the frontier evacuated (§ 265). On the south the United States had extended its possessions so as to embrace the entire circle of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico (§§ 318, 384). On the west we had obtained full possession of the Mississippi from source to mouth, and had made the Rocky Mountains (§ 280) and finally the Pacific our national boundary (§§ 283, 403).

2. *Population and wealth.* Our population and our wealth had increased enormously. In 1789 the white citizens of the Republic numbered far less than those of either Ohio or Illinois a hundred years later (§§ 258, 556). Then neither of those great

suffrage; 2 (Arkansas and Mississippi), liquor license suffrage by petition; and 4 (Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho), full suffrage and right to hold office. (From information furnished by Henry B. Blackwell, editor of the *Woman's Journal*.)

and prosperous states had been carved out of the "Wilderness" which stretched westward from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi (§ 258).

When the eleventh census was taken (1890) our population had multiplied more than fifteen fold (§ 556), and the "Wilderness" existed only in the memory of a few white-haired old men who had helped to settle it. Our revenue, which in 1789 was only about \$4,000,000, had risen to over \$400,000,000 by the end of the century we are considering.

3. *Acquisition of political rights.* Again, when the first President was elected (§ 247) only a very small per cent of the population had the right to vote. With a very few exceptions, all of the thirteen states hedged round that right with a property qualification. Land was the basis of the ballot; without land manhood seldom had political power. In addition to this property qualification a majority of the thirteen states imposed a religious restriction on the voter. In some cases they required him to be a Protestant and a church member.¹

The same system prevailed as regards candidacy for the Legislature or for the office of governor.² "The poor man counted for nothing. He was governed, but not with his consent, by his property-owning Christian neighbors."³

As the nation grew in population and spread westward across the continent these property and religious qualifications for voters and office-holders gradually disappeared from the statute books. Long before the century came to an end they had vanished in all but four states of the Union, and their constitutions had been made a generation earlier. The ballot now belonged of right to the man himself, instead of being a privilege dependent on what the man owned.

4. *Constitutional decisions by the Supreme Court.* Another change which had come about was that which the United States

¹ See Thorpe's Constitutional History of the American People, I, 93-97.

² Ibid., I, 68, 77, 82.

³ See McMaster's Lectures on the Acquisition of Rights, 18-21.

Supreme Court had wrought. When Washington became President it was a question whether supreme authority inhered in the federal government or in the states. Chief Justice Marshall answered that question and others which hinged on it. In a series of luminous decisions (§ 275) he interpreted the spirit as well as the letter of the Constitution. He demonstrated the truth that the Constitution is "the paramount law of the land." He defined national sovereignty, state rights, and the limits of Congressional and judicial power. He laid down the principle of national sovereignty with absolute clearness, but he also recognized the fact that a state is as supreme within its own sphere as is Congress in the affairs of the whole Republic.¹ These decisions led up to that memorable one which Chief Justice Chase delivered after the Civil War, when he declared the nation and the states to be alike indissoluble (§ 509).²

5. *Education.* Furthermore, in the course of the hundred years under consideration, the United States had made as great progress in the advancement of education as it had in the interpretation of the Constitution or in the extension of the elective franchise. Free schools in the modern sense of that term can hardly be said to have existed in Washington's day (§§ 93, 180); but long before the end of the century they had become practically universal. In addition to what the individual states did for their maintenance and encouragement, the national government contributed large grants of lands (§§ 279, 339)³. The aggregate amount of these grants covered many thousand square miles, and they were destined, later, to equal in extent the entire area of Great Britain and Ireland.³ No nation of Europe has ever endowed its institutions of learning as the United States has endowed its common schools. These are investments which can never depreciate in value, and which will yield dividends for all time.

6. *Acquisition of industrial rights.* Once more, when Washington entered office, industrial rights as we now understand them

¹ See Thorpe's Short Constitutional History of the United States, ch. xi.

² *Texas vs. White* (1868). ³ The total grants now exceed 125,000 square miles.

were unknown. Skilled labor could not form unions for the advancement of its interests. The courts forbade such combinations.¹ But as the century moved onward all this changed, and labor obtained the power to organize in its own behalf (§ 526). These instances show some of the geographical, political, intellectual, industrial, and economic gains which the Republic made in three generations.

7. *The abolition of slavery.* But it made one more which in magnitude equals if it does not exceed all which we have mentioned. The last generation of the century disposed of a question which had vexed and threatened the Republic from Washington's day to Lincoln's. It put an end to slavery, and, by so doing, formed a new Union having freedom for its corner stone.

555. The new Pension Act; the Sherman Silver Act; the McKinley Tariff. In accordance with the earnest recommendation of President Harrison, Congress passed (1890) the Dependent Pension Bill² which had been vetoed under the preceding administration (§ 548). This act nearly doubled the list of pensioners, making the entire number about a million. The disbursements in pensions from 1861 to 1889 amounted to nearly \$1,000,000,000; in the eight years before the Spanish War (1889-1897) more than \$1,000,000,000 was expended, making a total of over \$2,000,000,000. The total amount paid in pensions up to 1904, inclusive, was upwards of \$3,000,000,000. The present rate of disbursement for the same purpose is, in round numbers, \$139,000,000 a year, or over \$380,000 a day.

The same Congress repealed the Bland-Allison Silver Coinage Act (§ 535) and passed (July 14, 1890) the Sherman Silver Purchase and Coinage Act.³ It directed the Treasurer of the United States to buy 4,500,000 ounces, or about 140 tons,

¹ See McMaster's *Lectures on the Acquisition of Rights*, 56-60; and Carroll D. Wright on "Consolidated Labor," in the *North American Review* for January, 1902.

² See *United States Statutes at Large* for 1890, or Appleton's *Annual Cyclopædia* for 1890, 234.

³ See Macdonald's *Select Statutes*, No. 121; Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 436; Johnston's *American Orations*, IV, 329, 347.

avoirdupois, of silver each month, and ordered 2,000,000 ounces to be coined into dollars each month until July 1, 1891, and thereafter as might be deemed necessary.

Senator Sherman, the reputed author of the law, says, "A large majority of the Senate favored free silver, and this bill was prepared to prevent the passage of an act for free silver coinage" (§§ 255, 528). The friends of silver believed that this enormous monthly purchase of that metal by the government would advance its market value; it did for a few weeks, after which it continued to steadily decline.¹

Early in the autumn of 1890 Congress passed the McKinley Tariff.² One chief object of this act was to reduce the revenue, then largely in excess of our demands, and to secure to the

¹ The coinage of gold and silver was originally (§ 255) free and unlimited to all persons bringing bullion to the mint. In 1873 silver was demonetized (§ 528); but the free coinage of gold continued. The metal in the silver dollar was then worth \$1.004, or a fraction more than the gold dollar; by 1878, when the Bland-Allison Silver Coinage Bill passed (§ 535), it had fallen to 89 cents and a fraction; in 1890, when the Sherman Silver Purchase Act was passed, it had fallen to 81 cents; thereafter it continued to fall until, when the Sherman Act was repealed in 1893, it stood at 51 cents and a fraction. The Director of the United States Mint (Report for 1893) attributed the fall in the price of silver partly to the fact that a number of the leading nations of Europe had ceased coining it except in small sums, but mainly to the enormous increase in the output of the metal. In 1873 the total production was \$81,800,000; by 1892 it had risen to \$196,605,000, — an increase of 140 per cent.

On the other hand, Senator Jones, the great silver-mine owner of Nevada, and President Andrews of Brown University contended that silver had not actually fallen in value or in purchasing power, but that there had been a "ruinously great" rise in gold. See Senator Jones' speech in Johnston's American Orations, IV, 362; Andrews' United States, II, 276; and Prof. Francis A. Walker's writings advocating international bimetallism.

Up to 1873 only about \$8,000,000 in silver dollars had been coined, and at that date none were in circulation and had not been for many years. On the first of October, 1896, the total issue of silver dollars was over \$437,000,000, besides \$75,000,000 in subsidiary silver. A very large amount of silver bullion, estimated to be worth over \$125,000,000, then remained uncoined. The total gold coinage to June 30, 1900, was \$2,167,088,113. The total amount of coin, notes, and bullion in "general stock" on October 1, 1900, was \$2,386,450,355. The total amount of specie, government paper, and national bank notes in circulation January 1, 1901, was \$2,173,251,879, or more than \$28 per capita, according to the census returns of 1900. See the World Almanac, 1901, 185, 186; Current History, March, 1901, 73.

² See Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 438.

American farmer protection against competition equal to that granted to the American manufacturer. The duties under the new tariff averaged $48\frac{2}{10}$ per cent, — the highest ever imposed up to that date. The act contained certain provisions called Reciprocity or "Fair Trade" Measures. They gave the President power to reimpose duties on certain articles on the free list in case he thought that the countries exporting those articles to the United States levied unreasonable duties on imports of American agricultural products. This provision led to the negotiation of commercial treaties with a number of European and South American countries.

556. The census of 1890; no "frontier line"; the Patent Office Centennial. The "Centennial Census" (1890) reported the total area of the United States, including Alaska, at over 3,600,000 square miles, and the total population (Indians not included) at 62,622,250.

In a single century we had gained 58,000,000 in population, had taken possession of the entire breadth of the continent, and had accumulated wealth sufficient, if equally divided, to give \$1000 to every man, woman, and child in the Union.

The census of 1890 also reported, for the first time in our national history, that no frontier line of settlements existed in the West. That meant that there were no longer any clearly defined spaces destitute of population except in barren regions which repelled the farmer and the stock raiser. The great American march toward the setting sun which began in earnest with the opening of the nineteenth century (§§ 278, 339) had practically come to an end.

Henceforth the West would cease to mean opportunity in the sense it had meant it for so many generations. The United States still owned hundreds of millions of acres of mineral lands, and of arid lands which might be fertilized by irrigation, but that was all. It had no more free farms to offer to those men who once went out to build up independent homes for themselves and their children in the unknown wilderness.

The progress of that great movement can be traced on government maps from decade to decade, beginning with the first census of 1790. Then the emigrants from the eastern states had only just crossed the Alleghenies. On the map of 1800 (see map facing page 268) we see that they had entered the Ohio Country and were getting possession of Kentucky. By 1810 a few settlers had reached the banks of the Mississippi, opposite St. Louis, and were crossing over the great river. But in the northwest the progress was slower and it took forty years more for the sturdy pioneers to reach the western boundary of Iowa.

Then came another forty years' march across the plains of Kansas and Nebraska toward the slopes of the Rocky Mountains. Finally, in 1890, the bearers of the ax and the rifle met the settlers who were moving eastward from the Pacific states. The work of the pioneers was completed. The men whose grim energy and stalwart faith in their own manhood had found fit representation in Jackson and Lincoln came to a halt. They had conquered the wilderness which Jefferson thought it would take a thousand years to conquer, and they had planted it with free states. There is no more interesting chapter in American history than the progress of this movement across the continent.¹

The following year (1891) the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Patent Office at Washington was celebrated. During the century of its existence the office had issued more than 450,000 patents. These cover well-nigh the whole field of human industry. They began with the first patent issued in 1790 for improved methods of making pearlash and potash — which was often the first crop which the men who cleared the wilderness got from the soil² — and they came down to those for the electric motors of the present day. A large proportion of patents are for

¹ See "Frontier" in index to Thorpe's *Constitutional History of the American People* and in Semple's *American History and Its Geographic Conditions*; see too Prof. F. J. Turner's "Contribution of the West to American Democracy," in the *Atlantic Magazine*, January, 1903.

² In early days the backwoodsmen burned their timber and made pearlash and potash from the ashes. These products brought ready money in the market.

new or improved labor-saving inventions. Carroll D. Wright testifies that American machinery has shortened the hours of work, increased the workman's wages, and reduced the prices he pays for all kinds of manufactured goods.

557. Labor troubles at Homestead. In the summer of 1892 the Carnegie Steel Company at Homestead near Pittsburg gave notice that it should be compelled to reduce the pay of its employees, — more than three thousand in number. The men refused to accept the reduction and hanged the president of the company in effigy. Thereupon the company shut its doors two days before the contract time expired.

The discharged men took possession of the works and refused to give them up. The company hired a strong body of armed Pinkerton detectives to dislodge them. A battle ensued in which a number were killed and wounded on both sides, and the Pinkertons were compelled to surrender. The governor of Pennsylvania sent the entire militia force of the state to Homestead to restore order. The Carnegie Company then opened their mills with new men. The strike lasted about twenty weeks; it cost the company, the strikers, and the public an average of more than \$200,000 a week, or a total of \$4,325,000.

558. The Supreme Court and the Mormon Church; amnesty to the Mormons. In 1890 the United States Supreme Court had affirmed the constitutionality of the Edmunds-Tucker Law (§ 548) confiscating the property of the Mormon Church. A few months later, the head of that church publicly advised his followers to obey the law and renounce polygamy. A general conference held at Salt Lake City (1890) pledged the whole body of Mormons to accept the advice of their president. Thereupon President Harrison issued a proclamation of amnesty (1893) to the Mormons and the confiscated church property was restored.

559. The presidential election (1892). The chief issue in the presidential campaign was the tariff question. The Republicans reaffirmed "the American doctrine of Protection" and renominated President Harrison, with Whitelaw Reid of New York for Vice President.

The Democrats denounced protection as "a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few." They demanded a tariff for revenue only and nominated ex-President Cleveland, with Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois for Vice President.

The National People's party, or "Populists" (§ 529), now held their first National Convention (1892). They demanded free and unlimited silver coinage (§ 555) in the ratio of 16 to 1 (§ 255) and a speedy increase in the issue of money to not less than \$50 per capita (§ 555, note). The remaining planks in their platform did not differ very essentially from the socialist features of those of the Labor party or of the "Grangers" (§§ 527, 529). The "Populists" nominated General James B. Weaver of Iowa for President and James G. Field of Virginia for Vice President.

In the five states of Kansas, Colorado, Idaho, North Dakota, and Wyoming the Democrats voted for the "Populist" candidate.

At the election Cleveland received 277 electoral votes, Harrison 145, and Weaver 22. The popular vote stood 5,556,543 for Cleveland, 5,175,582 for Harrison, and 1,040,886 for Weaver.

560. Summary. The principal events of Harrison's administration were the passage of the Dependent Pension Act, the Sherman Silver Act, and the McKinley Protective Tariff. Six states were admitted, one with woman suffrage; and the first vessels of our new steel navy were built. The Washington Centennial, the Census Report with its "no frontier line," the Patent Office Celebration, the Homestead Strike, and the appearance of the "Populists" in national politics also demand notice.

GROVER CLEVELAND (DEMOCRAT), SECOND TERM (1893-1897)

561. Cleveland's inaugural address; the Columbus celebration; the Columbian Exposition. On the 4th of March, 1893, the Democratic party came into full control of all departments of the national government. In the inaugural address of his second term of office (§ 559) President Cleveland dwelt mainly on the necessity

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of a "sound and stable currency" and of "tariff reform." He urged that there should be no more "protection for protection's sake," and called on the people to support the government instead of looking to the government to support them.

The four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus had been celebrated (1892) in the schools throughout the United States. The celebration was resumed in the spring of 1893 by an international naval review held in New York harbor. This pageant was preliminary to the opening of the "Columbian Exposition" at Chicago on the first of May. The exposition was in every way worthy of the purpose for which it was planned, and it would be difficult to conceive of a more magnificent spectacle than this greatest of world's fairs extending for two miles along the shore of Lake Michigan.

562. The panic of 1893; repeal of part of the Sherman Silver Act; the "Force Act" repealed; the Bering Sea case. In the midst of the Columbian celebration a terrible financial panic¹ swept over the country. Over three hundred banks suspended payment, business was paralyzed, failures multiplied, and a fourth of the railway capital of the country was in the hands of receivers. This occurred at a time when the total amount of silver stored in the Treasury vaults at Washington or in circulation among the people was nearly \$600,000,000.

The panic appears to have been caused by the action of foreign holders of our stocks and government securities. They believed that we intended paying our debts in silver dollars, worth then about 67 cents.² For this reason they made haste to sell their

¹ See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 444.

² In July, 1892, the market value of the silver dollar was 88 cents; in June, 1893, the British government closed the mints of India to the free coinage of silver, and the market value of the dollar speedily fell to 67 cents.

Prof. Francis A. Walker, an earnest advocate of international bimetallism, took the ground that the only true way to raise the price of silver was to induce the leading powers of the Old World to join the United States in remonetizing that metal. On the other hand, the Free-Silver party contended that the United States could and should act independently of Europe in the matter. See Walker's *International Bimetallism*, Preface, et seq.

holdings at whatever price they could get. This caused depression and "tight money" in New York and throughout the country.¹

The crisis was so alarming that the President summoned an extra session of Congress (August 3, 1893) to consider what should be done. He believed that the primary cause of the panic was the continued purchase and coinage by the government of enormous quantities of silver in a steadily falling market for that metal. In accordance with the President's recommendation Congress proceeded to discuss the proposed repeal of the silver-purchase clause in the Sherman Act (§ 555). Senator Sherman himself spoke earnestly for that repeal.² After two months' debate it was carried in the Senate by a majority of 11; in the House a majority of 100 voted for it, and it at once received the President's approval (November 1, 1893).³ Congress later repealed the "Force Act" (§ 525).

A controversy had long been going on with England respecting the infringement of our rights in Bering Sea. We claimed that when we purchased Alaska (§ 520) we thereby obtained the power to close that sea against foreign seal hunters. It had been agreed to settle the matter by arbitration. The commission appointed reported (1893) that the sea must remain open, but that we had the right to take measures to protect the seals at certain seasons. This decision ended the dispute.

563. The Coxey "army"; the Chicago strike. The panic and business depression (§ 562) of the winter of 1893-1894 gave rise to a remarkable movement. One Coxey started from Massillon, Ohio, to lead an "army" of the unemployed to Washington to

¹ The western "Populists" declared that the panic was caused by a conspiracy hatched by British and American bankers with Mr. Cleveland's encouragement for the express purpose of driving silver money out of use. See *Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1893.

² Senator Sherman said: "The free coinage of silver and gold at any ratio you may fix means the use of the cheaper metal only. . . . No man will carry to the mint one ounce of gold to be coined into dollars when he can carry sixteen ounces of silver, worth but little more in the market than half an ounce of gold, and get the same number of dollars." See *Sherman's Recollections*, II, 1191.

³ See *Macdonald's Select Statutes*, No. 125.

demand aid from the government. Coxey's example led to the formation of similar "armies" in California and other parts of the West. They forced freight trains to transport them and lived "tramp" fashion off the country through which they passed on their way toward the national capital.

"General" Coxey with his followers of the "Commonweal of Christ" reached Washington the last of April (1894). The police forbade his addressing the people from the steps of the capitol, and the "Commonwealers" soon deserted him. The other "armies" gradually broke up, and the threatened demonstration which had drawn recruits from fourteen states and two territories ended in derisive and decisive failure.

About midsummer (1894) the employees of the Pullman Car Company, at the Pullman Works near Chicago, struck against a reduction of wages. The men employed on the principal railways radiating from Chicago struck in sympathy and refused to haul Pullman cars. Serious riots ensued, a great amount of property was destroyed, and the police and the militia were defied. The President sent United States troops to Chicago to maintain commerce between the states, protect government buildings, enforce the decrees of the federal courts, and prevent interference with the carrying of the mails. In all, it required a force of more than 14,000 police, militia, and troops to hold the strikers and the mob effectually in check. The strike caused a loss estimated at \$87,000,000. Good authorities make the total cost of the three great strikes of 1877 (\$ 534) 1892 (\$ 557), and 1894 about \$172,000,000, or a loss of more than \$30,000 a day for every working day of the seventeen years covering the period.¹

564. Hawaii; the Wilson-Gorman Tariff; the income tax; the Atlanta Exhibition; the "New South"; the "New West." A revolution occurred in Hawaii early in 1893, and the revolutionists, after dethroning the queen, opened negotiations for annexation to

¹ See Carroll D. Wright's *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, ch. xxv-xxvi; *The North American Review*, June, 1902; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia* for 1877, 1892, 1894.

the United States. During this time an American protectorate was declared. President Cleveland sent commissioners to investigate the condition of affairs; acting on their report, he refused to continue the protectorate or to favor annexation, but issued a proclamation (1894) recognizing Hawaii as an independent Republic.

Meanwhile Congress was discussing the Wilson-Gorman Tariff for reducing "taxation" and providing "revenue." As originally drawn it abolished duties on raw materials and on the necessities of life, but in its progress through the Senate the bill received more than six hundred amendments. These so changed its character that the President would not give it his approval, and it became a law without his signature (Appendix, page ix, § 7).¹ The new tariff reduced the rate of duties about 11 per cent, making the average rate 37 per cent (\$ 555). Wool was the chief raw material it admitted free. An income tax was appended to the tariff, but the United States Supreme Court (1895) decided it to be unconstitutional.

The following autumn (1895) the "Cotton States and International Exhibition" was held at Atlanta. The exhibition showed the marvelous progress the "New South" had made since the war.

The buildings stood in Piedmont Park on the very ground where thirty years before Sherman had planted the batteries which threw the first shell into Atlanta. Since then not only Atlanta but the whole section it represented had risen from its ruins. The South was no longer poor (§§ 543, 552); between 1880 and 1890 its valuation had increased nearly \$4,000,000,000. It had ceased to be a purely agricultural country, dependent on the North for its manufactured goods. Mills had sprung up which spun and wove hundreds of thousands of bales of cotton, and by the aid of improved machinery a single operative could in a twelvemonth produce cloth enough to supply 1500 persons.

The South, too, is naturally rich in iron and coal, but before the war these mineral treasures had scarcely been touched. Now all

¹ See Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 455.

had changed ; mines had been opened, millions of tons of coal had been dug, and enormous quantities of iron smelted.¹ This was the work of free labor ; as ex-President Harrison said : "The Emancipation Proclamation was heard in the depths of the earth. . . . Men were made free and material things became our better servants."

The intellectual progress of the South has kept pace with her material growth. Thanks to the labors of the different religious denominations of the country and to the princely gifts of George Peabody, John F. Slater, and Paul Tulane, schools and colleges were opened for both white and black at a time when the people of that section were too poor to undertake such work for themselves. Since then the South has raised and expended more than \$400,000,000 on the education of her children, so that all may have an "even start in life." Of this sum the southern people have given a generous share toward the maintenance of colored schools.

In this astonishing advance the negro has taken part. A little more than a generation ago he had no record ; he was simply a drudge driven to his daily toil by the overseer's whip. He "knew nothing, owned nothing, was nothing." The first school for freedmen was opened in the autumn of 1861 under the guns of Fort Monroe.

To-day over 55 per cent of the negroes can read and write,² and an increasing number are becoming property owners and taxpayers. It is true that the population of the section known as the "Black Belt" moves forward slowly ; nevertheless it moves, and idleness, ignorance, and degradation are gradually giving way to the black man's desire to know something, to do something, to have something, and to be something. Part of this progress he owes to the lessons which he or his ancestors learned in the hard "school of American slavery,"³ and part to what the South, with

¹ In 1890 the South mined 15,000,000 tons of coal and smelted 1,600,000 tons of iron ore ; since then the production has increased enormously.

² See census of 1900.

³ See Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery*, 16.

the help of such men as Booker T. Washington, has done and is doing in his behalf.

If we turn from the "New South" to the "New West," we find growth in population, industrial enterprise, and wealth without a parallel. Since the war vast solitudes have been settled and thousands of miles of railways constructed. Towns and cities have sprung up, mines of precious metals have been opened, and cattle and sheep ranches and grain farms established on a colossal scale. On a single wheat farm in one of the Dakota states, a man plows a straight four-mile furrow. It takes him from morning to noon to go down its full length, and he gets back to the starting point just in time for supper. In Texas there are cattle ranches which embrace from one to two hundred thousand acres, all inclosed by a single wire fence. The westerner "measures things with a big yardstick."¹

The food products of that section alone would suffice to feed nearly the entire population of the United States. In 1890 the live stock was valued at over \$1,000,000,000. A single state produces over sixty million bushels of wheat for its annual harvest, and the mills of a single city turn out a hundred thousand barrels of flour a week.

565. The Venezuela controversy; the Arbitration Treaty; admission of Utah; extension of civil-service reform. For more than half a century a controversy had existed between Venezuela and Great Britain respecting the boundary line of British Guiana. In his third annual message (1895) President Cleveland said that he should renew his efforts to induce the disputants to settle the question by arbitration in order "to remove from this hemisphere all causes of difference with powers beyond sea." Great Britain declined to accept the proposal, and the President sent a special message² to Congress (December 17, 1895), urging the application of the Monroe Doctrine (§ 331) to the case and asking that a commission should be appointed to determine "the true divisional

¹ See Semple's *American History and its Geographic Conditions*, 243.

² See Macdonald's *Select Statutes*, No. 126.

line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana." A very large part of the American people greeted the message with enthusiastic approval, but its warlike tone alarmed the stock market and securities fell with panic-like rapidity.

Congress authorized the appointment of commissioners, but before they had completed their labors Great Britain agreed to submit the whole matter to arbitration. This was done under a treaty made to that effect, but the question was not fully and satisfactorily settled until 1899.

Meanwhile (1896) Utah, having prohibited polygamy, was admitted to the Union, making the total number of states forty-five.

The cause of civil-service reform (§ 533) had been pushed forward by President Arthur and his successors until the whole number in the classified service had risen from about 15,000 to nearly 50,000. In the spring of 1896 President Cleveland, by one stroke of the pen, added more than 40,000 positions or offices, raising the total to nearly 90,000, or about one half of the entire number, classified and unclassified, then in the civil service. The party which gained the presidential election (1896) pledged itself to enforce and extend the Civil Service Law "wherever practicable."

566. The presidential election (1896). The two main questions at issue were: (1) the free and unlimited coinage of silver¹ (§§ 255, 528, 555) and (2) that of a protective tariff. The Republicans declared themselves "unreservedly for sound money" and unalterably "opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world." They also declared that "protection" was "the bulwark of American independence."

They nominated Major William McKinley of Ohio for President, with Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey for Vice President.

On the refusal of the Convention to adopt free silver, Senator Teller and twenty other delegates, representing the six states of Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, South Dakota, and Utah, seceded from the Convention and from the Republican party.

¹ See Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 460.

The industrial depression following the panic of 1893 (§§ 562, 563), the low price of wheat, and the great difficulty many western farmers experienced in raising money to pay the interest on their mortgaged homes, all favored the demand for silver currency (§§ 535, 546, 555, 559, 562). For this reason the Democrats demanded "the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."¹ They furthermore demanded that tariff duties should be levied for revenue only.

They nominated William J. Bryan of Nebraska for President, with Arthur Sewall of Maine for Vice President.

A large number of Democrats refused to support the free-silver platform. They took the name of the National Democratic party and adopted a platform upholding "the gold standard." They nominated John M. Palmer of Illinois for President, with Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky for Vice President.

The People's party, or "Populists" (§§ 529, 559), had already held their second National Convention. They adopted the free-silver plank of the Democratic platform and nominated the Democratic candidate for President, with Thomas E. Watson of Georgia for Vice President. The general tone of the "Populist" platform decidedly favored that form of socialism in which the nation or the state undertakes to act for the individual. They demanded that the government should own and operate the railways and telegraph lines.

At the election McKinley received 271 electoral votes and Bryan 176. The popular vote stood 7,104,779 for McKinley to 6,502,925 for Bryan. Many thousands of "Gold Democrats" cast their votes for the Republican candidate.²

567. Summary. The chief political events of President Cleveland's administration were: (1) the repeal of the Sherman Silver Act and the "Force Act"; (2) the Bering Sea and the Venezuelan

¹ The bullion value of the standard silver dollar was at that time less than 50 cents.

² See Stanwood's *Presidency*, or McKee's *National Conventions and Platforms*, 290-329.

arbitration settlements; (3) the passage of the Wilson-Gorman Tariff; (4) the great extension of civil-service reform and the admission of Utah into the Union. Other events of greater or less importance were the opening of the World's Columbian Exposition, the exhibition at Atlanta, the panic of 1893, the march of the "Coxey Army," and the Chicago strike.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY (REPUBLICAN), TWO TERMS
(1897-1905)

568. Inaugural address; the Dingley Tariff. In his inaugural address President McKinley (§ 566) declared himself for "sound money," for a new revenue-protective tariff, for strict economy in the management of the government, for the advancement of civil-service reform, and for the maintenance of peace with all the nations of the world.

The new administration was called upon to deal with a serious deficit in the revenue. This deficit had been going on since 1894, and it was estimated that it would amount to \$200,000,000 in 1897. The pressing need of money to meet the current expenses of the government compelled the President to send a special message to Congress, in which he declared that tariff legislation was the "imperative demand of the hour."

In accordance with his recommendation Congress passed the Dingley Tariff Bill.¹ The object of the measure was stated to be, "To provide revenue for the support of the government and to encourage the industries of the United States."

The Dingley Tariff differs from the Wilson-Gorman Act (§ 564) in several important respects: First, it takes wool, hides, and certain other raw materials from the free list and places them upon the dutiable list. Secondly, it generally imposes a higher rate on woolens, silks, and other textile fabrics. Thirdly, in many cases it levies specific or compound duties instead of *ad valorem*

¹ See Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 463.

duties.¹ Fourthly, it concedes a somewhat broader range of reciprocity duties (§ 555). The Dingley Tariff retains the anti-trust clauses of the Wilson-Gorman Act, which forbid all combinations "in restraint of lawful trade," or of "free competition," or "to increase the market price in any part of the United States" of any imported article. The Dingley duties average somewhat more than the McKinley Tariff rates (§ 555).

569. Growth of productive power ; great corporations and trusts. Since the adoption of the Constitution economic conditions in the United States have entirely changed. This is the natural and inevitable result of the enormous increase in manufacturing and other forms of productive power, and in the rapid growth of capital. These compel new methods of doing business. Less than a century ago most of the manufactured goods produced in this country and throughout the world were made by hand. Clothing and boots and shoes are familiar examples. Now nearly every manufactured article is made by machinery. To-day a single workman operating one or more machines can often produce as much as twenty-five men could in Washington's time.

This radical change has had far-reaching results. First, the use of machinery has made many kinds of goods much cheaper² and has greatly extended their consumption among all classes of people. Secondly, notwithstanding this increase of consumption, the manufacturing power of the country is now so enormous that from time to time the market is glutted by overproduction, and capital and labor are forced to stand idle for an indefinite period, at heavy loss to both.

¹ These specific duties consist of a certain rate levied without regard to the cost or value of the goods imported, as, for instance, forty cents per yard on all silks. *Ad valorem* duties are levied on a sliding scale according to the value of the goods, as, for instance, forty cents per yard on all silks costing a certain sum, with an increase of duty as the silk rises in price. Compound duties are a combination of specific and *ad valorem* rates.

² For instance, when F. C. Lowell began to manufacture cotton cloth at Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1814 (see § 314), the price was thirty-three cents a yard ; he predicted that the use of improved machinery would in time reduce it to eight cents a yard. His friends ridiculed the idea, but it has long since been realized. See Cowley's History of Lowell, page 40.

One result of this condition of things has been a constant reaching out in search of new markets in different parts of the world. This effort has met with a large measure of success (\$ 570).

A second result has been the reorganization of methods of doing business, and the growth of great private fortunes amounting, in some cases, to several hundred millions of dollars. Recent years have witnessed the formation of many great corporations and "trusts," — that is, the combination of a number of corporations under one management. The object sought is to reduce the cost, increase the aggregate profit, check excessive production, and restrain or destroy competition. Congress passed the Anti-Trust Act (1890) and the act requiring publicity of accounts (1903) to control "trusts" doing an interstate business. These acts were emphasized by a decision of the Supreme Court in the Northern Securities Company case (1904) dissolving the merger ✓ of the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific Railways.

This movement toward combination was first seen on a large scale in the union of independent or rival lines of railways, — as in the case of the New York Central (1853, 1869). It next showed itself in the organization of the Western Union Telegraph Company (1881), which now practically controls the telegraph lines of the United States. In like manner the Standard Oil Company absorbed (1881) the petroleum trade of the country. Now, iron, steel, copper, petroleum, sugar, gunpowder, tobacco, cottonseed oil, and many other products and manufactures are controlled by corporations or "trusts." Consolidation is also seen in retail business in the "department stores," which bring together an immense variety of goods under one roof. This tendency to combine is found in federations of labor as well as in federations of capital. It has led to much legislation, it has influenced political action, and it has given rise to earnest attempts to harmonize the relations of employer and employed. Finally, it has stimulated the Socialists to urge coöperation in production, and to advocate the municipal, state, or federal ownership of lines of transportation and communication, together with mines, oil wells, and coal fields; while

some radical thinkers of the Henry George school declare that the land itself should cease to be private property and should be held by the commonwealth or the nation and leased to the people.

570. Enormous increase of exports ; inventions and discoveries ; the Congressional Library. In connection with the subject of the productive power of the country attention should be called to the opening of new markets abroad and the immense increase of our exports. In 1898 we shipped to Europe breadstuffs, provisions, and cattle and sheep valued at upwards of \$500,000,000.

Next, in addition to our regular exports of cotton, petroleum, tobacco, and other staples, we are now sending abroad a constantly increasing quantity of iron, copper, steel, hardware, tools, machinery, furniture, and manufactured wood.

Our locomotives are going to Russia, China, Japan, and in some cases even to England. India is importing our steel rails and Austria our steel water pipes. American sewing machines, typewriters, bicycles, watches, and revolvers, unless shut out by tariff, are found in every country of Europe. Great Britain not only sends us large orders for machinery and cars to operate electric roads, but has recently, for the first time in our history, imported a cargo of Pennsylvania steel plates for shipbuilding.

In less than a quarter of a century our exports have more than doubled. In 1904 they aggregated over \$1,460,000,000, and exceeded our imports by nearly \$470,000,000.¹ Again, the production of coal, iron, and petroleum has increased from five to seven times faster than the increase of population, and the home consumption is growing proportionately.

These statistics appear to indicate that we are advancing to a point where we shall be recognized as holding the controlling influence in the commerce of the world. Should our exports continue to increase in the same ratio, the time may come when the globe will be practically girdled with American rails and the seas traversed by steamships built of American steel and freighted

¹ See the Government Report of the Foreign Commerce of the United States for 1904, 1192.

FOREIGN EXPORTS; PRODUCTION OF IRON AND STEEL

The total value of exports from the United States in 1904 reached the enormous amount of over \$1,460,000,000. This was an excess of nearly \$470,000,000 over imports.

The present rate of increase of the population of the United States is about 21 per cent, but statistics prove that both our exports and our home consumption are increasing far more rapidly even than our gain in population.

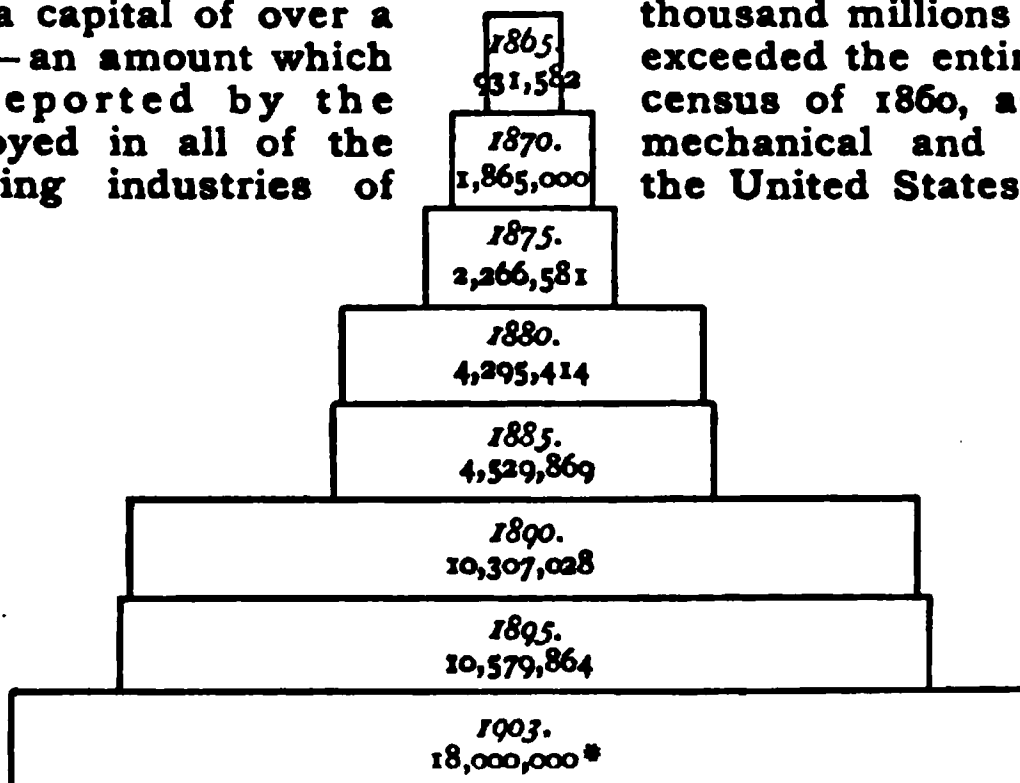
The United States now produces more iron than any other nation on the globe. Formerly Great Britain ranked first; it is now second, and Germany ranks third. See diagram below showing the production of pig iron in tons (1865-1903).

But steel is now rapidly taking the place of iron, and the United States has become "the master of the world" in the making of steel. This great change has taken place since 1865. In that year the total output of steel in this country was less than 12,000 tons; in 1875 it was over 389,000 tons; in 1885 it exceeded 1,711,000 tons; in 1895 it was over 6,114,000 tons; and in 1902 it was nearly 15,000,000 tons, or no less than 1250 times greater than it was in 1865.

This wonderful advance is due, first, to our greatly improved methods of manufacture; secondly, to the substitution of coke for coal; and, thirdly, to the enormous stimulus given to production by the recent rapid extension of steam and electric railways, and the use of steel for building purposes.

The progress in this direction is strikingly illustrated by the amount of capital now invested in this production. In 1901 a company was organized for the manufacture of steel, with a capital of over a lars,—an amount which it reported by the employed in all of the facturing industries of

thousand millions of dol-
exceeded the entire cap-
census of 1860, as then
mechanical and manu-
the United States.



* Practically the whole of this enormously increased production of iron was utilized at home for the manufacture of finished products of iron and steel of which the exportations have grown from less than \$30,000,000 in 1894 to nearly \$112,000,000 in 1904.

with American products, manufactures, machinery, tools, and labor- and time-saving inventions.¹

A landmark of progress in a different direction and one of equal interest is seen in the Congressional Library Building. This magnificent white granite structure was completed and opened late in the autumn of 1897. It has room for nearly six million volumes. Next to the capitol, which it faces, it is generally considered to be the finest public building in Washington, and perhaps the finest of the kind in the world.

571. "Greater New York" and other cities ; municipal government ; revised state constitutions. On New Year's Day, 1898, the charter of "Greater New York" went into operation. The metropolis now includes Brooklyn and many suburban towns. It covers an area of nearly 360 square miles, a territory equal to more than one fourth the state of Rhode Island, and comprising a population estimated at over 3,500,000, which is rapidly increasing.

¹ Among the recent inventions not previously mentioned, attention may be called to the following: The machine gun, smokeless powder, fixed ammunition, breech-loading cannon; the Westinghouse air brake for cars, the automatic electric signals, the interlocking safety switch, the automatic car coupler, vestibule trains, the Pullman and the Wagner palace cars; machinery for making shoes, and for forging steel; the compressed air drill, the sand blast for cutting designs on glass; the electric search light; electric welding and heating; the self-binding reaper and harvester; aluminum ware; enameled kitchen ware; dyes made from coal tar; wood paper; wire nails, gimlet-pointed screws, plain and barbed wire fence; the cash carrier for stores, the passenger elevator; ocean steamers built of steel with water-tight bulkheads and twin screws; the hydraulic dredge; the gas engine, the Corliss engine; the voting machine; the tin-can-making machine; water gas; Yale, combination, and time locks; the typewriter, the typesetting machine, the bicycle, and the automobile; the knitting machine, the ice-making machine, the thrashing machine, corn-harvesting machines; vulcanized rubber, celluloid; canned foods; the grain elevator; the eccentric lathe; the storage battery; the dynamo; the fire-proof safe; the phonograph; the kinetoscope; planing machines for wood and metal; the nail-making machine; the steam fire engine; the hydraulic ram; the miner's safety lamp; machinery for making wooden ware; card-clothing machinery; improved processes of making steel.

Among the most noteworthy scientific discoveries of the century (not previously mentioned) are spectrum analysis, dynamite, the use of cocaine as a local anæsthetic in producing insensibility to pain, the X or Roentgen Ray used in surgery (and to some extent in the arts) for seeing and photographing objects otherwise invisible to the eye, the use of antiseptics in surgical operations, the discovery and treatment of disease germs, the discovery of radium, the production of liquid air, cold storage, and wireless telegraphy.

New Orleans and San Francisco have likewise recently adopted new charters with the view of securing better municipal government.

The growth of cities is one of the most remarkable features of our history. When the first federal census was taken in 1790, the population of the United States was almost wholly rural and agricultural. There were then only six cities which had more than 8000 inhabitants, — Philadelphia ranking first with a population of 42,000, and New York next with 33,000. Then only about three persons in a hundred lived in cities; now the proportion is about thirty in a hundred, or almost one third of the entire population.

For this reason the question of good government in the United States has come to depend in large degree on the honest, intelligent, and efficient administration of affairs in our cities. It is certain that if their management is permitted to fall into the hands of incapable or corrupt men, the good name of the Republic will be put to shame and its welfare vitally imperiled.

Within the past ten years six Southern States have adopted new or revised constitutions making important changes in conditions of suffrage. Mississippi (1892) requires the voter to pay a poll tax and to be able to read or understand any section of the state constitution. The Supreme Court of the United States has recently (1898) given a decision sustaining this clause. South Carolina (1895), North Carolina (1896), Louisiana (1898), Alabama (1901), and Virginia (1902) have followed the example of Mississippi in adopting educational or property qualifications for suffrage.¹ The effect of these changes will be to disfranchise the greater part of the negroes in these states for an indefinite length of time, and to give the white race the political control. Several other Southern States are considering the question of adopting similar provisions.

In 1898 South Dakota made a still more radical change. It voted to amend the state constitution so that the people shall

¹ See Thorpe's Short Constitutional History of the United States, 294.

have the right to initiate legislation on the one hand, and on the other to modify or repeal it by the use of the referendum.¹

This is the first attempt to introduce a principle of legislation here which has been in operation in Switzerland for a number of years. The result will be looked for with deep interest.

572. Spanish possessions in the sixteenth century. At the close of the sixteenth century Spaniards were the only white men who had succeeded in planting permanent colonies on any part of the North American continent (§§ 23, 35). Furthermore, the same race held the West Indies, the greater part of South America, the Philippines, and other important groups of islands in the East.

Territorially Spain was then the most powerful empire on the globe, and Philip II could boast with entire truth that he ruled over "possessions on which the sun never set."

The rise of England as a "sea power" and as a successful planter of colonies in Virginia forced the Spanish emperor to relinquish some of his plans respecting America. But as late almost as the beginning of the nineteenth century Spain still claimed not only the greater part of the West Indies, Mexico, and the peninsula of Florida but the whole of that vast country west of the Mississippi now embraced by the United States.

Less than twenty-five years later, Spain had lost all of her immense possessions on the mainland of North America (§§ 280, 318, 319, map), and the only colonies she still held in the West Indies were Cuba and Porto Rico.

573. Cuba and the Cuban revolution. Columbus called Cuba "the Pearl of the Antilles" and declared that it was "the most beautiful land that eyes ever beheld." Commercially this fertile island has always ranked high. In a military point of view its

¹ The amendment to the South Dakota constitution (1898) provides that whenever five per cent of the voters of the state shall petition for the enactment of a law, the Legislature shall at once submit the proposed statute to the people at a special election; in like manner, on the petition of the same number of voters, any law which the Legislature may have enacted must be submitted to the popular vote, and if a majority then vote against it, it shall not go into effect.

position between Florida and Yucatan makes it "the Key to the Gulf of Mexico" and to the eastern entrance to any interoceanic canal which may be cut through Central America.

But this happily situated island, as large as the state of Pennsylvania and almost in sight from Key West, Florida, had long presented a striking contrast to the free states north of it. Under the arbitrary rule of Spain the masses of the people enjoyed neither civil, political, nor religious liberty. They were bowed down by an enormous burden of taxation, and they were excluded from having any share in the government. All public offices were, as a rule, monopolized by officials sent over from Spain. According to the last census (1887) the inhabitants of this island numbered somewhat over 1,600,000. They were divided into three classes: (1) a small number of native Spaniards who held nearly every position of power and trust; (2) the white creoles, who constituted the great bulk of the people; (3) mulattoes, free negroes, and Chinamen.

For many years discontent had shown itself in insurrection. For many years, too, the South had coveted Cuba for purposes of slavery extension. In 1845 the United States offered Spain \$100,000,000 for the island, and between 1849 and 1857 several American filibustering expeditions made vain attempts to seize it. In 1854 the Ostend Manifesto (§ 430) boldly declared that "the Union can never enjoy repose nor possess reliable security as long as Cuba is not embraced within its boundaries."

In 1868 a formidable rebellion broke out in Cuba, which lasted for ten years. President Grant condemned the barbarous manner in which the combatants on both sides carried on the war, and interceded with Spain, but without avail. At length, after terrible destruction of life, the Spanish government succeeded in quelling the insurrection on the surface.

574. The war for Cuban independence. Early in 1895 a new and still more determined uprising began in eastern Cuba. The insurgents did not demand reform, but declared themselves for "independence or death."

The progress of the movement developed three parties : (1) the ultra Revolutionists, who demanded absolute separation from Spain ; (2) the Autonomists, who asked for "home rule" without separation ; (3) the Spanish party in power, who opposed any change whatever.

The next year (1896) the natives of the Philippines, animated by the example of Cuba, rose in revolt. Spain had therefore to undertake the formidable, if not hopeless, task of endeavoring to suppress two rebellions at the same time, — one on one side of the globe, the other on the other. In the case of Cuba the revolutionists had more or less help from filibustering expeditions and funds sent by sympathizers in the United States.

President Cleveland in his message of 1896 declared that, independent of all humanitarian considerations, we had a direct pecuniary interest in Cuba "second only to that of the people and government of Spain." He added that if the war should continue it must end in the utter "ruin of the island." President Cleveland concluded by saying that while the United States was willing to grant Spain any reasonable amount of time for pacifying Cuba, we could not permit the strife to go on indefinitely.

When President McKinley entered office the Cuban war was raging with unabated fury. The situation was greatly aggravated by the frightful sufferings of the neutral Cuban peasants or non-combatants. On the one hand, the insurgents drove them off their farms and compelled them to support the revolution, or hanged them if they refused. On the other hand, General Weyler, the Spanish leader, forced all peasants within his military area to concentrate in the towns held by his troops. He allotted them certain small areas of land, within the Spanish lines, for cultivation. These wretched people huddled together with their wives and children in confined spaces could not or would not cultivate the fields allotted to them ; the result was that immense numbers perished miserably of pestilence and starvation. General Lee, United States Consul at Havana, reported that in the town

of Santa Clara alone, out of a population of 14,000, nearly half starved to death in a single year.

Spain had sent 200,000 soldiers to Cuba and had well-nigh "bankrupted herself in men and money" in the vain attempt to suppress the rebellion. The insurgents kept up a guerrilla war, ravaging the country, burning buildings, and destroying sugar and tobacco plantations. The loss incurred by American investors alone was estimated at from \$30,000,000 to \$50,000,000.

575. Demands made on Spain by the United States; reforms granted. The protests of the United States against the continuance of the war passed in great part unheeded. Finally, President McKinley demanded that Spain should take immediate and effectual measures to pacify Cuba.

The Spanish government made a conciliatory reply and in the autumn of 1897 recalled General Weyler and sent out General Blanco to grant reforms. Blanco was heartily in favor of pursuing the policy outlined by the Liberal party, which had come into power in Spain. He took active measures to relieve the starving peasants; he appointed native Cubans to office and made a formal offer of "home rule" to the insurgents.

The Spanish authorities had made similar pledges of reform in the insurrection of 1868-1878, but had not kept their word. The insurgents had no faith in these new assurances. Gomez, the revolutionist leader, declared that he and his followers would accept nothing short of absolute independence. By his orders the Spanish officer who came as an official peace envoy to his camp was seized and shot as a spy.

576. The destruction of the "Maine"; Congress declares Cuba independent. Such was the condition of affairs in Cuba when an event occurred which suddenly changed everything. The United States had sent Captain Sigsbee to Havana with the battle ship *Maine*. There was nothing threatening or unfriendly in his visit to that port, and he remained there in peace for nearly three weeks; but on the night of February 15, 1898, the *Maine*, while lying in the harbor of Havana, was destroyed by an explosion and 2 officers and 264 of her crew were killed.

The United States appointed a naval Court of Inquiry to make an investigation. After a long and careful examination they reported that in their opinion "the *Maine* was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine." The court found no evidence showing whether the explosion was caused by accident or design, and they made no attempt to fix the responsibility for the act on any person or persons.

The Spanish government expressed their regret at "the lamentable incident," disavowed all connection with it, declared they believed that the explosion resulted from internal causes, and urged that the whole question should be referred to a committee of arbitration. This suggestion the United States declined to consider.

Later, Spain ordered General Blanco to treat with the insurgents for an armistice preparatory to establishing peace, and an offer of nominal independence was made to the Cubans. These measures had no practical results with the revolutionists.

In April President McKinley sent a special message to Congress. He declared that, "in the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests, which give us the right and the duty to speak and act, the war in Cuba must stop."

Shortly afterward Congress took up the matter. A proposition to recognize the Cuban Republic failed, but Congress resolved by joint resolution (April 20, 1898): (1) "That the people of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent."¹ (2) That body demanded that Spain should at once withdraw all of her forces from the island. (3) Furthermore, Congress authorized the President to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States to carry the resolution into effect. (4) The United States declared that when the pacification of Cuba should be fully accomplished we would "leave the government and control of the island to its people."

577. War with Spain. An ultimatum was sent to Spain which that power declined to receive. It was now seen that war was inevitable. Shortly after this action of Congress the President

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 128.

issued a call for 125,000 volunteers, and later for 75,000 more; Captain William T. Sampson, acting Rear Admiral, had been put in command of a naval fleet at Key West, and Commodore W. S. Schley was ordered to organize a "flying squadron" at Hampton Roads.

Congress had already placed \$50,000,000 in the hands of the President to purchase additional war ships and carry out plans of national defense.

Later, the government borrowed \$200,000,000 from the people of the United States to prosecute the war. So eager were the people to purchase these new three-per-cent bonds that they subscribed for no less than seven times the amount called for.

The act of Congress (1898) which authorized the popular loan also made provision for securing a war revenue. This measure levied special domestic and internal taxes, including stamp duties, on business paper and taxes on legacies and on beer.¹ It was expected to yield an annual revenue of from \$175,000,000 to \$200,000,000.

A few days before Congress formally declared war (April 25, 1898) the President sent Captain Sampson with a squadron to blockade Havana and other important Cuban ports.

578. The battle of Manila. Commodore George Dewey was in command of our Asiatic squadron at Hongkong. The President ordered him to proceed at once to Manila, the capital of the Philippines, and "capture or destroy" the Spanish fleet which guarded that important port. (See map facing this page.) The plan was to strike Spain in two vulnerable points, Cuba and the Philippines, at the same time. Dewey had but six war ships, of which only one ranked as a first-class cruiser. Manila was protected by fortifications and the Spanish there had twice as many vessels as Dewey, but they were inferior in size and armament to the American squadron; and although the enemy showed no lack of courage, they were miserable gunners.

On May 1, 1898, Commodore Dewey sent a dispatch to the President stating that he had just fought a battle in which he had

¹ See Dewey's Financial History of the United States, 465.

destroyed every one of the enemy's squadron without losing a single man.

Congress voted the thanks of the nation to the "Hero of Manila," and he was promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral; after the war he was made Admiral (1899), and Captain Sampson and Commodore Schley were made Rear Admirals.

The ultimate results of Dewey's remarkable victory may prove a turning point in American history, deciding the question of our colonial policy in the far East; hence his destruction of the Spanish fleet may eventually be regarded as one of the decisive battles of the world.

Soon after Dewey's splendid success the President sent reënforcements from San Francisco under General Wesley Merritt, to coöperate with our squadron when it should undertake to capture Manila.

579. Cervera's fleet "bottled up." Just before the battle of Manila a Spanish fleet consisting of four armored cruisers and three torpedo-boat destroyers under Admiral Cervera left the Cape Verde Islands. They had started, as was supposed, for Cuban waters or with intent to attack the cities of our eastern coast.

Commodore Schley's "flying squadron" set out to find the enemy. After a number of weeks' search it was discovered that Cervera had entered the harbor of Santiago on the southeastern coast of Cuba.

A few days later, Captain Sampson sailed with a number of war ships for that port. One of his fleet was the battle ship *Oregon*, which had recently arrived from San Francisco, by way of the Straits of Magellan, after an exciting voyage of more than thirteen thousand miles.

The long, narrow, crooked channel of Santiago made entrance for our vessels very hazardous, and it was known that it was protected by both land batteries and submarine mines.

Cervera's fleet was "bottled up," but the question was whether he might not slip out under cover of darkness and elude our guns.

Captain Sampson resolved to "cork the bottle," and Lieutenant Hobson, at his own earnest request, was given charge of the dangerous experiment. With the help of seven sailors, all eager to rush into the jaws of death with him, he ran the coal ship *Merrimac* into the Santiago channel and sank her part way across it. Hobson and his men were captured by the Spaniards, but were soon exchanged, and on shore he became the hero of the day.

580. Fighting near Santiago; the "Rough Riders"; destruction of Cervera's fleet. A few weeks later, General Shafter landed a strong force near Santiago to coöperate with Captain Sampson



BATTLES NEAR SANTIAGO

in the capture of that city. A skirmish brought out the fighting qualities of the regulars and of the "Rough Riders" who here fought on foot. A week later (July 1-2, 1898), after a sharp engagement at El Caney and at San Juan, where the "Rough Riders," led by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, did gallant work, the regulars — "the flower of the American standing army" — drove the Spaniards into Santiago with heavy loss.

Shortly afterward Captain Sampson went to confer with General Shafter, leaving Commodore Schley and the other commanders of the fleet to keep a sharp lookout for Cervera; for the *Merrimac* had only half corked the bottle.

Soon after Captain Sampson left, a shout went up from the flagship *Brooklyn*, "The Spaniards are coming out of the harbor!" Both sides opened fire at the same time; but the Spanish admiral, with his six vessels, had small chance in a contest with our fleet of six vessels, comprising four first-class battle ships.¹ In less than three hours all of the enemy's fleet were blazing, helpless wrecks, and Cervera himself was a prisoner of war on board of one of our ships.

Spain had another squadron at home, but she needed that to protect her coast; so far as we were concerned, her power on the ocean was practically destroyed.

581. The end of the war; the treaty with Spain; outbreak at Manila; the treaty ratified; annexation of Hawaii. Soon after this decisive defeat the Spaniards surrendered Santiago.

A few days later, Spain asked for terms of peace, and on August 12, 1898, a protocol covering the preliminaries of peace was signed at Washington.

The President at once ordered the suspension of hostilities. General Nelson A. Miles, Commander of the Army of the United States, was then in Porto Rico preparing for a decisive battle. When the order to suspend hostilities was received the island surrendered to our forces. Before the government dispatch could reach the Philippines, Rear Admiral Dewey and General Merritt had attacked and taken Manila.

The Peace Commission appointed by the American and the Spanish governments met at Paris October 1, 1898, and the treaty² was signed on December 10. By the terms of the treaty Spain (1) gave up all sovereignty over Cuba; (2) ceded to us the island of Porto Rico and the island of Guam in the Ladrones; (3) finally, Spain ceded the Philippines³ to us, receiving in return \$20,000,000 for the public works which the Spanish government had erected on those islands. On New Year's Day, 1899, the Spanish forces left Havana and the American flag was hoisted over the palace

¹ The battle ship *Massachusetts* and Captain Sampson's flagship, the armored cruiser *New York*, were not in the battle, being absent on duty at other points.

² See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 131.

³ See map facing page 590.

and the castle of that ancient city. This left Spain without a foot of ground on this side of the globe.

The chief point of discussion in the Senate respecting the treaty was the article on the cession of the Philippines. A number of senators, both Democrats and Republicans, strongly opposed the ratification of the treaty as it stood. They argued that we should either reject it entirely or amend it so that the conditions required from Spain should be the giving up of all control over the Islands, but not the actual cession of the Islands themselves to the United States. They believed that the annexation of the Philippines would prove to be a burden rather than an advantage to this country. They proposed that we should act as guardians over the Islands until the people should become able to govern and protect themselves.

The majority of the Senate held the view that the annexation of the Philippines would be for the best interests of all concerned, and that Congress could govern them for an indefinite period on the territorial plan, as we do Alaska.

While the subject was under discussion the natives made an attack on our troops at Manila. The combined forces of General Otis and Rear Admiral Dewey speedily drove them back with terrible loss. The news of the battle was at once telegraphed to Washington. The next day, February 6, 1899, the Senate met and forthwith ratified the treaty as it stood by a vote of 57 to 27. This act made the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Guam part of the territory of the United States.

We had already annexed the Republic of Hawaii (§ 564); for after Rear Admiral Dewey's victory many people thought, with Captain Mahan, that we needed these Islands as a base of defense and of naval operations in the Pacific. The opposition declared that the Hawaiian people had not been fully consulted, and that "the cry of 'war emergency'" did not justify our taking the Islands; but a joint resolution to annex passed both houses of Congress by a large majority,¹ and was signed by the President July 7, 1898.

¹ See Macdonald's Select Statutes, No. 130.

582. The cost of the war ; the question of "expansion." The war, so far as actual fighting was concerned, lasted a little over one hundred days. American history records no campaign having such remarkable success at such small cost of life on our side. The total loss in the army and navy was only 306. The war exhibited the wonderful efficiency of our new navy ; it showed what American soldiers, whether "regulars" or volunteers, may always be expected to do ; it brought Union and Confederate veterans into service under the old flag ;¹ and it illustrated the noble helpfulness of the Red Cross Society and of the women of America.

The total direct cost of the war was about \$165,000,000. But the maintenance of a larger standing army to preserve order in our new dependencies, the building of more ships of war, and the outlay for pensions to disabled soldiers and sailors must greatly increase the national expenditures for a number of years to come.²

The close of the contest with Spain left us face to face with issues greater than the war itself. The country has yet to decide the momentous problem of "expansion" or of "imperialism" (§ 589). On that problem hangs the policy of the retention of the Philippines ; with it are bound up questions of markets in the far East, of increased military and naval forces, of taxation, of immigration and labor, and of the adaptation of the American Constitution to the government of a semi-civilized people in distant island possessions.

583. The Trans-Mississippi Exposition ; cheap lands ; agricultural prosperity ; the preservation of forests ; irrigation. While the war with Spain was in progress the Trans-Mississippi Exposition was opened at Omaha, Nebraska (June 1, 1898). Its object was to exhibit to the world the marvelous growth and resources of the vast region west of the great river of our continent.

¹ The Sixth Massachusetts Regiment received an ovation as it marched through Baltimore (§ 450) ; the enthusiasm showed how the wounds of the Civil War had healed.

² Professor Dewey estimates the total expenditure on the army and navy, 1898-1901, at \$842,000,000. See Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*, 467.

Spain held that country for nearly three hundred years and expected to hold it for all time. Through it Coronado wandered in his search for gold (§ 21). Fifty years ago the greater part of it was an unexplored wilderness. North of Texas there was not a single state between Missouri on the east and California on the Pacific; not a single mile of railway penetrated the country, and one of the most conspicuous features of its range of territories was a desolate gray patch which covered a section of many thousand square miles on the school maps and bore the forbidding name, GREAT AMERICAN DESERT.

When railways began to cross the Mississippi (§ 522) the great change in that region began. The far West "is the child of the locomotive." Furthermore, liberal land laws hastened the settlement of that part of the country. Prior to 1862 the right of preëmption enabled the settler to secure public land at the lowest government price whenever it should come into the market.

In 1862 the United States Department of Agriculture was established and began its great work of usefulness to the farmer and the fruit raiser. The same year Congress passed the Homestead Bill.¹ That act, which is still in force, gave every permanent settler 160 acres of land practically free of charge. It drew to America a peaceful army of wealth-producing emigrants; it filled great wastes with thrifty, hard-working, self-respecting citizens; it enhanced the value of the remaining public domain, and thus enriched the Treasury of the United States. Between 1862 and 1899 western farmers took up nearly 170,000,000 acres of public lands, or more than 260,000 square miles. Forty years ago this vast area, four times larger than England and Wales, had no white inhabitants. To-day the whole of it is cultivated by those who own it and live on it.²

¹ See United States Statutes at Large for 1862; Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia, II, 5.

² Exclusive of Alaska, the United States has still about 500,000,000 acres of public lands to dispose of, but a considerable part of them, say one third, is unfit for either tillage or pasturage unless irrigation can be employed, and then only a portion can be made fertile. The time is not very far off when there will be comparatively little, if any, government land for sale at a low price.

A noted writer once said that "whoever could make two ears of corn or two blades of grass grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before" would deserve better of mankind than those even who made its laws.

The Trans-Mississippi Exposition showed conclusively that the western farmer has accomplished far more than this, for he has made corn grow where not an ear grew before, and in some cases he has made grass spring up where not a blade had ever been seen.

The same liberal government policy which gave homesteads granted large tracts of lands (1862) to the states for the establishment of agricultural colleges.¹ More than sixty of these institutions have been founded and their total endowment funds now exceed \$10,000,000. In many cases they have been productive of higher education and have borne fruit in better tillage of the soil and in greater material results.

The year 1898 was one of almost unexampled agricultural prosperity. The West raised enormous crops of breadstuffs and, owing to the foreign demand, sold them at prices which filled the farmers' pockets and added largely to the wealth of the country.

In connection with agriculture attention should be called to the preservation of forests. It is found that the destruction of timber involves in many cases very serious results. Streams unprotected by forests become torrents in the spring and dwindle or disappear in hot weather. Where such a process goes on for a long time on a large scale it renders the valleys sterile and sometimes uninhabitable.

The total area of forests in the United States is about 480,000,000 acres. Forest fires destroy on the average \$20,000,000 worth of standing timber every year. The lumberman's ax and sawmills cut up enormous quantities annually, and pulp mills for the manufacture of wood paper and various kinds of wooden ware make incessant demands on the forests.

Since 1891 the federal government has set apart large reservations of timber, and a number of states have passed laws not only

¹ See United States Statutes at Large for 1862; Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia, II, 5.

for the preservation of some portion of their woodlands but for tree planting as well.

Furthermore, in 1902, the government set aside all moneys received from the sale of public lands in sixteen western states and territories to establish an irrigation system in certain parts of the country west of the 100th meridian.¹ It is believed that in this way many millions of acres of arid lands can be made fertile.

584. Savings banks ; national wealth ; use of money for the public good. The principle which prompts us to check the waste of our growing timber finds a still broader illustration in the general thrift of the American people.

The first three savings banks in the United States were established in 1816-1817 in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York. In 1820 the total deposits in such institutions were only a little over a million of dollars. To-day the savings banks of this country hold more than three thousand times the amount they held in 1820.² This aggregate exceeds the entire sum deposited in all similar banks in the British Empire, France, Belgium, and Switzerland combined.

This fund heaped up little by little by a great army of wage earners is an index of the general growth of prosperity. The estimated increase in the actual value of the real and personal property of the people of the United States, from 1880 to 1890, was not far from fifty per cent. The total "true valuation," or fair selling price, at the beginning of the twentieth century was about \$100,000,000,000.

This vast accumulation of wealth is to a great extent the fruit of economy, self-denial, well-directed labor, and sound habits of life. In many respects the material development of the country may be regarded as a sign of its moral vigor. We see the expression of this power in the wise and generous use of much of the

¹ The arid lands lie in Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Washington, Oregon, California, Montana, the Dakotas, Kansas, Nebraska, and Texas. Much good work has been done, and it is expected that at least 50,000 square miles of desert will be reclaimed.

² In 1905 exceeded \$3,260,000,000.

capital which it creates. It makes men public-spirited. It founds colleges, schools, churches, missions, and charities of all kinds.

Aside from what the states and cities of the Union are accomplishing for intellectual and philanthropic objects, private citizens spend their own means liberally for the same purpose. Within the past six years they have given nearly \$300,000,000 to help forward the cause of education, to build free public libraries and art museums, to endow homes for friendless and orphan children, for the aged poor, and hospitals for the relief of the sick and suffering.¹

585. What fifty years have done for American women. The year 1900 marks the semicentennial of the first national organization of women to secure equal suffrage (§ 404). Since then very remarkable changes have taken place in the condition of the sex that constitutes nearly one half of the population of our country.²

These changes appear to be due partly to the general movement of society, and partly to the Woman's Rights agitation. They are seen: (1) in the immense broadening of the field of higher education;³ (2) in the extension of property rights; (3) in the free entrance to nearly all occupations and professions; (4) in partial woman suffrage in many states and full suffrage in four (§ 553).

This widespread movement must necessarily exert a profound influence on the home life, the intellectual development, the labor earnings, and the political history of the American people.⁴

¹ Independent of large contributions for denominational purposes and missions, the total amount of gifts and bequests for educational and philanthropic objects made by private persons in the United States in 1899 was nearly \$63,000,000, and nearly \$77,000,000 in 1903. For a long time the yearly average has been not less than \$34,000,000, or at the rate of upwards of \$1,000,000,000 for a generation. Carnegie and J. D. Rockefeller have been the largest single givers. See Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia for 1898, Preface, and 1899 and 1900, "Gifts and Bequests."

² According to the census of 1900, 51.1 per cent of the population of the United States were males, and 48.9 per cent were females. The slight excess of males, found generally in the western states, has been attributed to immigration.

³ Besides the four great independent colleges for women, Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, and Bryn Mawr, there are twenty-two other institutions, some of them connected with the leading universities, where women are educated.

⁴ The leaders of organized labor generally consider that the competition of women has to some extent diminished the earnings of men. On the other hand, some writers on political economy believe that the opening of many occupations to women has a

586. The "open door" in China; the Samoan Islands; The Hague Treaty. In 1900 Secretary Hay, of the State Department, won a signal victory for American trade in China. Great Britain, with four of the leading continental nations and Japan, had obtained control of important ports and areas of Chinese territory. England was anxious that commerce should have free access to these privileged areas, but the other powers refused to consent. Secretary Hay by skillful diplomacy accomplished the great work. He secured a written pledge from each of the powers by which they bound themselves to maintain the policy of the "open door." This agreement gives American manufacturers and merchants the same right to buy and sell goods in the Chinese Empire that any foreign nation now possesses.

Shortly after this negotiation was completed the Senate ratified a treaty with Great Britain and Germany. It divided the control of the Samoan Islands between Germany and the United States, so that we hold entire sovereignty over two of the islands.

Following this action the Senate ratified The Hague Peace Conference Treaty. This treaty or convention provides that the United States in connection with the principal powers of Europe and with Japan shall maintain a perpetual Court of Arbitration at The Hague. The object sought is to endeavor to settle international disputes by the pen instead of the sword (§ 526). No one expects that the Court will put an end to war, but it is hoped that it will help to make war less frequent.¹

tendency to check early marriages and is favorable to the improvement of the race. See Giddings' *Democracy and Empire*, 168-176. Early in 1900 the American Federation of Labor petitioned Congress to adopt an amendment to the Federal Constitution which should secure woman suffrage throughout the United States. The National Woman Suffrage Association is working to make this movement a success, while the Anti-Woman Suffrage Association, composed like the first organization mainly of women, is battling against the movement. For representative books on the subject see Mrs. M. A. Livermore's *Woman's Work in America*, advocating woman suffrage, and Mrs. Helen K. Johnson's *Woman and the Republic*, taking the opposite ground.

¹ The first decision made by The Hague Tribunal (1902), relating to the Mexican "Plous Fund," was in favor of the United States.

587. The Gold Standard Act; the Porto Rican Tariff and Government Act. In the spring of 1900 Congress passed two acts of great importance, — one relating to the financial policy of the government, the other to the Island of Porto Rico.

The first coinage act passed more than a century ago (1792) made the silver dollar the unit of value (§ 255). After 1873 the "free-silver" question was hotly debated in Congress and out, and found expression in noteworthy acts of legislation (§§ 528, 535, 555, 562). The act of 1900 makes the gold dollar "the standard unit of value" and requires that all other forms of money issued or coined by the United States shall be maintained at a parity of value with this dollar.¹

The Porto Rican Tariff and Government Bill roused prolonged and heated discussion. A strong minority in Congress urged that the Island should be regarded as standing on the same basis as that of all our national territory in the past, and that all commerce between the United States and Porto Rico should be absolutely free.

But Congress finally decided to levy a small duty (15 per cent of that levied by the Dingley tariff) on merchandise "coming into the United States from Porto Rico and coming into Porto Rico from the United States." This tax was to be in force for two years, and the revenue so collected was to be used for the benefit of Porto Rico.

The governmental provisions of the act² declare: First, that the "Citizens of Porto Rico" are "entitled to the protection of the

¹ The Gold Standard Bill was passed by a vote of 196 to 144 in the House, and of 42 to 28 in the Senate; it was approved March 14, 1900. Besides making gold the standard of value the act provides for refunding the public debt by the issue of two-per-cent 30 years bonds, payable principal and interest in gold. It grants the power to establish national banks of small capital in places having a population of not more than 5000. Finally, it provides for the accomplishment of international bimetallism whenever it shall be "expedient and practicable to secure the same by concurrent action of the leading commercial nations of the world." See United States Statutes at Large for 1900 or Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia for 1900, 156.

² The Porto Rican Bill was amended by the Senate; it then passed the House, April 11, 1900, by a majority of eight votes (161 to 153). Nine Republicans voted against it, and one Democrat for it.

United States." Secondly, they provide for a governor and upper House of Legislature to be appointed by the President, and also for a lower House to be elected by the people. All laws enacted by the Legislature must be approved by Congress. In 1901 entire freedom of trade was established between the United States and Porto Rico.

The "Citizens of Porto Rico" are not, in law, "citizens of the United States"¹ and they are not represented by a delegate in Congress.²

588. The proposed Isthmian Canal; the census of 1900. The discovery of gold in California (§ 405) suggested the project of an Isthmian Canal by way of Nicaragua in order to secure direct water communication between the East and the West. At that time England claimed control over part of the coast of Nicaragua. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty concluded between the United States and Great Britain (1850) provided for the construction of the projected canal. By the terms of that agreement the neutrality of the canal was guaranteed, and it was to be kept "open and free" forever, "for the benefit of mankind." But the true interpretation of these provisions gave rise to more disputes than there were articles in the treaty. President Hayes and Secretary Blaine both insisted that it must be modified, and that the United States must hold control of such an ocean thoroughfare when completed.

Early in 1900 the government sent a commission to explore and report on the best route for such an undertaking. Shortly afterward the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, respecting an interoceanic canal, was negotiated to take the place of the unsatisfactory Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. The whole question respecting the proposed Canal was decided two years later (§ 594).

¹ See Decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1901.

² The Constitution (page xiv, § 3) gives Congress absolute control over all territory of the United States. In fully organized Territories, of the first class, the government generally consists of a governor and executive council appointed by the President, and a House of Representatives elected by the people. All laws made by the Territorial Legislature are subject to the veto of Congress. The people of the Territory are entitled to send a delegate to Congress to represent them. This delegate sits in the House and has the right to take part in all debates but not to vote.

The census of 1900 showed that the total population of the United States, including Hawaii, was 76,304,799, — or a gain of nearly 21 per cent on the returns of 1890 (§ 556).

589. The presidential election (1900). The three chief questions in dispute between the Republican and the Democratic parties, as set forth in their platforms,¹ were: (1) imperialism *vs.* expansion; (2) trusts; (3) the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

The Republicans renominated William McKinley for the presidency, with Theodore Roosevelt for the vice presidency (§ 566). The Democrats renominated William J. Bryan, with Adlai Stevenson for vice president (§ 566).

In their national platform the Democrats stated: First, that they regarded "imperialism"² as the paramount issue of the campaign. They declared: "We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into states in the Union, and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens. We favor expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means; but we are unalterably opposed to the seizing of distant islands to be governed outside the Constitution, and whose people can never become citizens" (§ 582).

Secondly, the Democratic party pledged themselves to "an unceasing warfare" against "trusts" (§ 569).

Thirdly, the Democrats reaffirmed their platform of 1896, which demanded "the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the consent of any other nation" (§ 566).

¹ No less than ten more national platforms were adopted in 1900. They represented the People's party (Fusionists); the "Middle of the Road" People's party; the Prohibition party; the United Christian party; the Silver Republican party; the Socialist Labor party; the Social Democratic party; the National party; the Anti-Imperialists; the National Democratic party (Gold Democracy). None of these parties secured electoral votes for their candidates. Six of them nominated candidates for the presidency and obtained a few popular votes, the highest number recorded being 208,555 cast for the Prohibition candidates. See McKee's *National Conventions and Platforms*, 330-370, or Stanwood's *Presidency*.

² In the political discussions of the campaign the Democrats defined "imperialism" as the policy of governing colonial possessions by force in contrast to a policy of expansion granting full self-government to such colonies.

The Republicans in their national platform made no direct reference to "imperialism" or to expansion further than to call attention to the fact that we had come into possession of the Philippines as a result of the Spanish War and the Treaty of Paris (§ 581).

First, with respect to the people of those Islands they declared, "The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law."

Secondly, with respect to trusts the platform recognized "the necessity and propriety of the honest coöperation of capital to meet new business conditions, and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade," but it condemned all "combinations intended to restrict business" or to "create monopolies."

Thirdly, the Republican party declared their "steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver." They furthermore stated: "We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard" (§ 587), "by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis has been secured."

At the election McKinley received 292 electoral votes and Bryan 155. The popular vote stood 7,206,677 for McKinley to 6,374,397 for Bryan.

590. The status of Cuba; second inaugural of President McKinley; the Philippines. Geographers inform us that, from their point of view, Cuba belongs to the United States by "the ground plan of the world"; but in practical politics the question of the union of the two countries brought out widely divergent opinions. It is certain, however, that under American control Cuba made remarkable progress, especially in respect to provision for education. At the beginning of our occupancy it is doubtful if a single public school existed on the island. The commissioner reports that early in 1901 there were over 3500 schools, with an enrollment of nearly 175,000 pupils. It was a fact full of significance and of promise for the future.

In 1901 the Convention of Cuban delegates, who were called to draft a constitution of government, framed a republic similar

in many respects to that of the United States. Later, Congress authorized the President¹ to leave the government of Cuba to its people on certain conditions. Two of the most important of these conditions were: (1) that the Cubans should never enter into a treaty with any foreign power which should in any way impair their independence; (2) that they should bind themselves to recognize the right of the United States to intervene, if necessary, for the preservation of that independence, and for "the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty" on the island. After prolonged discussion the Cuban Convention finally voted by a majority of 16 to 11 to accept the conditions imposed.

In his second inaugural address (§ 568) President McKinley emphasized the general prosperity of the country; better still, he said: "Sectionalism has disappeared. Division on public questions can no longer be traced by the war maps of 1861."

In the Philippines (1901) the capture of Aguinaldo, the Filipino leader, was followed by his taking the oath of allegiance to the United States. He shortly afterwards issued an address to his countrymen, urging them to lay down their arms and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the American flag. Since that period the Philippine Commission, appointed by the United States, reports that marked progress has been made in establishing local self-government in the Islands and in opening public schools. At present, while there are occasional outbreaks of guerrilla warfare among the Moro tribes, no resistance to the United States occurs elsewhere.

591. The Supreme Court and our new territorial possessions; the Pan-American Exposition; assassination of the President. Late in May, 1901, the Supreme Court of the United States decided the vital question of the constitutional relations of our new island possessions to the nation.

The court declared, in substance, by a majority of five to four, first, that the Constitution does not necessarily follow the flag,

¹ By the Platt Amendment to the Army Appropriation Bill, 1901. See United States Statutes at Large for 1901, or Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia for 1901, 169.

and secondly, that Congress has full power to deal as it sees fit with all our recently acquired island territory.¹

In May, 1902, the United States authorities hauled down the American flag at Havana and officially recognized the conditional independence (§ 590) of the Cuban Republic.

Meanwhile in the spring of 1901 the Pan-American Exposition (§ 553) was opened at Buffalo. In one important respect it differed from any international exhibition heretofore held in this country, since it was organized to celebrate the progress made by all the nations of North, South, and Central America, and to take steps to advance their common commercial interests.

President McKinley attended the exposition in September, and there delivered his last speech. He pleaded for "a policy of good will and friendly trade relations"; and declared his belief that if the United States would adopt such a policy leading to broader and freer intercourse with foreign nations it would eventually benefit all concerned.

The following day (September 6) the President gave a public reception at the exposition. As he was extending his hand to grasp that of a young man,² the latter deliberately shot him twice with a revolver. The assassin openly boasted that he was an anarchist (§ 547) whose object was to overthrow the government.

The President died of his wounds about a week later (September 14), and in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution (§ 548; Appendix, page xii, § 2), Vice President Roosevelt (§ 589) became President.

When he entered office he declared that it would be his aim "to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley."

¹ The Chief Justice, who was one of the four dissenting judges, said that the court considered that "Congress in dealing with the people of new territories or possessions is bound to respect the fundamental guarantees of life, liberty, and property, but assumes that Congress is not bound in these territories or possessions to follow the rules of taxation prescribed by the Constitution."

² Leon F. Czolgosz (Chol'gosh): he was an American by birth, the son of Polish emigrants who had come to the United States. He was executed October 29, 1901, at Auburn, New York. Compare the assassination of Lincoln by a sectionalist (§ 506) and that of Garfield by a partisan (§ 539).

President McKinley was buried (September 19) at his former home in Canton, Ohio. Throughout the United States and in many of the cities of Europe the occasion was solemnly kept as one of "mourning and prayer." Perhaps no day in our history as a nation has made a deeper and more abiding impression on the hearts of the American people. While paying their tribute of sorrow to the memory of the dead chief magistrate, men everywhere silently resolved that, come what might, no anarchist, or no body of anarchists, should ever with murder-stained hands cast down the pillars of the Republic.

592. The anthracite coal strike; wireless telegraphy; the American Pacific cable. In the spring of 1902 the United Mine Workers of the anthracite region in Pennsylvania struck for higher wages and shorter hours. This action closed all of the hard-coal mines. Late in the autumn the strike was settled by a commission of arbitration¹ appointed by President Roosevelt, both sides in the controversy having agreed to accept their decision.

The commission conceded a moderate increase of pay and made some reduction in the hours of labor. On the other hand, the coal workers bound themselves not to interfere with non-union men engaged in the mines. Both employers and employees were to refer any further disputes, which might arise during the space of three years, to a board of arbitrators.

The total direct cost of the strike was estimated at nearly \$100,000,000. To this enormous loss must be added the still greater loss and suffering which all classes of the community had to bear in consequence of the short supply of coal during the severe winter of 1902-1903. These reasons make this labor controversy take rank among the chief of our "historic strikes" (§§ 534, 547, 557).

The beginning of the next year marked a signal advance in the development of a very remarkable invention. On January 19,

¹ The commission consisted of Judge George Gray of the United States Circuit Court, Thomas H. Watkins, General John M. Wilson, E. W. Parker, E. E. Clark, Bishop John L. Spalding, and Hon. Carroll D. Wright.

1903, President Roosevelt made use of the Marconi wireless telegraph to send a message of congratulation to King Edward of England. The telegram was dispatched from the station at Wellfleet, Cape Cod. It was the first message of the kind ever sent across the Atlantic. It proved the possibility of making the atmosphere a silent medium of communication between America and Europe.

Less than six months later, an electric cable was completed between San Francisco, Hawaii, and Manila, — a distance of nearly 8000 miles, — thence connecting with a cable to Hongkong. This Pacific cable, like the first ocean line laid more than forty years before (§ 520), was the work of our countrymen. On the Fourth of July, 1903, the President took part in the celebration of the event by sending a telegram around the globe over the new line. It passed from point to point, across Asia, and thence across Europe and the British Isles, back to the President's summer residence at Oyster Bay, Long Island, New York. It was America's greeting to the nations of the world.

593. Settlement of the Alaska Boundary question. For some years there had been a dispute between the United States and Great Britain respecting the Alaska boundary. This was satisfactorily settled in the autumn of 1903 by a tribunal of arbitration appointed by the two countries.

The award of that tribunal decided the principal points in favor of our claims. It confirmed the right of the United States to the entire control of an important strip of the main shore of Alaska, and it also conceded our jurisdiction over a valuable mining district. The decision was, as the President declared, "a signal proof of the fairness and good will with which two friendly nations can approach and determine issues involving national sovereignty."¹

594. The Isthmian Canal question decided. In 1902 Congress passed an act empowering the President to purchase the canal (§ 588) which a French company had partially constructed across the Isthmus of Panama. The price to be paid was not to

¹ See the President's Annual Message for 1903.

exceed \$40,000,000. As the canal ran through the territory of Colombia, a treaty for right of way was signed, but was rejected (1903) by that Republic.

The same year (1903) the people of Panama declared themselves independent of Colombia, and the desired right of way was obtained by treaty with the new Republic of Panama.¹ Payment for the canal was made in the course of the following year. The completion of the great work by the United States is now assured. When finished it will secure to our country the absolute ownership of a water way of world-wide importance. It will open a new passage for the commerce of all nations on the globe; it will give our naval vessels and our merchant ships direct, ready, and undisputed access to the Pacific coast and to our island possessions in the East; and it will enhance our growing trade with China, India, Australia, and Japan.

595. The Exposition at St. Louis; farm products; commercial exhibits; machinery; the "manufacture of power." In the spring of 1904 a World's Fair was opened at St. Louis to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of our acquisition of the territory of Louisiana (§ 280). The Exposition was on a scale commensurate with the importance of the event it celebrated. It was admirably calculated to show the marvelous progress made by the country between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains in a century's time.

The growth of St. Louis itself is characteristic of the growth of that section of the West which it represents. Three generations ago it was nothing more than a frontier fur-trading post with Indians and trappers. It consisted of a stockaded fort and a few whitewashed log huts. To-day it is the fourth largest city in the United States, and the wilderness which Jefferson sent Lewis and

¹ By the terms of this treaty the Republic of Panama received \$10,000,000 bonus and the guarantee of its independence. In return that Republic granted the United States a hundred years' lease of a strip of territory ten miles in width and extending across the Isthmus from ocean to ocean. The United States has power to renew this lease from century to century. The Panama Canal, when completed, will reduce the distance by sea from New York to San Francisco from about 14,000 miles to a little over 5000. On the canal and the treaty see Poole's Index to Reviews for 1903 and 1904.

Clark to explore in 1804 (§ 283) has more than half a score of rapidly growing cities in the north, south, and west, and a total population of upwards of 14,000,000.

Three noteworthy features of the St. Louis fair were the farm products, the commercial exhibits, and the display of machinery in motion. In the first of these departments the visitor saw some fruits of the gigantic national harvest worth nearly \$5,000,000,000.¹ He also saw steam plows capable of turning seven furrows at a time, thirty-horse harvesters, which reap, thrash, and put up the grain in bags on the field, and the not less wonderful new machines for gathering corn. Next, the department of commerce covered exports and imports representing a total foreign trade of \$2,450,000,000 as compared with a total of less than \$1,550,000,000 ten years ago. Finally, the forty thousand horse power of moving machinery showed the marvelous change which has been effected in our control of natural forces.

When Lewis and Clark laboriously worked their way westward (1804) a steam engine of any kind was a curiosity. One could count on his fingers the whole number then in use in the United States and still have several fingers to spare. Men then did the greater part of their work by manual labor or by making the horse and the ox their servants. At the best they had got no further than compelling the wind and the water to grind their grain, weave their cloth, and forge their iron.

The steam engine marked a new departure. Then, for the first time in history, men began to manufacture power. That made them independent of wind and stream, for wherever fuel and water could be readily obtained steam could be employed and physical energy could be generated and multiplied at will. With the invention of the electric dynamo another long step forward was taken,² since that made it possible to transmit power as

¹ The Secretary of Agriculture estimated the value of the total farm products of 1904 at \$4,900,000,000; but in 1905 it reached \$6,000,000,000.

² The "harnessing" of Niagara Falls and of the "Soo" Canal as generators and transmitters of electric power show what has been done on a large scale.

well as manufacture and multiply it. The machinery exhibited in motion at St. Louis was a demonstration of the great fact, emphasized by the late president of the American Society of Civil Engineers, that *we can now practically produce unlimited power wherever it is needed*; for every steam engine and every dynamo can be used as a tool to make a greater one or to increase to any desired degree the number already existing. If we add to this the long-distance telephone as an auxiliary, we see how a single corporation, or even a single man, may direct and carry on great industries at points more than a thousand miles apart. Never before did we have so completely at our command the natural forces which we control to-day. Never before could we manufacture, multiply, and transmit these forces as we can at present. The economic history of the United States, in its relation to the world, must in the future depend in large measure on the wise development and right use of this new power.¹

596. **The presidential election (1904).** The Republican Convention nominated Theodore Roosevelt of New York as President, with Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana as Vice President. Their platform declared protection to be "a cardinal policy of the Republican party." It proclaimed its intention to safeguard all lawful combinations of either capital or labor; it upheld the gold standard (§ 587); it favored commercial reciprocity when not injurious to American interests; and it declared that the Republican leaders had conferred upon the people of the Philippines "the largest civil liberty they have ever enjoyed."

The Democratic Convention nominated Alton B. Parker of New York as President, with Henry G. Davis of West Virginia as Vice President. The Democratic platform denounced the protective policy of the Republicans and demanded a revision and gradual reduction of the tariff. It condemned "trusts" (§ 569) as a "menace to beneficial competition." It condemned "imperialism" (§§ 582, 589) as unjust, and declared that the government had no right to make "one set of laws for those at home

¹ See Morison's *The New Epoch — the Manufacture of Power*, ch. i-v.

and another and a different set of laws, absolute in their character, for those in the colonies." Judge Parker accepted his nomination with the understanding that he was fully committed to the gold standard. Seven minor parties appeared in the field.¹

The election resulted in the triumph of the Republicans; the total electoral vote cast for Mr. Roosevelt being 336 to 140 cast for Judge Parker.

597. The "merit system"; arbitrations; higher education; enlargement of the Erie Canal; municipal ownership. President Roosevelt has shown himself an ardent friend of the "merit system," which has done so much to improve the civil service (§§ 533, 565). The total number of persons now employed in that department is over 300,000, and more than 170,000 of these are appointed by competitive examination.² The President further recommends that Congress do everything in its power to improve the consular service. He insists that it cannot promote the true business interests of the country unless the men appointed to it are specially fitted to represent us abroad.

Since Washington entered office up to 1900 the United States has been a party to fifty-seven arbitrations, some of which have been of the first importance (§§ 565, 593).³ These arbitrations have settled questions about boundaries, fisheries, and claims for damages. Again (1905), a general arbitration treaty was negotiated with Mexico and fifteen other Central American or South American republics for the settlement of all questions of a pecuniary nature.

Formerly these disputes usually ended in war; now they are generally settled by international commissions. They are "the

¹ They were the Prohibition, People's, Socialist, Socialist Labor, Continental (Labor), National Liberty (Negro), and Lincoln (Negro) parties. None of them obtained electoral votes, but the Socialist party claimed over 600,000 votes and the People's party claimed 500,000.

² See Report of the United States Civil Service, June 30, 1905; of those not subject to civil-service examination by far the greater part are fourth-class postmasters and laborers. Beside these the President, with the confirmation of the Senate, appoints 7233 persons who are specially exempted from passing competitive examinations.

³ See Moore's *American Diplomacy* and C. W. Eliot's *Essays*.

victories which bring no tears." The United States has perhaps done more than any other great power to further this peaceful method. Since the adoption of the Constitution — a period considerably exceeding a century — we have spent only about seven years in foreign wars,¹ and with the exception of one, all were fought in behalf of liberty and humanity. In the same spirit, President Roosevelt used his efforts successfully (1905) to help Japan and Russia put an end to their terrible contest.

James Bryce, the distinguished English statesman and publicist, has lately called attention to our progress, as a people, in another direction. Noting the establishment of Cornell University (1868), and Johns Hopkins University (1876), followed by Tulane (1884), Clark (1889), Leland Stanford (1891), Chicago (1892), and the Carnegie Institute for scientific and historical research (1901), Mr. Bryce says that the "development of the higher education in the United States is perhaps without a parallel in the world."²

We see a different exhibition of the energy and enterprise of our people in the enlargement and improvement of the Erie Canal (\$ 338). This gigantic undertaking, involving an expenditure of over \$100,000,000, will open the canal to fleets of 1000 ton barges moved by steam. It will reduce the time between Buffalo and New York from twelve days to six, and at the same time the cost of transportation will be reduced to less than a third of the present rates, so that wheat can be carried from Lake Erie to the Atlantic for less than a cent a bushel. This will make bread cheaper throughout the Eastern states and in Europe besides.

In several of our cities, notably, in New York, Boston, Seattle, and Chicago, municipal ownership has advanced to a certain extent. The two former cities have built subways for electric cars; the third has taken over the street traction lines, and the last is making preparations to take possession of them.

¹ Namely, the war with the Barbary States (1805), the War of 1812, the Mexican war, and the war with Spain.

² See Mr. Bryce's articles in the *Outlook*, March 25 and April 1, 1905. The total number of such institutions (1905), including 29 state universities, is 443.

598. General survey of the history of the nation ; the United States in the twentieth century. In growth of population, development of natural resources, and accumulation of wealth the American Republic stands at the head of the civilized nations of the globe.

The economic progress of the country shows that here labor-saving inventions have reached the highest perfection ; here steam was first used for purposes of transportation (§ 286) and electricity first employed to transmit intelligence (§ 385).

Our progress on higher planes is not less evident. Here free public schools and free public libraries have been established on a scale never before known ; here manhood suffrage has become the rule ; here entire religious toleration was first granted to all men (§ 124).

Within the lifetime of a generation civil-service reform has been placed on a secure foundation (§§ 540, 565) and the principle of international arbitration recognized (§§ 526, 562, 565). Within the same time slavery has been abolished forever and the Union has had a new birth in the hearts of the whole people.

Now we have entered the twentieth century, and fresh problems meet us. They are the result, in great measure, of the progress which we have made. They challenge our best powers. If we solve them successfully, we shall add a chapter to American history which will be worthy of its past, and which cannot fail to instruct and encourage all who read it.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS¹ ASSEMBLED.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

¹ The First Continental or General Congress met in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. It consisted of forty-four delegates, representing eleven of the thirteen colonies. Later, eleven more delegates took their seats, and all of the colonies were represented except Georgia, which promised to concur with "her sister colonies" in their effort to maintain their rights as English subjects. Peyton Randolph of Virginia was elected President of the Congress. Among the distinguished men who had assembled there, were Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, John Dickinson, William Livingston, John Jay, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Roger Sherman, and the Rutledges of South Carolina.

On the 14th of October, the Congress adopted a *Declaration of Colonial Rights*. On the 26th, a *Petition to the King*, asking the redress of their wrongs, was drawn up.

The Second Continental Congress (at which Georgia was represented) met in Philadelphia, in the State House (Independence Hall), May 10, 1775. A second *Petition to the King* was adopted, and Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the Continental army, though Congress still denied any intention of separating from Great Britain, and earnestly expressed a desire for the peaceful settlement of all difficulties.

The King's Proclamation, declaring the Colonies in rebellion, and calling for volunteers to force them to submit to taxation without representation, and other unjust measures, finally convinced the delegates to Congress of the impossibility of our continuing our allegiance to the English crown.

On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia moved "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, *free and independent states*." John Adams of Massachusetts seconded the motion.

Later, a committee of five — Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston of New York — was appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson drew up the paper, though a few alterations were made in it by the committee and by Congress.

It was adopted on the evening of July 4, 1776, and signed by John Hancock, President of Congress, and Charles Thomson, Secretary. On August 2, 1776, it was signed by the members, representing all the thirteen states.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:— That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measure.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation :

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us ;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States ;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world ;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent ;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury ;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences ;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies ;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments ;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms ; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice

and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:—

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

RHODE ISLAND.

STEPHEN HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

CONNECTICUT.

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

NEW YORK.

WILLIAM FLOYD,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
FRANCIS LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.

NEW JERSEY.

RICHARD STOCKTON,
JOHN WITHERSPOON,
FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRAHAM CLARK.

PENNSYLVANIA.

ROBERT MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEORGE CLYMER,
JAMES SMITH,
GEORGE TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEORGE ROSS.

DELAWARE.

CÆSAR RODNEY,
GEORGE READ,
THOMAS M'KEAN.

MARYLAND.

SAMUEL CHASE,
WILLIAM PACA,
THOMAS STONE,

CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton.

VIRGINIA.

GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
THOMAS NELSON, JR.,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON.

NORTH CAROLINA.

WILLIAM HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOMAS HAYWARD, JR.,
THOMAS LYNCH, JR.,
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

GEORGIA.

BUTTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEORGE WALTON.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

v

Resolved, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, at the head of the army.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.¹

WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America. ♫

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress² of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

¹ Before the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, the Thirteen Colonies were subject to the king of Great Britain. From July 4, 1776, the United States of America were governed by a Continental or General Congress, until March 1, 1781, when the states adopted a constitution, called the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States." The Confederation had no president, no supreme court; and consisted of a single house of Congress, made up of delegates elected by the legislatures of the states. Under this constitution Congress continued to govern—in so far as a body with no practical authority can be said to govern—until March 4, 1789; but on May 14, 1787, a convention of delegates from all the states, except Rhode Island, met in Philadelphia "to form a *more perfect union*" (see the opening words of the Constitution above). The whole number of delegates that attended was fifty-five, but only thirty-nine signed the Constitution. The Articles of Confederation had been made by the *States* only; but as the opening words of the new compact declare, "*We, the People,*" made the Constitution.

George Washington presided over the convention, and Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, James Madison, Rufus King, Roger Sherman, Alexander Hamilton, John Dickinson, Charles C. Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, J. Rutledge, and Gouverneur Morris, were among its distinguished members.

Madison, Hamilton, Washington, and Franklin took the leading part in the great work of drafting the new Constitution, and after its adoption by the convention, Madison and Hamilton used their influence, with great effect, to urge its ratification by the states, especially by New York (see their papers in the *Federalist*).

After a stormy session of nearly four months, during which the convention several times threatened to break up in hopeless dispute, the Constitution was at last adopted. (For the compromises on which it rested, see page 234.)

While the members of the convention were signing the Constitution (for its leading provisions, see page 235), the venerable Dr. Franklin, then aged eighty-one, rose and said: "I have often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at the sun [painted on the wall back of the president's chair], without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a *rising*, and not a setting sun."

The Constitution was then submitted to the thirteen states. In 1788 eleven had ratified it (Rhode Island and North Carolina declining then, though they gave their assent before the close of 1790), and on March 4, 1789, the new Constitution went into operation, although, owing to delays, Washington was not inaugurated as the first President until April 30 of that year.

² Congress assembles on the first Monday in December; the first, or "long session," usually closes some time in the following summer; the second, or "short session," closes, by law, at noon of March 4. Each Congress exists two years.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES vii

SECTION 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers,¹ which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.² The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative: and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker³ and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

¹ At present (under the census of 1900) one representative is sent to Congress for every 193,197 persons. (See page xxxiii.)

² "Persons" meaning *slaves*. This has been amended (by Amendments XIII. and XIV.), and is no longer in force.

³ The Speaker presides. Other officers are the clerk, sergeant-at-arms, door-keeper, etc.

The Senate shall choose their other officers,¹ and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments: When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief-Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation² for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

¹ The chief of these are the secretary, sergeant-at-arms, door-keeper, etc.

² \$5000 a year, with twenty cents for every mile necessarily travelled in coming to and returning from the Capital.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES ix

SECTION 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

X THE STUDENT'S AMERICAN HISTORY

To provide and maintain a navy ;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions ;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings ; — And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.¹

SECTION 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.²

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex-post-facto law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another ; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law ; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States : And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, ex-post-facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its

¹ This is the so-called "elastic clause" of the Constitution.

² "Person" meaning *slave* ; referring to the foreign slave-trade, abolished in 1808.

inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and impost, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships-of-war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.¹]

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.²

¹ This paragraph in brackets has been set aside by the XII. Amendment.

² The electors are chosen on the Tuesday following the first Monday in November, next before the expiration of a presidential term. They vote (by Act of Congress of Feb. 3, 1887) on the second Monday in January following, for President and Vice-President. The votes are counted, and declared in Congress on the second Wednesday of the next February.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation¹ which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECTION 2. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information² of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall

¹ The President now receives \$50,000 a year; the Vice-President, \$8000. Previous to 1873 the President received but \$25,000 a year.

² The Presidents, beginning with Jefferson, have done this by messages sent to Congress. Washington and Adams read speeches or messages to that body.

think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;¹—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by

¹ But compare Amendment XI.

general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person¹ held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the confederation.

¹ "Person" here means *slave*. This was the original Fugitive Slave Law. It now has no force, since, by Amendment XIII. to the Constitution, slavery is prohibited.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES XV

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in conventions, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
JOHN LANGDON,
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

MASSACHUSETTS.
NATHANIEL GORHAM,
RUFUS KING.

CONNECTICUT.
WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON,
ROGER SHERMAN.

NEW YORK.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

NEW JERSEY.
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
DAVID BREARLEY,
WILLIAM PATERSON,
JONATHAN DAYTON.

PENNSYLVANIA.
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBERT MORRIS,
GEORGE CLYMER,
THOMAS FITZSIMONS,
JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON,
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

DELAWARE.
GEORGE READ,
GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.,
JOHN DICKINSON,
RICHARD BASSETT,
JACOB BROOM.

MARYLAND.
JAMES M'HENRY,
DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS
JENIFER,
DANIEL CARROLL.

VIRGINIA.
JOHN BLAIR,
JAMES MADISON, JR.

NORTH CAROLINA.
WILLIAM BLOUNT,
RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT,
HUGH WILLIAMSON.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
JOHN RUTLEDGE,
CHARLES C. PINCKNEY,
CHARLES PINCKNEY,
PIERCE BUTLER.

GEORGIA.
WILLIAM FEW,
ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS

TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, RATIFIED ACCORDING
TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF
THE FOREGOING CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.¹ — Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II. — A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III. — No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV. — The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V. — No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war and public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. — In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII. — In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of common law.

ARTICLE VIII. — Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

¹ The first ten amendments were offered in 1789, and adopted before the close of 1791. They were largely the work of James Madison. They were adopted, says Judge Story, in order to "more efficiently guard certain rights already provided for in the Constitution, or to prohibit certain exercises of authority supposed to be dangerous to the public interests."

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES xvii

ARTICLE IX. — The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X. — The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.¹ — The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against any of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.² — The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate; — the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.³ — *Section 1.* Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

¹ Proposed in 1794; adopted 1798. A number of states have, at different times, taken advantage of this amendment to repudiate their debts.

² Adopted 1804.

³ This confirmed the Proclamation of Emancipation; it was adopted in 1865.

ARTICLE XIV.¹ — *Section 1.* All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be appointed among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.² — *Section 1.* The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

¹ Adopted 1868. The object of sections 1 and 2 was to make the freedmen (negroes), emancipated during the Civil War, *citizens* of the United States.

² Adopted 1870. Its object was to give the freedmen (negroes) the right to *vote*.

TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES.

DATE OF AD- MIS- SION.	BY WHOM SETTLED.	FIRST SETTLE- MENT.	DATE OF DECLARATION OF INDE- PENDENCE.	SQUARE MILES.	POPULA- TION IN 1790.	POPULA- TION IN 1900.
1787	Swedes.	Christiana, near Wilmington.	1638	2,090	50,996	184,735
1787	English.	Philadelphia.	1683	45,815	434,373	6,302,115
1787	Dutch.	Bergen.	1617	7,815	184,139	1,883,669
1788	English.	Savannah.	1733	59,475	82,548	2,216,331
1788	English.	Wethersfield.	1634?	4,990	838,431	908,355
1788	English.	Plymouth.	1620	8,315	378,717	2,805,346
1788	English.	St. Mary's.	1634	12,210	319,728	1,190,090
1788	English.	Old Charleston?	1670?	30,570	249,073	1,340,316
1788	English.	Dover?	1667?	9,305	141,899	411,588
1788	English.	Jamestown.	1607	42,450	748,908 including W. Va.	1,854,184
1788	Dutch.	Fort Orange (Albany); Albemarle?	1662	49,170	340,180	7,268,012
1789	English.		1663?	52,290	393,751	1,899,810

TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES (Continued).

NO.	NAME OF STATE.	DERIVATION OF NAME.	DATE OF AD-MISSION.	BY WHOM SETTLED.	FIRST SETTLEMENT.	POPULATION IN 1790.	SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION IN 1790.	POPULATION IN 1900.
13	<i>Rhode Island.</i>	Either from a fancied resemblance of the Island of Rhodes to the Isle of Rhodes in the Mediterranean, or from the Dutch Rood or Red Island.	1790	English.	Providence.	69,110	1,250	69,110	428,556
14	Vermont.	From the French—Green Mountains.	1791	English.	Fort Dummer (near Brattleborough).	85,416	9,565	85,416	343,641
15	Kentucky.	From the Indian—At the Head of a River; or meaning, according to other authorities, The Dark and Bloody Ground.	1792	English.	Harrodsburg.	73,077	40,400	73,077	2,147,174
16	Tennessee.	From the Indian—River of the Big Bend.	1796	English.	Watauga.	35,791	42,050	35,791	2,020,616
17	Ohio.	From the Indian—Beautiful or Beautiful River.	*1803	Americans.	Marietta.	4,157,545	41,060		
18	Louisiana.	From the French—In honor of Louis XIV. of France.	1812	French.	About 38 miles below New Orleans.	1,381,625	48,720		
19	Indiana.	From the word Indian.	1816	French.	Vincennes.	2,516,462	36,350		
20	Mississippi.	From the Indian—Great and Long River, or Father of Waters.	1817	French.	Natchez.	1,551,270	46,810		
21	Illinois.	From the union of an Indian and a French word—Tribe of Men.	1818	French.	Cahokia.	4,821,550	56,650		
22	Alabama.	From the Indian—A Place of Rest.	1819	French.	Near Mobile Bay.	1,828,697	52,250		

* The most recent authorities (see King's "History of Ohio" in *The Commonwealth Series*, and the article "Ohio" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*) give the date of 1803 instead of 1802, the date usually given heretofore.

TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES (Continued).

NO.	NAME OF STATE.	DERIVATION OF NAME.	DATE OF ADMIS- SION.	BY WHOM SETTLED.	FIRST SETTLE- MENT.	DATE ENTERED UNION.	SQUARE MILES.	POPULA- TION IN 1790.	POPULA- TION IN 1900.
23	Maine.	The Main Land.	1820	English.	Pennesquid.	1685	33,040	96,540	694,666
24	Missouri.	From the Indian — Muddy, or Muddy River.	1821	French.	Fort Orleans (near Jeffers- on City).	1719	69,415		3,106,665
25	Arkansas.	From the Indian <i>Kansas</i> (Smoky Water) and the French <i>Ark</i> , a bow.	1836	French.	Little Rock.	1690?	53,890		1,311,364
26	Michigan.	From the Indian — A weir or dam of twigs for catching fish.	1837	French.	Mackinaw.	1680?	58,915		2,430,988
27	Florida.		1845	Spanish.	St. Augustine.	1565	58,680		538,542
28	Texas.		1845	French.	Lavaca, on the coast.	1685	865,780		3,048,710
29	Iowa.		1846	Americans.	Dubuque.	1833?	56,005		2,331,853
30	Wisconsin.		1848	French.	Green Bay.	1669?	56,040		2,069,042
31	California.		1850	Spanish.	San Diego.	1769	158,360		1,485,053
32	Minnesota.	From the Indian — Cloudy or Whitish Water.	1858	Americans.	Fort Snelling.	1819	83,365		1,731,394
33	Oregon.	Either from the Indian — River	1859	Americans.	Astoria.	1811	96,030		433,536

TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES (Concluded).

NO.	NAME OF STATE.	DERIVATION OF NAME.	DATE OF AD- MIS- SION.	BY WHOM SETTLED.	DATE ENTERED UNION	SQUARE MILES.	POPULA- TION IN 1900.
34	Kansas.	From the Indian — Smoky Water.	1861	Americans.	1854	82,080	1470,495
35	West Virginia.	From Virginia.	1863	English.		24,780	958,800
36	Nevada.	From the Spanish <i>Sierra Ne- vada</i> (Snowy mountain ridge), — Sawey	1864	Americans.	1850	110,700	49,335
37	Nebraska.	From the Indian — Water Valley, or Shallow River.	1867	Americans.	1847	77,510	1,068,539
38	Colorado.	From the Spanish — Red or Colored (referring to the color of the rocks).	1876	Americans.	1859 ²	103,935	539,700
39	North Dakota.	From the Indian — Leagued or Allied (referring to the confeder- ation or league of the Sioux tribes).	1889	English.	1812	70,795	319,146
40	South Dakota.	From the Indian — See above.	1889	Americans.	1859 ²	77,650	401,570
41	Montana.	From the Latin <i>Montes</i> , a moun- tain, — The Land of Mountains.	1889	Americans.	1861 ²	146,080	243,329
42	Washington.	In honor of George Washington.	1889	Americans	1845	69,180	518,103
43	Idaho.	From the Indian — Diadem of the Mountains.	1890	Americans.	1862	84,800	161,772
44	Wyoming.	From the Indian — Great Plains.	1890	Americans.	1867	97,890	92,531
45	Utah.	" — Mountain Home.	1896	Americans.	1847	84,070	276,749

Total population in 1900, 3,029,214. Total population in 1880, 50,189,200; in 1890, 62,622,210; in 1900, 76,304,799.
Five territories: (1) New Mexico, (2) Arizona, (3) Alaska, (4) Indian Territory, (5) Oklahoma; the District of Columbia, the
islands of Hawaii, Guam, the Philippines, Porto Rico; and the Dependency of Cuba.

Notes. The total area of the United States,
Indian Territory (31,400 sq. m.), Oklahoma
miles. The latest estimate in Chambers'
is, 3,602,000 square miles; while Professor
3,549 square miles. These estimates do not
sq. m.). The latest United States govern-

ment (1900) estimate for the entire United States is 3,600,822 square miles.
The 1 indicates conflict of authorities or lack of positive information.

TABLE OF THE PRESIDENTS.

NO.	PRESIDENT.	STATE.	TERM OF OFFICE.	BY WHAT PARTY ELECTED.	VICE-PRESIDENT.	SECRETARY OF STATE.
1	George Washington.	Virginia. . . .	Two terms; 1789-1797. . . .	Whole people.	John Adams. . . .	Thomas Jefferson.
2	John Adams	Massachusetts.	One term; 1797-1801. . . .	Federalists. . .	Thomas Jefferson	James Madison.
3	Thomas Jefferson. . .	Virginia. . . .	Two terms; 1801-1809. . .	Republicans or Democratic Republicans.	Aaron Burr George Clinton. . . . Elbridge Gerry	Robert Smith. James Monroe.
4	James Madison	Virginia. . . .	Two terms; 1809-1817. . .			
5	James Monroe.	Virginia. . . .	Two terms; 1817-1825. . .		Dan'l D. Tompkins.	John Quincy Adams.
6	John Quincy Adams . .	Massachusetts.	One term; 1825-1829. . . .	House of Rep.	John C. Calhoun. . .	Henry Clay.
7	Andrew Jackson . . .	Tennessee . . .	Two terms; 1829-1837. . . .	Democrats . . .	John C. Calhoun. Martin Van Buren	
8	Martin Van Buren . . .	New York	One term; 1837-1841. . . .	Democrats . . .	Rich'd M. Johnson.	
9	William H. Harrison.	Ohio	One month; 1841	Whigs	John Tyler.	
10	John Tyler	Virginia. . . .	3 yrs. 11 mos.; 1841-1845. .	Whigs		
11	James K. Polk.	Tennessee . . .	One term; 1845-1849. . . .	Democrats . . .	George M. Dallas .	
12	Zachary Taylor. . . .	Louisiana. . . .	1 yr. 4 mos.; 1849, 1850. . .	Whigs	Millard Fillmore . .	
13	Millard Fillmore . . .	New York	2 yrs. 8 mos.; 1850-1853 . .	Whigs		
14	Franklin Pierce	N. Hampshire.	One term; 1853-1857. . . .	Democrats . . .	William R. King.	
15	James Buchanan . . .	Pennsylvania . .	One term; 1857-1861. . . .	Democrats . . .	J. C. Breckinridge { Hannibal Hamlin . Andrew Johnson. .	Lewis Cass. Jeremiah S. Black. William H. Seward.
16	Abraham Lincoln. . .	Illinois	1 term and 6 w'ks; 1861-1865.	Republicans. {		William H. Seward.
17	Andrew Johnson . . .	Tennessee . . .	3 yrs. 10 mos.; 1865-1869.	Republicans. {	Schuyler Colfax. . . Henry Wilson. . . .	Ellis B. Washburne. Hamilton Fish.
18	Ulysses S. Grant . . .	Illinois.	Two terms; 1869-1877. . . .	Republicans. {	Wm. A. Wheeler. . . Chester A. Arthur.	William M. Evarts. James G. Blaine.
19	Rutherford B. Hayes.	Ohio	One term; 1877-1881. . . .	Republicans. .	Thos. A. Hendricks.	F. T. Frelinghuysen.
20		Ohio	6 mos. 15 dys.; 1881	Republicans. .	Levi P. Morton.	Thomas F. Bayard.
21		New York	3 yrs. 5 mos. 15 dys.; 1881-'85	Republicans. .	Adlai E. Stevenson	James G. Blaine.
22	Grover Cleveland. . .	New York	One term; 1885-1889. . . .	Democrats . . .	Garrett A. Hobart	Walter O. Graham.
23	Benjamin Harrison . .	Indiana	One term; 1889-1893	Republicans. .		John Sherman.
24	Grover Cleveland . . .	New York	One term; 1893-1897. . . .	Democrats . . .		John Hay.
25	William McKinley . . .	Ohio	1 term and pt. of 2d; '97-'01	Republicans . .		
26	Theodore Roosevelt	New York	Part of one term	Republicans . .		

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Memoirs of J.Q. Adams (1795-1848), 12 vols.
Ingersoll's Recollections (1792-1803), 2 vols.
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McCulloch's Men and Measures of Half a Century (1833-1883).
Cox's Three Decades (1855-1885).
Chittenden's Personal Reminiscences (1840-1890).
Sherman's Recollections (1855-1895), 2 vols.
Thompson's Recollections of Sixteen Presidents (1789-1865), 2 vols.
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Hoar's Autobiography, 2 vols.
Snow's American Diplomacy (1783-1893).
Schuyler's American Diplomacy.
Foster's Century of American Diplomacy (1776-1876).
Hart's Foreign Policy of the United States.

Financial History

Dewey's Financial History of the United States.
White's Money and Banking.
Sumner's American Currency.
Bolles' Financial History of the United States, 2 vols.

Histories of the United States in General

Hart's History of the American Nation, (1492-), 28 vols. (in progress).
Lee's History of North America (1492-), 20 vols. (in progress).
Chancellor and Hewes' United States (1607-1904), 10 vols. (in progress).
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Wilson's History of the American People (1492-1900), 5 vols.
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Hart's Epochs of American History (1492-1889), 3 vols.
Scribner's American History Series (1492-1889), 7 vols.
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Goldwin Smith's United States (1492-1871).
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Hildreth's United States (1492-1821), 6 vols.
Johnston's United States (reprinted with additions from the Encyclopædia Britannica (1492-1889)).
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Hart's American History told by Contemporaries (1492-1900), 4 vols.

I. PERIOD OF DISCOVERY (1492-1521)

§Major's Select Letters of Columbus.
§Hakluyt's Divers Voyages.

Winsor's Columbus.
Markham's Columbus.
Harrisse's Discovery of America.
Fiske's Discovery of North America, 2 vols.
Winsor's America, vols. I-III.

II. PERIOD OF EXPLORATION AND SPANISH COLONIZATION OF AMERICA (1509-1587)

Irving's Companions of Columbus, 2 vols.
H. H. Bancroft's Pacific States, 34 vols.
§De Soto's Conquest of Florida (Hakluyt).
Parkman's Pioneers of France in the New World.
Cooke's Virginia.
§Hakluyt's Voyages (Goldsmid), vol. XII, pp. 169-276 (reasons for colonization).
§Hart's Contemporaneous History, vol. I.
Winsor's America, vols. II-III.
Edward's Sir Walter Raleigh.
On the Indians:
Ellis' The Red Man and the White.
Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, 6 vols.
Morgan's League of the Iroquois.
Colden's Five Nations.
Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac (chap. I).

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Scribner's United States, 5 vols.
Winsor's America, 8 vols.
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Eggleston's The Beginners of a Nation.
Eggleston's The Transit of Civilization.
Eggleston's Articles in the Century, vols. III-VIII.
Earle's Home Life in Colonial Days.
Thwaite's Colonies.
Fisher's Colonial Period.
Lodge's English Colonies.
Parkman's Frontenac.
Parkman's Old Régime in Canada.
Parkman's Jesuits in North America.
Parkman's Half Century of Conflict, 2 vols.
Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe, 2 vols.
Winsor's Mississippi Basin.

§ Contemporaneous or Early History.

LIST OF BOOKS ON AMERICAN HISTORY xxvii

§Force's North American Colonies, 4 vols.
 Seeley's Expansion of England.
 Lecky's England in the 18th Century, 8 vols.
 Chalmer's Annals of the Colonies.
 Chalmer's Revolt of the Colonies, 2 vols.
 Goldwin Smith's American Colonies.
 §Captain John Smith's Works (Arber's edition).
 §Brown's Genesis of the United States (1607-1616), 2 vols.
 §Beverly's Virginia (1584-1720).
 §Stith's Virginia (1607-1747).
 §Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.
 §Neill's Virginia Company.
 §Neill's Virginia Vetusta.
 §Neill's Virginia Carolorum.
 §Hening's Statutes (1619-1792), 13 vols.
 Bruce's Economic History of Virginia, 2 vols.
 Cooke's Virginia.
 The Virginia Magazine of History, etc. (in progress).
 §Brodhead's New York (1664-1691), 2 vols.
 Roberts' New York, 2 vols.
 Wilson's City of New York, 4 vols.
 Lamb's City of New York, 2 vols.
 Palfrey's New England, 5 vols.
 §Winthrop's New England, 2 vols.
 Fiske's Beginnings of New England.
 Weeden's Economic History of New England, 2 vols.
 §Bradford's History of Plymouth.
 §Arber's Story of the Pilgrims.
 §Young's Chronicle of the Pilgrims.
 Goodwin's Pilgrim Republic.
 Barry's Massachusetts, 3 vols.
 §Lowell Lectures (1869) on Early Massachusetts.
 §Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay.
 Ellis' Puritan Age in Massachusetts.
 §Hutchinson's Massachusetts, 3 vols.
 Oliver's Puritan Commonwealth.
 Thornton's Reply to Oliver.
 Adams' Emancipation of Massachusetts.
 Adams' Three Episodes in the History of Massachusetts, 2 vols.
 §Mather's Magnalia.
 §Sewall's Diary (1674-1729), 3 vols.
 Winsor's Memorial History of Boston, 4 vols.
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 Greene's Rhode Island.
 Trumbull's Connecticut, 2 vols.
 Johnston's Connecticut.
 Sanborn's New Hampshire.

Belknap's New Hampshire, 2 vols.
 Browne's Maryland.
 Scharf's Maryland, 3 vols.
 §Proud's Pennsylvania (1681-1742), 2 vols.
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 Fisher's Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.
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 Williamson's North Carolina.
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 McCrady's South Carolina, 2 vols.
 Simm's South Carolina.
 Raum's New Jersey, 2 vols.
 Jones' Georgia, 2 vols.
 Baird's Huguenot Emigration to America.
 Roosevelt's Winning of the West, 3 vols.
 Hinsdale's Old Northwest.
 Tyler's Colonial Literature.
Biography. See Sparks' American Biography for lives of Nathaniel Bacon, Daniel Boone, Lord Baltimore (Calvert), Jonathan Edwards, John Eliot, Patrick Henry, Anne Hutchinson, John Ledyard, Cotton Mather, Governor Oglethorpe, James Otis, Sir W. Phips, William Penn, Count Rumford (Benj. Thompson), Captain John Smith, Roger Williams, Governor Winthrop; Bigelow's Benjamin Franklin, 3 vols., Montgomery's Franklin (Ginn & Company).

IV. THE REVOLUTION AND THE CONSTITUTION (1763-1789)

Winsor's America, vol. VI.
 Scribner's United States.
 Frothingham's Rise of the Republic.
 Lecky's England (18th century), 8 vols.
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 Hildreth's United States, vols. I-III.
 Hart's Formation of the Union (1750-1829).
 Sloane's French War and Revolution.
 §Hart's American History told by Contemporaries, vol. II.
 Greene's American Revolution.
 Ludlow's War of Independence.
 Winsor's Handbook of the Revolution.
 Trevelyan's American Revolution. 4 vols.
 Fisher's The True Revolution.
 Rand's Economic History since 1763 (revised edition).
 §Stedman's American War (British account).
 §Almon's "Prior Documents" (1764-1775).

xxviii THE STUDENT'S AMERICAN HISTORY

§Almon's Remembrancer (1775-1784), 17 vols.

Hosmer's Life of Governor Hutchinson.

§Moore's Diary of the Revolution, 2 vols.

§Thacher's Military Journal.

§Baroness Riedesel's Memoirs.

§Galloway's Rise of the Rebellion (Tory).

Sabine's Loyalists.

Carrington's Battles of the Revolution.

Abbott's Revolutionary Times.

Scudder's America 100 Years Ago.

Jefferson's Anas (in his Works), vol. IX.

Gouverneur Morris' Diary (1775-1815), 2 vols.

Tyler's Literature of the Revolution, 2 vols.

Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, 2 vols.

Von Holst's Constitutional History, vol. I.

McMaster's United States, vol. I.

Landon's Constitutional History of the United States.

Kasson's Evolution of the Constitution of the United States.

§The Federalist.

§Elliot's Debates on the Constitution, 3 vols.

Wilson's The State.

Foster's Commentaries on the Constitution, 2 vols.

Curtis' History of the Constitution, 2 vols.

Fiske's Critical Period in United States History.

Biography. Parker's Historic Americans, Bigelow's Franklin, 3 vols., Hosmer's Samuel Adams,¹ Morse's John Adams,¹ Greene's General Greene, 2 vols., Lodge's Washington, 2 vols.,¹ Fiske's Irving's Washington and his Country (Ginn & Company), Sparks' American Biography, Lodge's Hamilton,¹ Gay's Madison,¹ Roosevelt's Gouverneur Morris.¹

¹ In Morse's American Statesmen Series.

V. THE UNION — NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (1789-1861)

Schouler's United States, 5 vols.

Scribner's United States, 5 vols.

Hildreth's United States, vols. IV-VI.

Wilson's Division and Reunion (1829-1889).

Bryce's American Commonwealth, 2 vols. (revised edition).

Walker's The Making of the Nation.

Winsor's America, vol. VII.

McMaster's United States (1784-1861), 5 vols. (in progress).

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Maclay's History of the Navy, 2 vols.

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Page's The Old South.

Ingle's Southern Side Lights.

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Jay's Mexican War.

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Martineau's Society in America (1834-1836), 4 vols.

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Hubert's Lives of Inventors.

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For histories of the states, see Scudder's American Commonwealth Series, 13 vols. (in progress).

Breck's Recollections (1771-1862).

Fred. Douglass' Autobiography.

Lyman Beecher's Autobiography (1775-1857), 2 vols.

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Dolly Madison's Memoirs.

Quincy's Figures of the Past.

Goodrich's Recollections (1797-1854), 2 vols.

S. J. May's Autobiography.

S. J. May's Anti-Slavery Days.

J. F. Clarke's Anti-Slavery Days.

Biography. See in Morse's American Statesmen Series (Houghton & Mifflin), the Lives of John Adams, J. Q. Adams,

LIST OF BOOKS ON AMERICAN HISTORY xxix

Benton, Calhoun, Clay, Jackson, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Morris, Randolph, Washington, and Webster; in Sparks' American Biography, the Lives of Fulton and Rumford; Sanborn's John Brown, Johnson's Garrison, Garrison's Life by his Children, 4 vols., Prime's Morse, Rice's Morton, Abbott's Kit Carson, Upham's Frémont, Parton's Famous Americans, Mrs. Stowe's Men of Our Times, Hunt's American Merchants.

VI. THE PERIOD OF THE CIVIL WAR (1861-1865)

Rhodes' United States, vols. II-V.
Scribner's United States.
Wilson's Division and Reunion (1829-1889).
Burgess' Civil War, 2 vols.
Curtis' Life of Buchanan, 2 vols.
Greeley's American Conflict, 2 vols.
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Johnson's Short History of the War.
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Ropes' Civil War.
The Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (Century Company), 4 vols.
Nichols' Story of the Great March.
Conyngham's Sherman's March.
McPherson's Political History of the Rebellion.
Blaine's Twenty Years in Congress, 2 vols.
Swinton's Decisive Battles of the War.
Billings' Hard Tack and Coffee.
Pollard's Lost Cause (Confederate).
Davis' Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government (Confederate), 2 vols.
Cooke's Wearing of the Gray (Confederate).
Johnston's Narrative of the War (Confederate).
Gordon's Reminiscences of the Civil War (Confederate).
Stephens' War between the States (Confederate), 2 vols.
Longstreet's From Manassas to Appomattox (Confederate).
Official Records of the War of the Rebellion (with atlas), 120 vols. (in progress).
Harper's Pictorial History of the Rebellion.
Biography. Nicolay and Hay's Abraham Lincoln, Holland's Lincoln, Herndon's Lincoln, 3 vols., Carpenter's Six Months in the White House, Lodge's Lincoln, 2 vols., McClure's Lincoln, McClellan's

Own Story, Roman's Beauregard, 2 vols., Badeau's U. S. Grant, 3 vols., Grant's Personal Memoirs, 2 vols., Sherman's Memoirs, 2 vols., Sheridan's Memoirs, 2 vols., Farragut's Life of Farragut, Schuckers' Life of S. P. Chase, Cooke's Robert E. Lee, Cooke's "Stonewall" Jackson, Johnston and Browne's Life of Alexander H. Stephens, Sherman's Letters; the Lives of Generals Scott, Hancock, Thomas, J. E. Johnston, Lee, and Admirals Farragut and Porter, in the Great Commander Series.

VII. RECONSTRUCTION—THE NEW NATION (1865 TO THE PRESENT TIME)

Scribner's United States.
Wilson's Division and Reunion.
Brown's The United States since the Civil War, 2 vols.
Burgess' Reconstruction.
McPherson's Political History of Reconstruction.
Barnes' History of the 39th Congress.
Chadsey's Struggle between President Johnson and Congress (Columbia University Studies, 1896).
Scott's Reconstruction.
Bryce's American Commonwealth, 2 vols. (revised edition).
Life and Works of Henry W. Grady.
Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress, 2 vols.
Hoar's Autobiography.
Johnston's American Politics.
Pike's Prostrate State (South Carolina).
McPherson's Political Handbooks (1870-1894).
Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia (1876-1902).
Bancroft's Pacific States, 34 vols.
Thayer's New West.
McClure's The South.
Washington's Up from Slavery.
Williams' Negro Race in America, 2 vols.
Whitney's United States.
Shaler's United States, 2 vols.
King's The New South.
Curry's The South.
Badeau's Grant in Peace.
Stoddard's Life of Garfield.
Wilson's Presidents (1789-1893).
Andrews' The United States in Our Time.
Whittle's Life of Cleveland.
Morris' War with Spain.
Harper's War with Spain, 3 vols.
McKinley's Messages to Congress.
Roosevelt's Messages to Congress.

TABLE OF BOUNDARIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

(The student of American History should bear in mind that the political boundaries of the United States have been determined to a very large degree by the natural boundaries of: 1. coast lines; 2. rivers and lakes; 3. watersheds; 4. mountain ranges.)

- I. (1783) By the final Treaty of Peace of 1783 the boundary of the American Republic (see "Map of U. S. in 1783") was fixed, in general terms, as follows: The line separating the United States from the British possessions began at the Bay of Fundy and ran to "the northwest angle of Nova Scotia," thence "to the Highlands," and thence "along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean." Thence the line ran westerly along the 45th parallel, the middle of the St. Lawrence, and the middle of the Great Lakes to the Lake of the Woods. On the west, the line separating the United States from the Spanish province of Louisiana was drawn from the Lake of the Woods to the head-waters of the Mississippi and thence down the middle of that river to the 31st parallel—or the frontier of the Spanish province of West Florida. On the south, the line extended due east from the Mississippi along the 31st parallel to the Chattahoochee River in Georgia and thence to the sea as shown on the map. (See "U. S. Statutes at Large," VIII., 80; Macdonald's "Select Documents of U. S. History"; Winsor's "America," VII.; Gannett's "Boundaries of the U. S."; Hinsdale's "Bounding the Original U. S." in "Mag. of Western History," II., 401; Hart's "Epoch Maps of American History.")

Much of the region through which the northern boundary ran was an unexplored wilderness and the line was largely pure guesswork. This was the case west of Lake Superior, and notably so in the northeast, between what is now the State of Maine and the British possessions. The result was that for nearly sixty years this northeast line was a subject of angry dispute and the controversy was not finally settled until the negotiation of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842. (See Winsor's "America," VII.; and Benton's "Thirty Years in the U. S. Senate," II., 421.)

- II. (1795) Spain refused to recognize the southern boundary of the United States as determined by the Treaty of Peace of 1783 (see above, No. I.). She claimed that her province of West Florida extended 110 miles north of the 31st parallel and that the true boundary line, separating her possessions in that quarter from the United States, extended due east from the Mississippi from the mouth of the Yazoo to the Chattahoochee River in Georgia.

In 1795 Spain relinquished her claim to the disputed territory, and, furthermore, granted to the United States the free navigation of the lower Mississippi, besides conceding the temporary right of deposit (or storage for merchandise) at the port of New Orleans. (See "U. S. Statutes at Large," VIII., and Winsor and Hinsdale, as above.)

- III. (1803) In 1803 the United States purchased the province of Louisiana, which Spain had receded to France. That immense territory extended from the mouth of the Mississippi northward to its source, and had the Rocky Mountains as its natural boundary on the west. We bought the country without receiving any definite limits, and hence further negotiations became necessary with respect to boundary lines (see below).
- IV. (1818) In consequence of the above purchase of Louisiana a treaty made by us with Great Britain in 1818 extended the northern line of the United States from the Lake of the Woods (see above, No. I.) westward along the 49th parallel to the Rocky Mountains. The same treaty provided that the country west of the Rocky Mountains, north of the 42d parallel (or the recognized Spanish frontier), and known as the Oregon country, should be held jointly by the United States and Great Britain.
- V. (1819-1825) In 1819 Spain sold Florida to us, and in the treaty defined the unsettled western boundary of Louisiana (see above, Nos. III. and IV.) by an irregular line which began at the Gulf of Mexico and approximately followed the watershed south and west of the tributaries of the Mississippi to the 42d parallel. At the same time Spain agreed to renounce all claims to the Oregon country. This was to us a most important concession. Six years later (1825) a treaty made with Russia fixed the northern limit of the Oregon country (before unsettled) at 54° 40', or what is now the southern boundary of Alaska.
- VI. (1842) In 1842 the Webster-Ashburton Treaty (see Index under "Treaty") settled the long dispute over the northeastern boundary (see above, No. I.) and reaffirmed the line of 1818 to the Rocky Mountains (see above, No. IV.).
- VII. (1845) In 1845 we annexed Texas; the boundary question was settled by the Mexican War.
- VIII. (1846) In 1846 a treaty made by us with Great Britain divided the Oregon country between the two nations by extending the boundary line of the 49th parallel (see above, No. IV.) from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific. (See in general the "Map of Acquisitions of Territory.")
- IX. (1848-1867) All subsequent United States boundary lines on the continent (see map cited above) were determined by Mexican cessions in 1848, the Gadsden Purchase in 1853, and the Alaska Purchase in 1867.
- X. (1898-1899) The islands recently acquired by the United States present no difficulties respecting boundaries.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT EACH CENSUS.

YEAR.	POPULATION.	POPULATION LIVING IN CITIES.	INHABITANTS OF CITIES IN EACH 100 OF THE TOTAL POPU- LATION.
1790	3,929,214	131,472	3.35
1800	5,308,483	210,873	3.97
1810	7,239,881	356,920	4.93
1820	9,633,822	475,135	4.93
1830	12,866,020	1,864,509	6.72
1840	17,069,453	1,453,994	8.52
1850	23,191,876	2,897,586	12.49
1860	31,443,321	5,072,256	16.13
1870	38,558,371	8,071,875	20.93
1880	50,155,783	11,318,547	22.57
1890	62,622,250	18,284,385	29.20
1900	76,304,799	24,992,199	31.10

All places having a population of 8000 and over are classed as *cities*.

POPULATION OF THE FREE AND THE SLAVE STATES,
1790-1860.

YEAR.	FREE STATES.	SLAVE STATES. (Including Negroes.)
1790	1,968,455	1,961,372
1800	2,684,616	2,621,316
1810	3,758,910	3,480,902
1820	5,152,372	4,485,819
1830	7,006,399	5,848,312
1840	9,733,922	7,334,433
1850	13,599,488	9,663,997
1860	19,128,418	12,315,372

REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS FROM 1790 TO 1903.

YEAR.	SENATE.		HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.		RATIO OF REPRESENTATION. ¹
	FREE STATES.	SLAVE STATES.	FREE STATES.	SLAVE STATES.	
1790	14	12	35	30	30,000
1793	16	14	57	48	33,000
1796	16	16	57	49	33,000
1803	18	16	76	65	33,000
1813	18	18	103	78	35,000
1816	20	18	103	78	35,000
1821	24	24	105	81	35,000
1823	24	24	123	90	40,000
1833	24	24	141	99	47,700
1837	26	26	142	100	47,700
1843	26	26	135	88	70,680
1848	30	30	140	91	70,680
1853	32	30	144	90	93,423
1860	36	30	147	90	93,423
1863	72		243		127,381
1873	76		293		131,425
1883	76		325		151,911
1893	88		356		173,901
1903	90		386		193,175

¹ The number of representatives is fixed by Congress every ten years (Constitution, Art. I, sect. 2). To find the electoral vote, add together the number of senators and representatives; e.g. the electoral vote in 1790 was 91.

THE SECTIONS IN 1870.

SECTIONS.	POPULATION IN 1870.	SENATE.	HOUSE.	ELECT. VOTES.
THE SOUTH: (Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., Ky., La., Md., Miss., N. C., S. C., Tenn., Tex., Va., W. V.)	12,032,225	28	92	120
THE NORTHWEST: (Ill., Ia., Ind., Ks., Mich., Minn., Mo., Neb., O., Wis.)	12,702,299	20	98	118
THE MIDDLE STATES: (Del., N. J., N. Y., Penn.)	8,941,625	8	68	76
NEW ENGLAND: (Conn., Mass., Me., N. H., R. I., Vt.)	3,187,924	12	28	40
THE PACIFIC: (Cal., Col., Nev., Or.)	889,789	8	7	15
Total	38,925,598	76	293	369

 The total population includes Territories and Indians.


THE SECTIONS IN 1880.

SECTIONS.	POPULATION IN 1880.	SENATE.	HOUSE.	ELECT. VOTES.
THE SOUTH	16,188,757	28	106	134
THE NORTHWEST	17,229,810	20	114	134
THE MIDDLE STATES	10,644,233	8	70	78
NEW ENGLAND	4,010,438	12	26	38
THE PACIFIC	1,296,367	8	9	17
Total	50,155,783	76	325	401

 The total population includes Territories and Indians. The Apportionment Act of Feb. 25, 1882, took effect March 3, 1883.

THE SECTIONS IN 1890.

SECTIONS.	POPULATION IN 1890.	SENATE.	HOUSE.	ELECT. VOTES.
THE SOUTH	19,370,094	28	111	139
THE NORTHWEST	22,362,279	24	128	152
THE MIDDLE STATES	12,869,293	8	73	81
NEW ENGLAND	4,700,745	12	27	39
THE PACIFIC	2,606,495	16	17	33
Total	62,622,250	88	356	444

 The new States of Montana, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming, and Utah are classed with the Pacific States. The Dakotas are classed with the Northwest. The total population includes the Territories. The Apportionment Act of Feb. 7, 1891, took effect March 3, 1893. The next apportionment will take effect in 1903.

THE SECTIONS IN 1900.

SECTIONS.	POPULATION IN 1900.	SENATE.	HOUSE.	ELECT. VOTES.
NORTH ATLANTIC DIVISION	21,046,695			
SOUTH ATLANTIC DIVISION	10,443,480			
NORTH CENTRAL DIVISION	26,333,004			
SOUTH CENTRAL DIVISION	14,080,047			
WESTERN DIVISION	4,091,349			
HAWAII	154,001			
Total	76,148,576	90	386	476

 The Apportionment Act of 1901 took effect in 1903.

INDEX

- Abolitionists, rise of the, 340, 355.
 Acadians, expulsion of the, 149.
 Acquisition of industrial rights, 564.
 of political rights, 563.
 Adams, John, elected President, 258.
 administration of, 260.
 John Quincy, elected President, 326.
 administration of, 327.
 and slavery, 340, 343, 355, 357, 363.
 and the Monroe Doctrine, 321, 322, 323.
 Samuel, 184, 189, 191.
 Agriculture in 1790, 250.
 in the West, 355, 409, 576, 596, 597, 610.
 Department of, 596.
 Alabama admitted, 313.
 "Alabama" claims, the, 451, 536.
 Alaska, purchase of, 526.
 boundary settled, 608.
 Albany founded, 50, 55.
 plan of union, 148.
 Algiers, war with, 278.
 treaty with, 257.
 Alien and Sedition Laws, 262.
 Alien Contract Labor Act, 552.
 Allen, Ethan, 191.
 Amendments to the Constitution, the first
 twelve, 242, 271.
 after the Civil War, 518, 520, 528.
 America discovered by the Northmen, 1.
 discovered by Columbus, 7.
 continent of, discovered (1497) by John
 Cabot, 9.
 claimed (1497) by England, 9, 10.
 how discovered to be a continent, 11.
 name of, 11.
 effects of the discovery of, on Europe, 26.
 English and French colonies, 17, 19.
 England's reasons for colonizing, 31.
 First law-making assembly in, 38.
 Dutch settlements in, 48.
 First permanent English settlement in,
 34.
 French settlements in, 17, 18.
 Spanish settlements in, 17, 18.
 Swedish settlements in, 116.
 struggle of England and France for, 137-
 154.
 declares itself independent, 201.
 first flag of, 198, 210.
 "American Policy" (tariff), 323, 344.
 Americas, Congress of the three, 561.
 Amnesty, proclamations of, 514, 521, 525,
 569.
 Anarchists at Chicago, 556.
 Anderson, Major R., at Fort Sumter, 437,
 444.
 Andersonville prison pen, 476.
 André executed, 219.
 Andros, Governor, 56, 57, 65, 89, 105.
 Anne's, Queen, War, 145.
 Annexation of Texas, 371-375.
 Anthracite coal discovered, 128.
 Antietam, battle of, 470.
 Anti-Slavery (see Abolitionists), 340.
 Appomattox, Lee's surrender at, 506.
 Apprentices, white, in Virginia, 37, 39.
 Arbitration, international, 535, 572, 576, 612.
 Arkansas slave territory, 314.
 admitted, 356.
 Army of the Revolution, 191, 192.
 of the War of 1812, 292.
 of the Mexican War, 382.
 of the Civil War, 446, 450, 509, 516, 517.
 Arnold, Benedict, in the Revolution, 199,
 210.
 treason of, 218.
 Art, early American, 172.
 Arthur becomes President, 551.
 Articles of Confederation, 202, 226, 228, 233.
 Assemblies, Colonial, 38, 53, 55, 61, 64, 73,
 78, 92, 96, 103, 105, 109, 110, 113, 114, 117,
 120, 127, 129, 135.
 Assistance, Writs of, 179.
 Association, Articles of, 188.
 Assumption of state debts, 244.
 Astor, John J., and the War of 1812, 293.
 and Oregon, 379.
 Atlanta taken by Sherman, 496.
 Exhibition, 574.
 Atlantic telegraph completed, 525.
 Austin, S. F., and Texas, 320.
 Australian ballot introduced, 560.
 Authors, American, 348.
 Bacon, Nathaniel, rebellion of, 44, 45.
 Balboa discovers the Pacific, 14.
 Ballot, Australian, or secret, 560.
 Baltimore, Lord, founds Maryland, 107.
 Baltimore, city of, founded, 111.
 first blood in Civil War shed at, 447.
 Bank, the first U. S., established, 245.
 the second U. S., 305.
 U. S., Jackson and the, 349-353.
 Banks, the "pet," 353.
 state, 310, 353.
 "wildcat," 310, 353.
 national, established, 452.
 savings banks, growth of, 598.
 Banks, General N. P., 467, 488.

xxxviii THE STUDENT'S AMERICAN HISTORY

- Baptist Church, the first, 113.
 Baptists driven out of Massachusetts, 86.
 denied liberty of worship, 110.
 go to Rhode Island, 113.
 Battle of Alamance, 122.
 Allatoona, 499.
 Antietam, or Sharpsburg, 470.
 Atlanta, 496.
 Averysboro, 504.
 Ball's Bluff (note), 460.
 Bemis Heights, 210.
 Bennington, 208.
 Bentonville, 504.
 Big Black River, 486.
 Bladensburg, 298.
 Brandywine, 208.
 Buena Vista, 385.
 Bull Run (first), or Manassas, 456.
 Bull Run (second), or Manassas, 469.
 Bunker Hill, 197, 198.
 Camden (first), 217.
 Camden (second), or Hobkirk's Hill, 222.
 Cerro Gordo, 385.
 Champion Hills, 486.
 Chancellorsville, 479.
 Chapultepec, 386.
 Charleston, 217.
 evacuated, 504.
 "Chesapeake" and "Shannon," 295, 296.
 Chickamauga, 489.
 Chippewa, 298.
 Chrysler's Farm, 298.
 Churubusco, 386.
 Cold Harbor, 493.
 Concord, 190.
 "Constellation," the, captures a French frigate, 261.
 "Constitution" and "Guerrière," 294.
 Contreras, 386.
 Corinth, 477.
 Cowpens, 220.
 Crown Point, 190.
 Dallas, 496.
 Detroit, Hull's surrender of, 293.
 "Essex," the, in the Pacific, 295.
 Eutaw Springs, 222.
 Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, 467.
 Flamborough Head (Paul Jones), 216.
 Fort Donelson, 461.
 Fort Duquesne, 148.
 Fort Fisher, 503.
 Fort Henry, 461.
 Fort McAllister, 501.
 Fort McHenry, 298.
 Fort Mims (massacre), 299.
 Fort Moultrie, 200.
 Fort Pillow, 476.
 Fort Stanwix, 210.
 Fort Sumter, 444.
 Fort Wagner, 476.
 Fort Washington, 204.
 Franklin, 501.
 Fredericksburg, 470.
 Germantown, 208.
 Gettysburg, 479-484.
 Guilford Court House, 222.
 Hobkirk's Hill, 222.
 Horseshoe Bend, or Tohopeka, 299.
 Battle of Island Number Ten, 463.
 Juka, 477.
 "Kearsarge" and "Alabama," 502.
 Kenesaw Mountain, 496.
 King's Mountain, 219.
 Lake Champlain, 297.
 Lake Erie, 206.
 Lexington, 189, 190.
 Long Island, 203, 204.
 Lookout Mountain, 489.
 Louisburg, 146.
 Lundy's Lane, 298.
 Manila, 590, 593, 594.
 Mill Springs, 461.
 Missionary Ridge, 489, 490.
 Mobile Bay, 502.
 Molino del Rey, 386.
 "Monitor" and the "Merrimac," 463, 464.
 Monmouth, 213.
 Monterey, 383.
 Murfreesboro, or Stone River, 478.
 Narragansett Fort, 87.
 Nashville, 501.
 New Orleans (1815), 302.
 New Orleans (1862), 465.
 Oriskany, 210.
 Palo Alto, 383.
 Pea Ridge, 460.
 Peninsular Campaign, 466.
 Pequot Fort, 102.
 Perryville, 477.
 Petersburg, 493.
 Petersburg (Mine), 495.
 Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh, 463.
 Port Hudson, 488.
 Princeton, 206.
 Quebec (1759), 151.
 Quebec (1775), 199.
 Resaca, 496.
 Resaca de la Palma, 383.
 San Juan, 592.
 Santiago, 592.
 Saratoga, 211.
 Savannah, 501.
 Seven days round Richmond, 468.
 Spottsylvania Court House, 493.
 Stony Point, 216.
 Ticonderoga and Crown Point, 190, 191.
 Tippecanoe, 289.
 Tohopeka, 299.
 Trenton, 205, 206.
 Tripoli, 278.
 Tullahoma, 478, 489.
 Turner's Falls, 88.
 Vera Cruz, 385.
 Vicksburg, siege and capture of, 484-488.
 Wilderness, the, 492.
 Wilson's Creek (note), 460.
 Winchester, 495.
 Yorktown, 225.
 Beauregard, General P. G. T., 445, 463, 477.
 Bemis Heights, or Saratoga, battle of, 210.
 Benton, Thomas H., 352, 372, 379, 399, 410.
 Bering Sea case, 572.
 Berkeley, Sir William, 41.
 Biloxi, the French build a fort at, 142.
 Black Friday, 541.
 Black Hawk War, 349.

- Bland-Allison Silver Act, 546; repealed, 565.
- Blockade, the, in the Civil War, 508.
- "Blue Light Federalists," 299.
- Boone, Daniel, in Kentucky, 123.
- Border states in the Civil War, 448.
- Boston, settlement of, 76.
- Latin School, 82.
- Massacre, 183.
- "Tea Party," 185.
- port of, closed, 186.
- siege of, 189-199.
- evacuated by the British, 200.
- Braddock's defeat, 149, 150.
- Bradford, Governor, of Plymouth, 71.
- Bragg, General B., 477.
- "Brook Farm," 360.
- Brown, John, in Kansas, 415.
- raid and execution of, 430.
- John Brown song, 432.
- Brown University founded, 115.
- Buchanan elected President, 420.
- administration of, 421-442.
- Buell, General D. C., 462, 477.
- "Bummers," Sherman's, 500.
- Burgesses, House of, established, 38.
- Burgoyne expedition, 208-210.
- Burnside, General A. E., 470, 479.
- Burr, Aaron, conspiracy of, 280.
- Butler, General B. F., and the "contrabands," 470.
- at New Orleans, 465, 471, 503.
- Cabeza de Vaca, 14.
- Cabinet, the first, 240.
- the enlarged (note), 557.
- Cabot, John, discovers (1497) the *continent* of America, 9.
- claims America (1497) for England, 9, 10.
- Cabots, voyages of the, 8, 9.
- Calhoun and nullification, 344.
- resolutions (1837), 363; (1847), 390.
- defends slavery, 343, 363, 400.
- "Exposition and Protest," 335.
- urges the annexation of Texas, 372.
- advocates War of 1812, 290.
- "Liberty dearer than Union," 339.
- and Compromises of 1850, 399.
- California, conquest of, 386-388.
- gold found in, 391.
- emigration to, 392.
- "Vigilance Committee," 393.
- results of production of gold, 394.
- debate on admission of, as free state, 399.
- admission of, 402.
- Canal, the Erie, 328, 613.
- the Panama, 602, 608.
- Cañon of the Colorado discovered, 16.
- Carolina, settlements of North and South, 118.
- "The Grand Model," 119.
- religious toleration, 120.
- settlement of Charleston, 120.
- Huguenot emigrants, 120.
- trade in rice and indigo, 121.
- Indian wars, 121.
- Governor Tryon, 122.
- battle of Alamance, 122.
- Robertson and Sevier, 122, 123.
- Stamp Act Congress, 123.
- Carolina, nullification in, 344.
- secession of, 436.
- negro rule in, 533.
- "Caroline" affair, the, 364.
- Carpenters' Hall, the first Congress meets in, 187.
- "Carpetbaggers," 532, 533.
- Cartier's explorations, 17.
- Carver, Governor John, 71.
- Catholics, the, in England, 67, 68, 108.
- severe treatment of, 35, 59.
- not allowed to enter Virginia, 35, 107.
- emigrate to Maryland, 108.
- establish the first English Catholic Church in America, 108.
- first in Pennsylvania, 168.
- grant religious freedom to all Christians, 109.
- are deprived of their rights, 109, 110.
- missions, 138.
- the, in the different colonies, 57, 59, 65, 85, 86, 91, 110, 111, 114, 120, 126, 167, 168.
- Louis XIV excludes Protestants from Louisiana, 142.
- Caucus, Congressional, 325.
- "Caucus King," overthrow of, 325.
- Cavaliers, the, in Virginia, 42.
- Census, the first (1790), 248.
- Census of 1800, 268.
- of 1860, 449.
- of 1890, 567; of 1900, 601.
- Centennial Exhibition of 1876, 542.
- celebrations, 559.
- Patent Office, celebration of, 568.
- See Exhibitions.
- Chambersburg, burning of, 494.
- Champlain, the French explorer, 137.
- Channing, Dr., on slavery, 341.
- Charleston, South Carolina, settlement of, 120.
- surrenders to the Union army, 504.
- Charter Oak, the, 105.
- Charter of the Virginia Companies (1606), 32.
- Charters, colonial. See Colonies.
- Chase, Secretary in Lincoln's Cabinet, 445.
- Chatham, Lord. See Pitt.
- "Chesapeake," the, and the "Shannon," 295.
- Chicago, first settlement at, 270, 349.
- anarchists in, 556.
- strike at, 572, 573.
- Columbian Exposition at, 571.
- China, "the open door" in, 600.
- Chinese immigration, 552, 557.
- exclusion, 552, 557.
- Christian Commission, the, 454.
- Church and State, separation of, 167, 168, 242, 312.
- Cincinnati, settlement of, 249.
- Cities, growth and government of, 584, 613.
- Civil Service Reform, 545, 551.
- progress in, 577, 579, 612.
- Civil War, beginning of the, 444.
- uprising of the North, 446.
- uprising of the South, 447.
- North vs. South in the, 449-451.
- financial side of, 451.
- Union navy in, 451.
- Confederate privateers in, 451.

- Civil War, foreign powers in, 453.
 Sanitary and Christian Commissions in, 454.
 woman's work in the, 454, 455.
 object of, 455.
 cost of, 509.
 loss of life in, 509.
 results of, 510, 511.
 the grand review, 516.
 condition of the South after the, 517.
- Clark and Lewis, expedition of, 276.
 George Rogers, and the West, 214.
- Clay, Henry, his American system, or tariff, 306, 323, 344.
 Compromise Measures, 319, 399.
 advocates War of 1812, 290.
 condemnation of slavery, 340.
 denunciation of Abolitionists, 343.
 letter of, 374.
 favors the extension of slavery, 315.
 resolutions on slavery, 363.
- Clayborne and Ingle, 109.
- Cleveland elected President, 553.
 administration of, 555-560.
 vetoes by, 557, 558.
 second election of, 570.
 administration of, 570-579.
- Clinton, De Witt, and the Erie Canal, 328.
- Clinton, General, 191, 200, 213, 214, 224.
- Coal comes into use, 249.
 the great strike, 607.
- Cod fisheries, Newfoundland (1497-1498), 10;
 (1600), 31; (1775), 189; (1783), 226.
 disputes about the, 536, 558.
- Coinage, first, 245, 246.
- Coinage Act, New, 538, 539.
 Silver, Act, 546, 565.
 repealed, 572.
- College, Harvard, founded, 82, 172.
 William and Mary, 172.
 Yale, founded, 104, 172.
 University of Pennsylvania, 172.
 Columbia, 172.
 Brown University, 115, 172.
 Dartmouth, 98.
- Colonies, Dutch, 48.
 English, 19, 32.
 French, 17, 18.
 Spanish (St. Augustine), 18.
 Swedish, 116.
 general view of, in 1763, 156-176.
 population of, 156.
 government of, 157.
 laws of, 158, 159, 160.
 slavery in, 161, 162.
 conflicting interests in, 162.
 "poor whites" in, 162.
 industries in, 163, 164.
 commerce, 163.
 manufactures, 164.
 currency, 165.
 roads, 165.
 travel, 166.
 post office, 166.
 religion, 166.
 press, 168.
 literature and education, 168-172.
 science and art, 172.
 discoveries and inventions, 172, 173.
 mode of life, 173, 174.
- Colonies, indications of the coming Revolution, 174, 175.
 importance of colonial period, 175, 176.
 loyalty of, 179.
- Colorado admitted, 542.
- Colt's revolver, 355.
- Columbia River discovered, 250.
- Columbus proposes a new route to the Indies, 4.
 voyage to America (1492), 6.
 letter of, respecting the New World, 7.
 his return to Spain, 7.
 what he discovered, 8.
 his death, 8.
 greatness of his work, 8.
- Commerce of U.S., 240, 249, 250, 338, 582, 610.
- Compromise Measures of 1850, 399.
 Missouri, 317, 318.
 Crittenden, 435.
- Confederacy, New England (1643), 83.
 the Southern, organized, 438.
- Confederation, Articles of, 226.
 provisions of the, 228.
 weakness of the, 229.
 state of country under the, 229.
 attempts of Congress of, to raise money, 230.
- Congregationalists in colonies, 167.
- Congress, First Continental, 187.
 Second Continental, 191.
 first, under the Constitution, 239.
 Panama, 331.
 Pan-American, 561.
- Congressional Library Building, 583.
- Connecticut, first settlement of, 100.
 reasons for settling, 101.
 war with the Pequots, 101.
 constitution of, 102.
 New Haven Colony, 103.
 free schools, 104.
 Yale University, 104.
 regicides, 104.
 Andros and the charter of, 105, 106.
 New Haven united with, 105.
 Charter Oak, 106.
 extent of, under its charter, 105.
- Constitution, Convention to frame, 233.
 conflicting opinions in Convention, 234.
 the three great compromises of the, 235.
 the new, adopted, 236.
 "broad" vs. "strict" construction of, 246, 247, 265.
 amendments to, 242, 271, 520, 521, 528, 529, 532.
 the "elastic clause" of, 247.
 the "Grand Model," 119.
 of Pennsylvania ("Great Law"), 126.
- Constitutions, revised state, 511, 584.
- "Contrabands" (fugitive slaves), 472.
- Convention, first national presidential, 352.
- Convicts sent to America, 161.
- "Copperheads" in the Civil War, 453, 469, 470, 480.
- Corn found in America, 27.
- Cornwallis, General, 200, 205, 206, 217, 221, 224, 225.
- Coronado's expedition, 16.
- Corporations and "trusts," 581.
- Correspondence Committees (1772-1773), 184.

- Cotton found in America, 27.
 first exported, 250.
 gin invented, 251.
 effect on slavery, 251.
 exhibition at New Orleans, 553.
 manufacture first established, 251.
 effect of War of 1812 on manufacture of, 306.
 crop of 1884, 554.
 manufacture in 1890, 574.
 Cotton-seed oil, 554.
 Covode investigation (note), 439.
 Coxe "industrial army," 572.
 Crawford Tenure of Office Act, 319.
 Crédit Mobilier (note), 531.
 Croatan, 20.
 Crystal Palace (1853), 408.
 Cuba, 419, 585-590, 604, 606.
 Currency. See Finance, Money, Silver, Gold, Greenbacks, Banks.
 Custer, General, killed, 544.
 Daguerreotype, introduction of the, 364.
 Dale, Governor, in Virginia, 36.
 Davenport, Rev. John, 103.
 Davis, Jefferson, in Mexican War, 385.
 in Congress, 399, 411.
 advocates secession, 429.
 President of Confederate States, 438.
 capture of, 506.
 Debt, Hamilton's Report on U. S., 242.
 funding the, 244.
 of the War of 1812, 293, 300.
 of the Civil War, 510.
 payment of, begun, 517.
 Grant on payment of the, 528.
 reduction of interest on, 548.
 present, of the United States, 548.
 of the War with Spain, 595.
 Decatur, Commodore, 278.
 Declaration of Independence, 201.
 De Gourgues' revenge, 18.
 Delaware, Lord, 36.
 Delaware, settled by the Swedes, 116.
 seized by the Dutch, 116.
 English, 116.
 granted to William Penn, 117.
 becomes independent, 117.
 first state to enter the Union, 117.
 Delaware, Washington crosses the, 205.
 De Leon, Ponce, discovers Florida, 13.
 Democratic party. See Parties.
 Demonetization of silver, 538, 539.
 Deposits, Jackson withdraws the, 353.
 De Soto, expedition of, 15.
 discovers the Mississippi, 15.
 is buried in it, 15.
 De Vaca, Cabeza, 24.
 Dewey, Rear Admiral, 590, 591, 593, 594.
 Diaz, Bartholomew, voyage of (1487), 4.
 Dinwiddie, Governor, of Virginia, 46.
 Disunion. See Secession.
 Dollar, the first, coined, 246.
 demonetized, 539.
 remonetized, 547.
 demand for free silver, 566, 577, 578.
 bullion value of the, 548, 566, 571.
 a fiat paper, demanded, 543.
 Dorr rebellion, the, 369.
 "Doughfaces" in politics, 318.
 Douglas, Stephen A., 374, 397, 409, 410, 429, 432, 446.
 Dover, N. H., settled, 94.
 Draft riots in New York, 480.
 Drake, voyage of (1577-1579), 11, 19.
 names Pacific coast New Albion, 19.
 Dred Scott case, 421, 424.
 Duluth, 144.
 Dutch, the, in New Netherland (New York), 47.
 seize the Delaware country, 63.
 dispossessed of New York by the English, 55.
 dispossessed of Delaware, 63.
 Eads', Captain, work on the Mississippi, 549.
 Early's raid, 493.
 Education. See Schools and Colleges.
 Governor Berkeley on, in Virginia, 171.
 in the colonies, 171, higher, 613.
 beginning of free, in America, 82.
 at the West, 271, 272, 330, 564, 597.
 at the South since the war, 575.
 Edwards, Rev. Jonathan, 169.
 Election of Hayes disputed, 544.
 Election, presidential, Washington (1788), 238.
 Washington (1792), 251, 252.
 J. Adams (1796), 258.
 Jefferson (1800), 266, 267.
 " (1804), 277.
 Madison (1808), 286.
 " (1812), 295.
 Monroe (1816), 307.
 " (1820), 320.
 J. Q. Adams (1824), 325.
 Jackson (1828), 335.
 " (1832), 352.
 Van Buren (1836), 356.
 Harrison (1840), 366.
 Polk (1844), 373.
 Taylor (1848), 395.
 Pierce (1852), 406.
 Buchanan (1856), 419.
 Lincoln (1860), 432-434.
 " (1864), 468.
 Electoral Commission, 544.
 Count Act, 557.
 Electric railways, 378.
 light, 378.
 telegraph, the, 375, 325.
 Electricity, Franklin's discoveries in, 172.
 progress in application of, 172, 377.
 Elliot's, Rev. John, work among the Indians, 86.
 Emancipation of slaves, asked for, 248.
 Lincoln's plan of, 472.
 in the District of Columbia, 473.
 in the Territories, 473.

- Emancipation, Lincoln's letter on, 473.
 Proclamation of warning, 474.
 final Proclamation, 474.
 results of, 475.
- Embargo, the first, 256.
 Act (1807), 283.
 results of the, 285.
- Emigration to the United States, 365.
 from China, restricted, 552.
 laws concerning, 552, 557.
- Endicott, Governor, 75.
- English explorations, early, 19.
 attempts to colonize America, 19, 20.
 first permanent colony in America, 32.
- Episcopalians in Massachusetts, 75, 86, 93,
 95, 166, 167.
 in the Middle Colonies and the South,
 166, 167.
- "Era of Good Feeling," 308.
- Ericson, Leif, voyages of, 2.
- Ericsson invents the screw propeller, 355.
 "Monitor," 464.
- Erie Canal, 328.
- "Essex," the, in the War of 1812, 295.
- Ether, Dr. Morton's discovery respecting,
 395.
- Exchange of prisoners (Civil War), 476.
- Excise tax, 241.
- Exhibition, American World's Fair, 408.
 the Centennial, 542.
 the New Orleans, 553.
 World's Columbian, 571.
 the Atlanta, 574.
 at Omaha, 595.
 at St. Louis, 609-611.
- Exports, American, 582.
- Express system established, 364.
- "Farmer's Letters, A," 183.
- Farms, great, of the West, 576.
 See, too, Agriculture.
- Farragut, Admiral, takes New Orleans, 466.
 enters Mobile Bay, 502.
- Federalists, the, 246.
 fall of the, 267, 302.
 "Blue Light," 299.
- Filibusters attempt to seize Cuba and Cen-
 tral America, 419.
- Fillmore becomes President, 402.
- Finance. See Banks, Gold, Greenbacks,
 Loans, Panics, Silver, Tariff, Taxation,
 Treasury.
- Finances of the Revolution, 195.
- Financial side of the Civil War, 451.
- Fires, the Chicago and the Boston, 540.
- Fiscal Bank Bill, the, 368.
- Fisheries, the Newfoundland (1497-1498),
 10; (1600), 31; (1775), 189; (1783), 226.
 dispute about, 536, 544, 558.
- Fitch's steamboat, 279.
- Flag, the first American, 198, 210.
 first American, on a war ship, 99.
 the "Star Spangled Banner," 299.
 the, protects the crew, 370.
 the "bear," California, 387.
 the Confederate, 438.
 the Union, triumphant, 507.
- Florida, discovery and naming of, 13.
 Narvaez in, 14.
 De Soto in, 15.
- Florida, French and Spaniards in, 17, 18.
 ceded to England; retroceded, 153.
 purchase of, by the United States, 310.
 admitted, 374.
- Foote, Commodore A. H., 462.
- "Force Act" (1809), 285; (1832), 345; (1871),
 534, 572.
- Forests, preservation of, 597.
- Fort Dearborn, now Chicago, 270.
 Donelson captured by Grant, 462.
 Duquesne, 148.
 Pitt, now Pittsburg, 151.
 Fisher, capture of, 503.
 Monroe garrisoned, 456, 472.
 Necessity built by Washington, 148.
 Mims, massacre at, 299.
 Orange, now Albany, 55.
 Moultrie, 200.
- Forts, line of French, in the West in the
 eighteenth century, 144.
- France sends expedition to America, 17.
 colonies of, in America, 17, 18, 41.
 struggle of, with England for America,
 137-156.
 recognizes American independence, 212.
 aid from, in the Revolution, 192, 193,
 196, 211, 212, 223, 224, 243.
 our relations with (1793), 252-254.
 trouble with, 253, 260, 261.
 war with, 261.
 John Adams' treaty with, 262.
 sells us Louisiana, 273.
 See the French.
- Franklin, writings of, 170.
 electrical experiments of, 172.
 snake, the (Albany Convention), 148.
 and the Stamp Act, 180.
 negotiates treaty with France, 211.
 helps frame the Constitution, 233, 236.
- Free-Soil Party, 396.
- "Freedmen," the, 513, 514.
 Bureau Bill, 519.
 present condition of, 575, 584.
- Frémont, J. C., conquers California, 386.
 in the Civil War, 460, 472.
 nominated for the Presidency, 498.
- French, the, explore the St. Lawrence, 17.
 the, in Carolina and Florida, 17, 18.
 explore and take possession of the
 West, 137.
 found Mobile and New Orleans, 142,
 144.
 build line of forts in the West, 144.
 and Indian Wars, 144-146.
 attack on Schenectady, 145.
 See France, Huguenots.
- Friction matches, 173, 355.
- Friends, or Quakers, buy New Jersey, 64,
 65.
 treaties with the Indians, 126.
 in Massachusetts, 84, 85.
 severely dealt with, 84, 85.
 George Fox founds the Society of, 83.
 found Pennsylvania, 124.
 remonstrance against slavery (1688), 127.
 in general, 54, 64, 65, 73, 82, 83, 84, 85,
 103, 109, 110, 113, 115, 120, 124, 126,
 127, 128, 129.
 See William Penn.
- Frobisher's voyages, 19.

- Frontier line, none in 1890, 567.
 Fugitive-slave law, 248, 371.
 of 1850, 403.
 enforcement of the, 404.
 Fulton's steamboat, 279.
- Gadsden, Christopher, 124.
 Gadsden purchase, the, 389.
 Gage, General, in Boston, 189.
 proclamation, 191.
 "Gag rule," 355, 363.
 Garfield elected President, 549.
 assassination of, 551.
 Garrison publishes the "Liberator," 341.
 mobbed, 342.
 Gas comes into use, 355.
 "Gaspee," the, destroyed, 184.
 Gates, General H., 210, 211, 217.
 Genet, "Citizen," 253.
 Geography and U. S. History, 28.
 George III, accession and policy of, 177.
 Georgia, settlement of, 131.
 Oglethorpe in, 131.
 charter of, 131.
 slavery in, 132, 134, 135.
 production of silk in, 133.
 Savannah settled (1733), 133.
 Salzburgers, 133.
 introduction of negroes and rum, 135.
 Oglethorpe and the Spaniards in, 135.
 becomes a royal province, 136.
 in the Revolution, 136.
 Indian land cessions, 330.
 controversy with the U. S., 330, 345.
 "Gerrymander," the, 319.
 Gettysburg, battle of, 480, 482.
 Lincoln's address at, 484.
 Ghent, treaty of, 303.
 Giddings, 370, 403.
 Gifts and bequests, 599.
 Gilbert, voyage of Sir H., 19.
 Goffe, the regicide, at Hadley, 87.
 Gold, discovery of, in California, 391.
 effects of, in 1857, 393, 394.
 Gold Standard Act, 600.
 "Good Feeling, the Era of," 308.
 Good Hope, Cape of, named, 4.
 Gorges, Sir F., 94, 95.
 Gosnold's expedition, 31.
 Governments, colonial. See Colonies.
 organization of our present, 239, 240.
 See Constitution and United States.
 "Grand Model," the, 119.
 Grant, General U. S., takes Fort Henry,
 462.
 "unconditional surrender" letter, 462.
 takes Fort Donelson, 462.
 at Pittsburg Landing, 463.
 takes Vicksburg, 484-488.
 made general in chief, 490.
 and Sherman's "hammering campaign,"
 491.
 in battle of the Wilderness, 492.
 sends Sheridan to lay waste the Shen-
 andoah Valley, 494.
 takes Petersburg, 506.
 in Richmond, 506.
 receives Lee's surrender, 506.
 elected President, 525.
 administration of, 528.
- Grant, General U. S., second election of, 538.
 death of, 555.
 Greeley's, Horace, letter to Lincoln, 473.
 nominated for the Presidency, 537, 538.
 "Greenback" party, the, 542.
 "Greenbacks," issue of, 452.
 redemption of, in part, 547.
 Greene, General N., at the South, 220.
 campaign in the Carolinas, 220-222.
- Hague Court of Arbitration, 600.
 "Hail Columbia," song of, 261.
 "Halfway Covenant," 78.
 Halleck, General H., 468.
 Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, 240.
 financial measures of, 242-245.
 leads the Federalists, 246, 247.
 shot by Burr, 280.
 Hancock, John, British attempt to seize,
 189.
 made President of Congress, 191.
 British refuse to offer pardon to, 191.
 Hancock, General W. S., at Gettysburg, 483.
 Harnden founds the express business, 364.
 Harrison, General, at Tippecanoe, 289.
 presidential campaign, 366.
 elected President, 366.
 death of, 367.
 Harrison, Benjamin, elected President, 560.
 administration of, 560, 561.
 Hartford Convention (1814), 300.
 Harvard University founded, 82.
 Hawaii, Republic of, 573.
 annexed, 594.
 Hayes elected President, 544.
 election of, disputed, 544.
 administration of, 545.
 Hayne's debate with Webster, 338.
 Henry, Patrick, resolutions of, on Commit-
 tee of Correspondence, 181, 185.
 "We must fight," 189.
 Henry, letters, the, 290.
 Hessians in the Revolution, 193, 205.
 Higher law, the, Seward's appeal to, 401.
 Hoe's press, 349.
 "Holy Experiment," Penn's, 124.
 Homestead Act, 596.
 Hood, General J. B., 496, 501.
 Hooker, General J., 479, 489.
 Hooker, Rev. Thomas, 102.
 Hopkins, "Admiral" Esek, 193.
 Howe, Admiral, arrives at New York, 203.
 Howe's, Elias, sewing machine, 394.
 Howe, General, arrives at Boston, 191.
 at battle of Bunker Hill, 197.
 made commander in chief, 198.
 is driven from Boston, 200.
 sails for Halifax, 200.
 arrives at New York, 202.
 takes Brooklyn Heights, 204.
 drives Washington from New York, 204.
 Washington baffles, 207.
 sails for Philadelphia, 207.
 enters Philadelphia, 208.
 is superseded by Clinton, 213.
 Howes, the, offer pardon to submissive
 rebels, 203.
 Hudson, Henry, 47.
 Huguenots attempt to settle in America, 17,
 18.

- Huguenots settle in Charleston, 120.
 illustrious descendants of the, 120.
 Hull, Captain Isaac, victory of, 294.
 Hull's, William, march to Detroit, 293.
 surrender, 293.
 Hülsemann letter, Webster's, 406.
 Hutchinson, Governor, 185, 187, 194.
 Mrs. Anne, 81.
- Idaho admitted, 561.
 Illinois, La Salle in, 141.
 admitted, 313.
 Immigration to the U. S., 365, 596.
 Chinese, restricted, 552.
 Chinese, prohibited, 557.
 Impeachment of President Johnson, 524.
 Impressment of American sailors, 255.
 Improvement of the Mississippi, 549.
 "Improvements, Internal," question of, 278, 320, 325, 327, 331.
 Indented apprentices or servants, 37, 39, 76.
 Independence, Declaration of, 201.
 Indiana conquered by Clark, 215.
 part of the Northwest Territory, 228.
 admitted, 307.
 Indians, why so named, 7.
 their character and numbers, 20.
 influence on white settlers, 21.
 indebtedness of the colonists to the, 22.
 value of wampum, 22.
 labor of the, 22.
 trade with the, 22, 48, 134.
 trails and waterways of the, 24.
 war with the Pequots, 101.
 wars with the, 25.
 King Philip's War, 86.
 war with, in Virginia, 44.
 our relations with the, 25.
 land cessions by the, 25, 255, 289, 330, 349.
 alliances or treaties with the, 25, 56, 126.
 the Iroquois, or Five Nations (later the Six Nations), 25, 48, 56, 121.
 Bacon's war with, in Virginia, 44.
 war with the Canadians, 58.
 the Quakers and the, 65, 126, 128.
 the Pilgrims and the, 72.
 Roger Williams and the, 81.
 the New England Confederacy and the, 83.
 Eliot's work among the, 86.
 Goffe and the, 87.
 battle of Narragansett Fort, 87.
 wars in North Carolina, 121.
 Penn and the, 126.
 wars in Pennsylvania, 128.
 and the French, 137.
 Pontiac's conspiracy, 152.
 massacres by, in Revolution, 214.
 Wayne's victory over the, 255.
 war with Tecumseh, 289.
 Seminole wars, 309, 363.
 Black Hawk War, 349.
 Modoc War, 544.
 Sioux War, 544.
 French and Indian War, 146.
- Indies, trade with, in fifteenth century, 3.
 schemes for reaching the, by sea, 4, 8.
 America supposed to be part of the, 7, 8.
 West, the, explored by Columbus, 7.
- Indies, question of trade with the West, 256, 257, 333, 338.
 Indigo, culture of, in South Carolina, 121.
 Inflation Bill, the, vetoed, 541.
 Initiative and referendum, 585.
 Interstate Commerce Act, 557.
 Intolerable Acts, the four, 186.
 Intolerance, religious, 36, 41, 75, 79, 91, 110, 111, 114, 120.
 Inventions, American. See cotton gin, 251; "Monitor," 464; reaper, 355, 409; revolver, 355; screw propeller, 355; sewing machine, 394; steamboat, 279; steam printing press, 349; telegraph, 375; telephone, 377, 542; vulcanized rubber, 355; other inventions and discoveries, 582.
 Iowa admitted, 396.
 Iron and steel, production of, 128, 164, 581, 582, and diagram facing 582.
 Ironclads, the, in the Civil War, 464.
 Iroquois Indians, 25, 48, 56 (and map, 20).
 Irrigation, 598.
 Island Number Ten taken, 463.
- Jackson, Andrew, at Tohopeka, 299.
 at New Orleans, 302.
 and the Seminoles, 309.
 elected President, 335.
 administration of, 336.
 second election of, 352.
 Jackson, "Stonewall," 457, 467, 469, 479.
 Jamestown, settlement of, 34.
 colony of, 35.
 burned by Bacon, 45.
 Japan, Perry's treaty with, 418.
 Jasper, Sergeant, at Fort Moultrie, 200.
 Jay, John, 241.
 his treaty with England, 257.
 Jefferson drafts the Declaration of Independence, 202.
 first Secretary of State, 240.
 leads the Republicans, 246, 247.
 elected President, 266.
 administration of, 267.
 second election of, 277.
 Johnson, Andrew, becomes President, 508.
 administration of, 512.
 impeached, but acquitted, 523, 524.
 Johnston, General A. S., 461.
 Johnston, General Joseph E., 457, 467, 485, 490, 495, 496, 504, 506, 518.
 Joliet and Marquette's expedition, 138.
 voyage down the Mississippi, 138.
 Jones, Paul, 99, 216.
 Judges, the "midnight," appointed by John Adams, 266.
- Kansas, struggle for possession of, 414.
 elections, 415.
 Civil War in, 416.
 adopts free state constitution, 417.
 admitted, 428.
 John Brown in, 415.
 Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 409, 411.
 passage of, 411.
 Kaskaskia, George Rogers Clark takes, 214.
 "Kearsarge," the, sinks the "Alabama," 502.
 Kentucky, first settlement of, by Boone, 123.
 admitted, 258.

- Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, 264.
 "Know-Nothing" party, the, 407.
 Knox, General, 199.
 Kosciusko in the Revolution, 192.
 Kossuth in America, 406.
 "Ku-Klux Klan," the, 533.
- Labor, Knights of, 534.
 legislation, 507, 535, 538, 541, 552, 581.
 strikes, 546, 556, 572.
 effect of women on, 599.
 acquisition of rights of, 564.
 troubles at Homestead, 569.
 National Bureau established, 552.
- Lafayette in the Revolution, 193, 212, 223, 224.
 visit to the U. S., 324.
- Land cessions, 227.
 cheap, 596.
- Lands, public, 596.
 grants to railways, 530.
 confiscated, 513.
- La Salle explores the Mississippi, 141.
 takes possession of Louisiana, 142.
- Laws made by or for the colonists, 39, 41.
 the Duke's, in New York, 55.
 the Forest, 93.
 Navigation, 42, 43, 93.
 of Trade, 42, 43.
 Fundamental, of Connecticut, 102.
 the judicial, of Moses, 104.
 "Body of Liberties," 78.
 Toleration in Maryland, 109.
 against Catholics (and see Catholics), 110.
 Test Act, 111.
 Molasses Act, 163.
 Sugar Act, 115, 163.
 Stamp Act, 123.
 Intolerable Acts, the, 186.
 against Quakers (see Quakers), 83.
 in the colonies generally, 156-176.
- Laws of United States. See Statutes.
- Lee, General Charles, in the Revolution, 192, 204, 205, 213.
- Lee, Richard Henry, in Congress, 201.
- Lee, General Robert E., 467-469, 471-484, 492, 493, 506, 507, 518.
- Leisler, Jacob, 58, 59.
- "Leopard," the, and the "Chesapeake," 283.
- Letter, Yancey's Scarlet, 428.
- Lewis and Clark's expedition, 276.
- Liberty Laws, Personal, 403, 436.
- Library, the first free public, 348, 612.
 growth of libraries, 348, 612.
- Lincoln-Douglas campaign, 429.
- Lincoln, election of, 432-434.
 inaugural speech of, 444.
 administration of, 443-507.
 calls for 75,000 volunteers, 446.
 scheme of compensated emancipation, 472.
 emancipates the slaves, 474.
 second election of, 499.
 assassination of, 507.
- Literature, colonial, 169.
 rise of modern American, 348.
 influence of Helper's "Impending Crisis" and "Uncle Tom's Cabin," 405.
- "Little Belt" beaten by "President," 290.
- Loans, government, in the Revolution, 195.
 in War of 1812, 292, 293.
 in the Civil War, 451, 452.
 in war with Spain, 590.
- Loans repudiated by some states, 359.
 Confederate government, 452.
- Locomotive, Stephenson's, 346.
 Cooper's, 346.
- London Company, the, 32.
- Louisburg taken, 146.
- Louisiana, origin of the name, 141.
 purchase of, 272-275.
 explored by Lewis and Clark, 276.
 admitted, 307.
 progress since the Civil War, 554.
- Lyon, General N., in Missouri, 460.
- Macdonough's victory, 297.
- Machinery, American labor-saving, 408, 542, 580, 582, 610. See Inventions.
- Macon Act, the, 288.
- Madison elected President, 287.
 administration of, 287.
 second election of, 295.
 See Slavery and Secession.
- Magellan names the Pacific, 14.
 voyage of (1519-1521), 11, 14.
- Maine liquor law, the, 332.
 settlement of, 95.
 admitted, 318.
- "Maine," destruction of the, 588.
- Manufacture of power, the, 610, 611.
- Manufactures, 164, 250, 251, 286, 305, 306, 333, 394, 449, 542, 568, 573, 580, 582.
- Maps in the text:
1. Early trade routes to the Indies, 3.
 2. The Pope's division of the world, 7.
 3. Land discovered by the Cabots, 9.
 4. St. Dié, France, 11.
 5. Map of 1515 showing the name America, 12.
 6. Exploring expeditions of De Soto and Coronado, 16.
 7. Grants in Virginia (1606), 33.
 8. Sea to sea charters (1609), 35.
 9. Part of New Netherland, 51.
 10. Dominion of New England, 56.
 11. Fort Stanwix treaty line (1768), 61.
 12. New Jersey (1617), 63.
 13. Pilgrim and Puritan emigration, 69.
 14. Part of New England (1620-1630), 71.
 15. Massachusetts (1630), 76.
 16. King Philip's War, 87.
 17. New Hampshire (1623), 94.
 18. Connecticut (1634), 100.
 19. Maryland (1634), 108.
 20. Rhode Island (1636), 112.
 21. Delaware (1638), 116.
 22. North and South Carolina (1663), 118.
 23. Settlement of Tennessee and Kentucky, 122.
 24. Pennsylvania (1681), 124.
 25. Georgia (1733), 131.
 26. Braddock's march, 149.
 27. Siege of Quebec, 151.
 28. America after Treaty of 1763, 153.
 29. Boston and vicinity (1775), 190.
 30. The United States (1790-1800), 249.
 31. The Louisiana Purchase, 272.

Maps in the text:

32. The Florida Purchase, 311.
 33. The Missouri Compromise Act, 316.
 34. Annexation of Texas, 375.
 35. The Oregon Country, 381.
 36. Mexican cessions (1848, 1853), 388.
 37. Lewis and Clark's expedition, Oregon and California, 392.
 38. Kansas and Nebraska Act, 412.
 39. Charleston Harbor (1861), 442.
 40. First advance on Richmond (1861), 457.
 41. Campaign in the West (1862), 462.
 42. Battles around Richmond (1862), 468.
 43. Battle of Gettysburg (1863), 480.
 44. Country around Vicksburg (1863), 486.
 45. Campaign in Virginia (1864), 492.
 46. Sherman's march (1864-1865), 500.
 47. First Pacific Railway, 530.
 48. Battles near Santiago (1898), 592.
- Marion, General, 220.
- Marquette's explorations, 138.
voyage down the Mississippi, 138.
- Marshall, Chief Justice, 266, 564.
- Maryland settled by Catholics, 107.
George Calvert, 107.
charter, 107.
laws, 107.
political and religious liberty in, 108.
toleration, 109.
Clayborne, 109.
Captain Ingle, 109.
Catholics deprived of rights, 110.
becomes a royal province, 111.
Church of England, 111.
- Mason and Dixon's line, 130.
- Mason and Gorges, 94, 95.
- Mason and Slidell, capture of, 460.
- Massachusetts (Plymouth) settled, 71.
Puritans and Separatists, 67, 68.
Separatists escape to Holland, 68.
Pilgrims and Indians, 72.
Pilgrim Republic, 72.
freedom of worship, 73.
government, 72, 73.
"merchant adventurers," 70, 73.
Myles Standish, 74.
united with Massachusetts, 74.
(Bay Colony), settlement of, 74.
the Puritan emigration to New England, 75.
John Endicott, 75.
charter of, 75.
John Winthrop, 76.
settlement of Boston (1630), 76.
Puritan church, 76.
Puritan rule in, 76, 77.
suffrage in, 77.
establishment of House of Representatives (1634), 78.
resistance to the king, 79.
Roger Williams, 80, 81.
Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, 81.
education in colony, 82.
Boston Latin School (1635), 82.
Harvard College (1636), 82.
public schools (1647), 82.
New England Confederacy (1643), 83.
George Fox, 83.
Quaker missionaries in, 84, 85.

Massachusetts, Eliot's work among the Indians, 86.

King Philip's War, 86-88.

the charter, 88, 89.

the new charter, 91.

Salem witchcraft, 91, 92.

Forest Laws, 93.

Navigation Laws revived, 93.

Massasoit, treaty with Governor Carver, 72.

Maximilian in Mexico, 528.

"Mayflower," sailing of the, 71.

McClellan, General G. B., 456.

made general commander, 458.

drills the army, 458.

campaigns of, 466-470.

McCormick reaper, the, 355.

McDowell, General I., 456.

McKinley, William, President, 578, 579,

603, 605, 606, 607.

Meade, General G. G., 480.

Menendez in Florida, 17, 18.

"Merrimac," the, destroys the "Cumber-

land" and the "Congress," 464.

and the "Monitor," 464.

Mexican War, the, 382.

results of, 388, 389.

See Battles.

Michigan admitted, 356.

"Midnight judges," the, 266.

Millerites, the, or Second Adventists, 360.

Minnesota admitted, 428.

Mint, United States, established, 246.

Minuit, Governor, of New Netherland, 50.

Minutemen, the, of Revolution, 189.

Mississippi discovered by De Soto, 5.

explored by the French, 137.

voyage by Joliet and Marquette, 138.

La Salle explores, 141.

Company, 142.

free navigation of, 232, 258, 273.

opening of, in the Civil War, 488.

deepening the mouth of, 549.

Mississippi, state of, admitted, 313.

Missouri Compromise, the first, 317.

Jefferson's and John Quincy Adams'

opinions of, 318.

the second, 318.

Compromise violated, 319.

admission of the state, 318.

Compromise repealed, 410, 412, 413.

Mobile founded (1702), 142.

Farragut enters harbor of, 502.

Modoc War, the, 544.

Molasses Act, 163.

Money, Indian wampum, 22.

tobacco used for, 37.

corn and cattle used for, 165.

colonial coin, 165.

colonial paper, 165.

paper, of Revolution, 195.

just after the Revolution, 231.

decimal system of coinage, 246.

whisky used for, 254.

of state banks worthless, 353.

in the Civil War, 451, 452.

See U. S. Bank.

of national banks, 452.

silver demonetized, 538.

silver remonetized, 547.

Bland-Allison Silver Act, 546.

- Money, resumption of specie payments, 548.
 the Sherman Silver Act, 565.
 repeal of Sherman Silver Act, 572.
 demand for free silver, 578.
 See Dollar and Silver.
 "Monitor," the, and the "Merrimac," 463.
 Monroe Doctrine, the, 322.
 Monroe elected President, 307
 administration of, 308.
 Montana admitted, 561.
 Montgomery's expedition against Montreal
 and Quebec, 199.
 Morgan, General Daniel, 211, 220, 221.
 Mormons, rise of the, 360.
 emigrate to Utah, 362.
 rebellion of the, 427.
 Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Act, 552.
 Edmunds-Tucker Act, 557.
 Church of, *vs.* Supreme Court, 569.
 renounce polygamy, 569.
 Morris, Robert, what he did for Washing-
 ton, 206, 224.
 Morristown, Washington's terrible winter
 at, 219.
 Morse's electric telegraph, 375.
 Morton, Dr., discovers etherization, 395.
 Moultrie, Fort, 200.
 Municipal ownership, 613.
 Murfreesboro, battle of, 478.

 Napoleon, Decrees of, 282.
 Narvaez, expedition of, 14.
 Nashville, battle of, 501.
 National banks established, 452.
 National Road, the, 278, 320.
 Natural gas, 427.
 Naturalization Act of 1798, 262.
 Navigation Laws, 42.
 revived, 93.
 Navy, first American, 193.
 increase of, 261.
 in 1812, 292; (1861-1865), 508.
 our new, 559, 590.
 Nebraska admitted, 521.
 Negro slavery, introduction of, 37, 39, 40.
 unhappy state of the free (1827), 340.
 insurrection in Virginia, 341.
 suffrage in the District of Columbia,
 521.
 slaves emancipated, 474.
 troops in the Civil War, 475, 476.
 See Slavery.
 Negro, the, and reconstruction, 513-516, 517,
 519, 521, 528, 529, 532.
 becomes a lawmaker, 522, 532.
 in Congress, 532.
 the, and the amendments to the Consti-
 tution, 518, 519, 521, 528, 529, 532.
 and the "Ku-Klux Klan," 533.
 and the "Carpetbaggers," 532.
 progress of, since the war, 575.
 See Freedmen and Slavery.
 Neutrality, proclamation of, 253.
 Nevada, discovery of silver in, 426.
 admitted, 497.
 New Amsterdam (New York), 50.
 New England Confederacy, origin of name,
 83.
 Newfoundland cod fisheries. See Cod
 fisheries.
 New Hampshire, settlement of, 94.
 Gorges and Mason, 94, 95.
 religious opinions, 95.
 becomes a royal province, 97.
 Londonderry settled (1719), 97.
 manufacture of linen, 97.
 Dartmouth College, 98.
 dispute between New York and, 98.
 and Vermont, 98.
 Paul Jones, 99.
 New Haven, the republic of, 103.
 New Jersey, the Dutch claim, 63.
 the English take possession of, 63.
 the name, 63.
 Elizabethtown founded (1665), 64.
 Quakers in, 64, 65.
 William Penn in, 64.
 government of, 64, 65.
 religion of, 65.
 Andros in, 65.
 Witherspoon, 66.
 New Mexico, conquest of, 388.
 New Netherland (New York), 47.
 New Orleans founded (1718), 144.
 battle of (1815), 302.
 taken by Farragut, 465.
 Exposition (1884), 553.
 Newspaper, the first, published in America,
 168.
 party journals in 1792-1794, 247.
 first cheap, in America, 348.
 the modern sensational, 349.
 New York, settlement of, by the Dutch, 48.
 patroon system of, 50.
 treatment of Quakers in, 54.
 England takes, 54.
 the "Duke's Laws," 55.
 Governor Andros and, 56.
 French attack, 57, 58.
 treatment of Catholics in, 59.
 freedom of the press in, 60.
 protests against taxation without consent
 of the Assembly, 179.
 contest of people with the colonial gov-
 ernors, 61.
 in the Revolution, 182, 183, 194, 198,
 202, 203, 210, 211.
 "Greater New York," 583.
 Non-Enumerated Articles, 163.
 Non-Intercourse Act, 286.
 North Carolina, colony of, established, 120.
 North Dakota admitted, 561.
 Northmen, discovery of America by the, 1.
 the, and American history, 2.
 Northwest Territory, cession of, 227.
 ordinance for government of, 227.
 Nullification in Kentucky and Virginia, 264.
 in South Carolina, 344, 345.
 Calhoun defends, 346.
 in Georgia, 331, 345.
 Jackson upholds Georgia in, 345.
 in various states, 265.
 in political platforms, 265, 312.
 and Hartford Convention, 300.
 feared by Madison, 343.

 Office, restrictions of candidates for, 563.
 Oglethorpe colonizes Georgia, 131.
 and the Spaniards, 135.
 Ohio Company, the, 249.

- Ohio, first settlement of, 249.
 - opened, 255.
 - admitted to the Union, 271.
- Oil, petroleum, discovered, 427.
- Oklahoma, opening of, 561.
- "Omnibus Bill," the, 401.
- Oñate's expedition, 17.
- Orders in Council, British, 282.
- Ordinance for government of the North-west Territory (1787), 227.
- Oregon, how we got, 250, 277, 304, 310, 379.
 - admitted, 428.
- Osceola, 363.
- Ostend Manifesto, the, 419.
- Otis, James, 179, 180, 183.
- Pacific, named by Magellan, 14.
 - coast explored by Spaniards, 14.
 - Balboa discovers the, 14.
 - search for the, by the colonists, 34.
 - territory acquired on the, 388, 389.
 - railway completed, 529.
 - effects of, 530, 531.
 - cable, 608.
- Paine's "Common Sense," 201.
- Panama Canal, the, 602, 608.
- Panama Canal Purchase Act, 608.
- Pan-American Congress, 561.
 - Exposition, 606.
- Panics, business and financial, of 1818-1819, 310-311.
 - 1837, 356-370.
 - 1857, 425.
 - 1873, 540, 541.
 - 1884, 553.
 - 1893, 571.
- Paper money (see Money), 231, 451, 452.
- Pardon granted to Confederates, 514, 518, 521, 525, 534.
 - granted to Mormons, 569.
- Paris, Declaration of, (1856), 304.
- "Parsons Case" (1767), 179.
- Parties, political, rise of (1792), 246.
 - in general, 236, 246, 252, 258, 266, 267, 268, 277, 287, 295, 305, 319, 325, 331, 335, 352, 356, 366, 373, 374, 395, 406, 407, 413, 419, 420, 432, 433, 498, 524, 533, 537, 538, 541, 542, 543, 549, 553, 559, 569, 570, 578, 603.
 - American, or "Know-Nothing," 407, 419.
 - "Anti-Dorrites," 369.
 - Anti-Federalist, 236, 246.
 - Anti-Masonic, 332.
 - Anti-Monopolist (note), 543.
 - Anti-Renters, 369.
 - "Barn-burners," 396.
 - "Bell-Everett," 433.
 - "Black Republicans," 415.
 - "Blue Light Federalists," 299.
 - "Broad Gaugers" (note), 537.
 - Constitutional Union, 432.
 - "Copperheads," 453, 469, 470, 480.
 - Democratic, 246, 331, 352, 356.
 - Democratic-Republican, 246, 252, 258, 266, 308, 325, 327.
 - "Dorrites," 369.
 - "Farmers' Alliance," 541.
 - Federalist, 234, 236, 246, 252, 258, 266, 267, 268.
 - Parties, Free Soil, 396, 406.
 - Free Suffrage, 369.
 - Free State, 414.
 - "Gold Democrats," 578.
 - "Grangers," 541.
 - "Greenback," 542.
 - "Half-Breeds" (note), 549.
 - "Hunkers," 396.
 - Independent, 542.
 - Independent Republicans, 553.
 - "Know-Nothing," 407, 419.
 - Labor, 537, 612.
 - Labor Reform, 537.
 - Liberal Republicans, 537.
 - Liberty, 366, 373, 396.
 - "Locofocos," 356.
 - "Mugwumps" (note), 553.
 - National Democrats, 578.
 - National Republicans, 246, 331, 352.
 - "Peace Democrats," 458.
 - People's Party, 570, 578.
 - "Populists," 541, 578.
 - Prohibitionist, 537.
 - "Quids," 286.
 - Radical Republicans, 498.
 - Reform Democrats, 356.
 - Republican (first), 246.
 - Republican (second), 246, 414.
 - Socialist, 612.
 - Socialist Labor, 612.
 - "Sons of the South," 414.
 - "Stalwarts" (note), 549.
 - "Straight-Out Democrats," 537.
 - "War Democrats," 498, 513.
 - Whig, 246, 331, 356, 407.
 - See too Election and Platform.
- Patent Office Centennial, 568.
- Patroons, the, 50.
- Peace party, the, in the Civil War, 453, 469, 470, 480.
- Pemberton, General J. C., at Vicksburg, 486.
- Penn, William, 64.
 - purchases Delaware, 117.
- Pennsylvania granted to, 124.
- treaty with the Indians, 126.
- Pennsylvania, grant of, to Penn, 124.
- charter of, 125.
- "Frame of Government," 125.
- "Great Law," 126.
- Philadelphia founded (1682), 126.
- treaty with the Indians, 126.
- growth of Philadelphia, 127.
- Quakers in, 127, 128.
- iron and coal mines in, 127.
- "Mason and Dixon's Line," 130.
- Pensions, Dependent, Bill vetoed, 558.
 - passed, 565 (see too 510).
- Perry's victory on Lake Erie, 296.
 - Commodore, treaty with Japan, 418.
- Personal Liberty Laws, 403, 436.
- Petersburg, siege of, 493.
 - surrender of, 506.
- Petroleum discovered in Pennsylvania, 427.
- Philadelphia founded, 126.
- Philippines annexed, 593, 594.
 - the, in 1901, 603, 604.
 - the Supreme Court and the, 605.
- Philip's, King, War, 86-88.
- Pierce elected President, 406.
 - administration of, 408-421.

- Pilgrims, or Separatists, the, 67-69.
 leave England for Holland, 68.
 sail for America, 70, 71.
 reasons for emigrating to America, 68, 69.
 draw up a compact, 71.
 settle at Plymouth, 71.
 and the Indians, 72.
 mode of government, 72, 73.
- Pitt, William (Lord Chatham), 151.
 management of the French and Indian War, 151.
 defends the resistance of the colonists, 182.
- Pittsburg, origin of name of, 151.
- Platform, first presidential, 352.
 See too Election.
- Plymouth Colony founded, 71.
 absorbed by Massachusetts, 74.
 See Pilgrims.
- Plymouth Company chartered, 31, 32.
 "Pocket vetoes," 355.
- Political corruption in 1876, 540.
- Political Disabilities Act, 534.
- Polk elected President, 374.
 administration of, 378-397.
- Polygamy, Mormon, 361.
 the Edmunds Act against, 552.
 the Edmunds-Tucker Act against, 557.
 condemned by the U. S. Supreme Court, 569.
 renounced by the Mormons, 569.
- Ponce de Leon and Florida, 13.
- Pontiac's conspiracy, 152.
- Pony express to California, 529.
- Pope, General John, 463, 468, 469.
- Pope, the division of the world by the, 7.
 the, and the Civil War, 454.
- Popham Colony, Maine, 95.
- "Popular Sovereignty" proposed by Clay, 363.
 advocated by Cass, 397.
 ridiculed by Calhoun, 397.
 advocated by Douglas, 397, 429, 430.
 in Clay's Compromise Measures, 399.
 applied to Utah and New Mexico, 409.
 to Kansas and Nebraska, 410-414.
 extreme Southern men oppose, 411.
 Republican party condemn, 420.
- Population in 1763, 156.
 1775, 192; 1900, 603.
 1790, 248.
 1800, 268.
 1860, 449.
 1890, 567.
 no frontier line of, 567.
- "Populists," the, in politics, 570.
- Port Hudson taken, 488.
- Porter, Admiral D. D., at New Orleans, 466.
 at Vicksburg, 485.
 at Fort Fisher, 503.
 at City Point, 505.
- Porto Rican Government Act, 601.
- Porto Rico annexed, 593.
- Portsmouth, N.H., settled, 94.
- Postage in colonial times, 166.
 cheap (1845-1883), 389.
 stamps introduced (1847), 389.
 postal cards introduced, 539.
- Potato, discovery of the, 20.
- Power, growth of productive, 580.
 the manufacture of, 610-611.
- Presidential Succession Act, 557.
- Press, freedom of the, restricted in the colonies, 168.
 established by Zenger, 60, 168.
 defined by Judge McKean, 263.
 vs. the Sedition Act, 263, 264.
- "Prince Henry the Navigator," 4.
- Printing press, the, in the colonies, 60, 127, 168.
 Hoe's steam cylinder, 349.
- Prisoners of War of the Revolution, 477.
 of the Civil War, 476.
- Privateers in the Revolution, 193.
 in the War of 1812, 295.
 Confederate, in the Civil War, 451.
 and Declaration of Paris, 304.
- Proclamation Line, 154.
- Progress of the United States (1789-1889), 562-565.
 illustrated by the manufacture of power, 610-611.
 General survey of, 612.
- Prohibition in Maine and other states, 332.
- Providence settled, 112.
- Public Credit Act, 529.
- Public schools established in the colonies, 82, 104, 171.
- Puritans, origin of the, 67.
 vs. Separatists, 68.
 emigration to New England, 75.
 religious ideas of the, 67.
 the, settle Massachusetts, 75.
 their colony, 75.
 mode of government, 76, 77.
 the "freeman's" oath, 77.
 purpose of the, 79.
 in Maryland, 108, 109.
- Putnam, General Israel, 190, 197, 203.
 General Rufus, 200.
- Quakers. See Friends.
- Quebec, the French at, 41, 137.
 Phips' expedition against, 145.
 expedition of 1711 against, 145.
 taken by Wolfe, 151.
 Montgomery's expedition against, 199.
 Arnold's expedition against, 199.
- Quebec Act, the, 186.
- "Quids," the, 286.
- Railway, the first in America, 346.
 effects of, 347, 379, 596.
 destruction of, in the Civil War, 500.
 the first transcontinental, 529.
 effects of, 530, 531, 596.
 mileage of, and capital invested in, 347.
 electric, 378.
- Raleigh sends expedition to America, 19.
 attempts to colonize, 20.
 what he accomplished, 20.
- Reaper, the, and the mower, 355, 409.
- Reconstruction begun, 513, 514.
 Johnson's plan of, 515.
 Congress' plan of, 515, 516.
 Act, 522.
 Congress and the President, 515, 516, 521, 522.

- Reconstruction completed, 531.
 Redemptioners, 162.
 Referendum in South Dakota, 585.
 Regicides, the, 104.
 Religion, great revival of, 170.
 Religious liberty for all persons in Rhode Island, 114.
 for all Christians in Maryland, 109.
 for all believers in God in Pennsylvania, 126.
 Congress not to interfere with, 242.
 not recognized by the Puritans, 75, 79, 83.
 degrees of, in the colonies generally, 167, 168.
 America first to establish complete, 114, 612.
 Remonetization of silver. See Dollar and Silver.
 Removals from office, Jackson's, 336.
 Republican party, first of that name, 246.
 modern, origin of, 414.
 See Parties.
 Resolutions by Kentucky and Virginia, 264.
 Resumption of specie payment, 541, 542, 548.
 Revenue of the United States, 1790 *vs.* 1897, 241.
 Revere's, Paul, ride, 187, 189.
 Review, grand military, at the close of the Civil War, 516.
 Revolution, indications of the coming, 174.
 chief cause of the, 178.
 "Writs of Assistance," 179.
 Stamp Act, 180.
 Patrick Henry's resolutions, 181.
 Stamp Act Congress, 181.
 "Sons of Liberty," 182.
 Pitt defends the colonies, 182.
 the Townshend Law, 182.
 "Boston Massacre," 183.
 Governor Tryon, 184.
 destruction of the "Gaspee," 184.
 Committees of Correspondence formed, 184.
 tax on tea, 185.
 Boston "Tea Party," the, 185.
 "four intolerable acts," 186.
 unity of the colonies, 187.
 First Continental Congress, 187.
 Parliament retaliates, 188.
 action of Massachusetts, 189.
 General Gage's expedition, 189.
 battles of. See Battles.
 Second Continental Congress, 191.
 Gage's proclamation, 191.
 Washington made commander in chief, 191.
 opposing armies in, 191, 192.
 American navy and privateers, 193.
 foreign aid in the, 192, 193.
 Loyalists, or Tories, 194.
 finances of the, 195-197.
 Washington takes command, 198.
 expedition against Canada, 199.
 Arnold's expedition, 199.
 Paine's "Common Sense," 201.
 Declaration of Independence, 201.
 Howe offers pardon to "rebels," 203.
 Washington driven out of New York, 204.
 Revolution, retreat across New Jersey, 205.
 Robert Morris in the, 206.
 plans of Lord Germain, 207.
 Burgoyne's expedition, 208-211.
 treaties with France, 211, 212.
 England sends peace commissioners, 213.
 Lee's treachery, 213.
 prospects of the (1778), 214.
 expedition of George Rogers Clark, 214.
 Captain Paul Jones, 216.
 Arnold's treason, 218.
 Greene, General, takes command in the South, 220.
 Women of the, 221.
 retreat of Cornwallis, 222.
 Cornwallis ravages Virginia, 223.
 Cornwallis retires to Yorktown, 223.
 fall of Yorktown, 224.
 effect in England, 225.
 peace declared, 225.
 Revolver, Colt's, 355.
 Rhode Island, settlement of, 112.
 government of, 113.
 charter of, 114.
 entire religious liberty in, 114.
 spirit of independence in, 115.
 Ribaut, Jean, 17, 18.
 Rice, cultivation of, in South Carolina, 121.
 Richmond, the Confederate capital, 506.
 capture of, 508.
 Right of search. See Search.
 "Ring, Boss Tweed," the, 540.
 the Whisky, 540.
 the Erie, 540.
 Riots, draft, in the Civil War, 480.
 strike at Pittsburg, 546.
 strike at Chicago, 556, 573.
 Road, the Cumberland, or National, 327, 329.
 Roads, colonial, 165.
 Rolfe, John, 36.
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 603, 606.
 elected Vice President, 603.
 becomes President, 606.
 elected President, 611.
 Rosecrans, General W. S., 477, 489.
 "Rule of 1756," 281.
 St. Augustine founded (1565), 18.
 St. Louis included in the Louisiana purchase, 274, 276, 315.
 growth of, 609.
 Exposition, 609.
 Salem, Mass., settled, 75.
 witchcraft, 91, 92.
 Samoan Islands, 600.
 San Domingo, attempt to annex, 535, 536.
 Sanitary Commission in the Civil War, 454.
 Santa Fé founded (1605), 17.
 Savannah settled, 133.
 taken by the British, 216.
 taken by Sherman, 501.
 "Savannah," the, first ocean steamship, 312.
 Schenectady attacked by savages, 58.
 School lands, 271, 272, 330.
 Schools, public, in Massachusetts, 82.
 Boston Latin School, 82.
 established in Connecticut, 104.
 established in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, 171.

School, Governor Berkeley on, in Virginia, 171.
 at the South, 171, 575.
 in the West, 330.
 See Public Schools and Education.
 Schuyler, General P., 199, 208, 210.
 Scotch-Irish emigrants, 46, 97, 157.
 Scott, General W., in War of 1812, 292, 298.
 in the war with Mexico, 383-386.
 in the Civil War, 445, 455, 456.
 retires, 458.
 Search, right of, claimed by England, 282, 290, 291, 303, 304.
 Secession or disunion, fears of (1783-1787), 230.
 threats of, in the Southwest (1787), 233.
 fears of disunion in 1792, 251.
 Washington's farewell address on (1796), 258.
 the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions (1798-1799), 264.
 fears of, in 1800, 270.
 Ames and Jefferson on, 270.
 looked on as probable, 279.
 plot of ultra northern Federalists (1803), 275.
 Burr's conspiracy (1804), 280.
 feared by John Quincy Adams (1809), 286.
 threatened by Quincy (1811), 275.
 the Hartford Convention accused of plot of (1814), 301.
 the "Richmond Enquirer" condemns as treason (1814), 301.
 the South threatens, in 1819, 316, 318.
 Webster on danger of, in 1828, 335.
 Hayne defends the right of (1830), 338.
 Webster denies the right of (1830), 339.
 Calhoun declares "Liberty dearer than Union" (1830), 339.
 Jackson stands by the Union (1830), 339.
 threatened by South Carolina (1832), 345.
 feared by John Quincy Adams (1833), 343.
 feared by Madison (1833), 343.
 Jackson's attitude toward (1833), 344, 345.
 Jackson predicts (1833), 346.
 advocated by Garrison's "Liberator" (1843), 343.
 annexation of Texas (1843), 371.
 fears of, in 1844, 372.
 foreshadowed by split in the churches (1845), 400.
 agitation of, in 1846, 390, 391.
 threatened by southern members of Congress in 1849, 398.
 Calhoun on, in 1850, 400.
 Webster on, in 1850, 400, 401.
 threatened, in 1854, 412, 413.
 Rufus Choate on, in 1856, 420.
 Governor Wise on, in 1856, 420.
 threatened by the South in 1857, 424.
 foreshadowed by Yancey's "Scarlet Letter" (1858), 428.
 Lincoln on (1858), 429.
 effect of the John Brown raid on (1859), 431.
 predicted by Alexander H. Stephens (1860), 432.

Secession or disunion, South Carolina prepares to secede (1860), 434.
 Alexander H. Stephens protests against (1860), 435.
 Pollard on action of South Carolina (1860), 435.
 South Carolina secedes (1860), 436.
 reasons for (1860), 436, 437.
 Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas secede (1860-1861), 437.
 Mississippi on the object of (1861), 437.
 why Georgia seceded (1861), 437.
 slavery the true cause of, 439.
 the war of, begun (1861), 446.
 secession of Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee (1861), 448.
 mistakes of the secessionists, 448.
 object of the war, 455.
 the principle of, destroyed, 511.
 the New South and, 518.
 Sedition Law, the, 263.
 Seminole War, first, 309.
 second, 363.
 Separatists, the, or Pilgrims *vs.* the Puritans, 68.
 escape to Holland, 68.
 why they wished to emigrate to America, 68.
 they emigrate and settle Plymouth, 70, 71.
 See Pilgrims.
 Sevier, John, 123.
 Seward, William H., 399, 401, 411, 418, 424, 443, 445, 461, 471, 516.
 Sewing machine invented, 394.
 Shays' Rebellion, 232.
 Shenandoah Valley, Jackson in, 469.
 Sheridan's raid in, 494.
 Sheridan, General P. H., raid in the Shenandoah Valley, 494.
 ride to Cedar Creek, 495.
 at battle of Winchester, 495.
 cuts off supplies from Richmond, 506.
 Sherman, General W. T., at Pittsburg Landing, 463.
 at Vicksburg, 478.
 at Chattanooga, 489.
 raid on Meridian, 490.
 in the "hammering campaign," 491.
 advance of, on Atlanta, 495.
 takes Atlanta, 496.
 march to the sea, 499.
 takes Savannah, 501.
 march northward, 503.
 surrender of Johnston to, 507.
 Silver, scarcity of, in 1786, 231.
 first coinage of, 246.
 found in Nevada and Colorado, 426.
 demonetized, 538.
 remonetized, 547.
 Bland-Allison Act, 547.
 the Sherman Silver Act, 565.
 repeal of the Sherman Act, 572.
 demand for free, 578.
 See Dollar and Coinage.
 Six Nations, or Iroquois. See Indians.
 Slavery introduced into America, 39.
 spreads into all the colonies, 39.
 attempts to check importation of slaves, 40.

Slavery, remonstrance of Quakers against, in 1688, 127.
 Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin on, 40, 162.
 Wesley and Whitefield on, 134.
 introduced into Georgia, 135.
 in the colonies, effects of, 161, 162.
 excluded from the Northwest Territory (1787), 315.
 debate in the Constitutional Convention on, 234, 235, 236.
 first Congressional debate on, 248.
 importation of slaves prohibited, 248, 251, 313.
 effects of the cotton gin on, 251.
 extension of, opposed, 275.
 effect of purchase of Louisiana on, 275.
 discussion of the western extension of, 312, 313.
 Judge Story, on the slave trade, 313.
 how it divided the country, 313.
 a menace to the Union, 313, 318, 343.
 Benton on the extension of, 315.
 the Missouri Compromise, 317-319.
 Clay and Channing on, 340, 341.
 Garrison attacks, 341.
 the Nat Turner insurrection, 341.
 Clay and Calhoun defend, 343.
 J. Q. Adams on, 343.
 Emerson and Seward on, 343, 344.
 formation of Abolition societies, 342.
 it endangers the Union, 343.
 Jackson on, 345.
 Petitions against, in Congress, 355.
 in the District of Columbia, 357.
 Case of *Prigg vs. Pennsylvania*, 371.
 agitation in Congress, 362.
 and the "gag rule" in Congress, 355, 362.
 and the annexation of Texas, 371-374.
 and the Wilmot Proviso, 390, 391.
 Calhoun on, 363, 390.
 the question of, in 1850, 399, 402.
 the fugitive-slave law of 1793, 248.
 decision of U. S. Supreme Court respecting, 371.
 Van Buren on, 357.
 the new fugitive-slave law (1850), 402, 403.
 local and accidental, 315.
 no interference with, 357.
 Personal Liberty Laws *vs.*, 403.
 enforcement of, 403, 404.
 enforcement of the Fugitive-Slave Act, 404.
 the "Underground Railroad," 404.
 slaves rescued, 248, 404, 405.
 slaves returned to, 404.
 "Uncle Tom's Cabin," 405.
 Helper's "Impending Crisis," 405.
 Kansas-Nebraska Act, 409-414.
 struggle in Kansas over, 414-418.
 Sumner denounces, 417.
 assault on Sumner, 418.
 Republican party and, 420.
 Dred Scott decision, 421-424.
 Lincoln and Douglas debates on, 429.
 John Brown's raid, 430.
 the evil wrought by, 440, 441.
 secession and, 437, 441.

Slavery called "the corner stone of our Republican edifice" (1835), 344.
 the corner stone of the Southern Confederacy, 438.
 the true cause of the War of Secession, 439.
 Butler, General, and the "contrabands," 472.
 the Emancipation Proclamation, 474.
 the constitutional amendments and, 518, 520, 532.
 progress of the South since the abolition of, 554, 574.
 See Abolitionists; Anti-Slavery; Secession; the Negro; the Fugitive-Slave Act.
 Smith, Captain John, 34.
 Socialism, tendencies to, 570, 578, 581.
 Socialistic experiments, 360.
 "Sons of Liberty," 182, 187.
 Soto, De. See De Soto.
 South, the, progress of, since the Civil War, 575.
 South Carolina. See Carolina.
 nullification in, 344.
 secession of, 436.
 negro rule in, 533.
 South Dakota, 561, 584.
 Spain's possessions in America, 7, 13, 30, 258, 585.
 Spaniards, the, in Florida, 13-18, 135, 309, 310.
 Specie circular, the, 354.
 payments, resumption of, 538, 542, 548.
 Speculation in land, 353, 357.
 in railways, 540.
 Spiritualism, rise of, 362.
 "Spoils System," the, 337, 545, 551.
 See Civil Service Reform.
 Spoliation claims, the first, 261.
 the second, 338.
 Squatter sovereignty, 397.
 Stagecoach to California, 529.
 Stamp Act, the, proposed, 180.
 passage of the act, 181.
 the Stamp Act Congress, 181.
 Pitt on the, 182.
 the, repealed, 182.
 Standish, Myles, Captain, 71.
 goes to England, 74.
 "Star of the West" fired on, 437.
 "Star-Spangled Banner," the (song of), 299.
 Stark, General, 97.
 State Rights or State Sovereignty, doctrine of, 264, 268, 338, 345, 436, 511.
 See Secession.
 States admitted (see names of), 577.
 Statutes, United States, Tariff Act (1789).
 See Tariff.
 Tonnage Act (1789), 241.
 National Capital Act (1790), 244.
 Excise Act (1791), 241.
 Bank Act (1791), 245.
 See Bank.
 Mint Act (1792), 246.
 Naturalization Act (1798), 262.
 Alien Act (1798), 262.
 Sedition Act (1798), 263.
 National Road Act (1806), 278.
 Non-Importation Act (1807), 283.

Statutes, United States, Embargo Act (1807),
284.

Force Act (1809), 285.

Non-Intercourse Act (1809), 286.

Macon Act (1810), 288.

Missouri Compromise Act (1820), 317.

Crawford Tenure of Office Act (1820),
319.

Force Act (1832), 345.

First Independent Treasury Act (1840),
359.

Second Independent Treasury Act
(1846), 359.

Compromise Measures Acts (1850), 402.

Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), 411-413.

Confiscation Act (1861), 472.

Territorial Act (1862), 390.

Homestead Act (1862), 596.

Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act
(1863), 453.

National Banks Act (1863), 452.

Freedman's Bureau Act (1865), 513, 519.

Tenure of Office Act (1867), 521.

Military Reconstruction Act (1867), 522.

Public Credit Act (1869), 529.

Force Act (1871), 534, 572.

Removal of Political Disabilities Act
(1872), 534.

Coinage Act (1873), 538.

Salary Act (1873), 539.

Resumption Act (1875), 542.

Bland-Allison Silver Act (1878), 547-
548.

Civil Service Reform Act (1882), 551.

Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Act (1882),
552.

Chinese Exclusion Acts (1882-1904),
552, 557.

Alien Contract Labor Act (1884), 552.

Presidential Succession Act (1886), 557.

Electoral Count Act (1887), 557.

Interstate Commerce Act (1887), 557.

Edmunds-Tucker Anti-Polygamy Act
(1887), 557.

Dependent Pension Act (1890), 558, 565.

Sherman Silver Purchase Act (1890),
565.

Porto Rican Tariff Act (1900), 601.

Gold Standard Act (1900), 601.

Irrigation Act (1902), 598.

Panama Canal Act (1902), 608.

Steamboat, Fitch's, 279.

Fulton's, 279.

effects of the, 280.

Steam engine, first, 165.

Steamship, the first ocean, 312.

first line established, 365.

Stephens, Alexander H., 432, 435, 438, 5

Steuben, Baron, 193.

Strike, great railroad, 546.

the Pullman, or Chicago, 573.

at Homestead, 569.

great coal, 607.

Stuyvesant, Governor, 52.

Suffrage in colonial times, 38, 44, 53, 55, 56,
59, 72, 73, 77, 78, 79, 89, 100, 103, 113, 119,
120, 126.

Naturalization Act (1798), 262.

Australian ballot, 560.

manhood, 268, 271.

Suffrage, restriction of, 238, 584.

extension of, 238, 258, 268, 271, 312, 563.

negro, granted, 519-521, 532.

woman, demanded, 391.

woman, granted in certain states, 561.

action of Southern States on, 584.

Sugar Act, 115.

Sunner, Charles, 402.

assault on, 417.

Sumter, Fort, taken, 445.

Supreme Court, the U. S., organized, 241.

importance of, 241.

decisions of Chief Justice Marshall, 260,
331, 563.

See table facing page 266.

decision of, on the U. S. Bank, 312, 350.

respecting Fugitive-Slave Act of
1793, 371.

in the Dred Scott case, 421.

on the states and the Union, 511,
516, 522, 523, 563.

on legal tender, 543.

respecting the Mormons, 552, 569.

respecting the income tax, 574.

respecting new territories, 605.

Surplus, distribution of the, 354.

Tariff, the first (1789), 241.

of 1812, 241.

of 1816, 306.

of 1824, 323.

"of Abominations" (1828), 333.

of 1832, 344.

South Carolina nullifies the, 345.

and nullification, 345, 346.

the "Compromise," of 1833, 346.

of 1842, 375.

the Walker, of 1846, 389.

the Morrill, or war tariff of 1861, 389,
451.

the war, of 1862, 451.

the war, of 1864, 451.

of 1883, 552.

the Mills Bill (1885), 555.

the McKinley (1890), 566.

the Wilson-Gorman (1894), 574.

the Dingley (1897), 579.

Porto Rican, the, 571.

in politics, 577.

Taxation, England claims the right to tax
the colonies, 125, 182.

the colonies protest against, 178, 179.

Sugar Act, 180.

the Stamp Act, resistance to, 181, 182.

the tax on tea, 185.

the chief cause of the Revolution, 178.

under the Confederation, 230, 231.

first, under the Constitution, 241.

the income tax, 574.

decision against income tax, 574.

war tax (1808), 590.

Taylor, General, in Mexican War, 382, 383.

elected President, 396.

administration of, 397.

death of, 402.

Tecumseh's conspiracy, 289.

Telegraph, the electric, 375.

Atlantic cable, 525, 526.

Pacific cable, 608.

wireless, the, 608.

- Telephone, the, 377.
 Temperance cause, the, 332.
 Tennessee admitted, 258.
 readmitted, 520.
 Tenure of Office Act, the Crawford, 319.
 of 1867, 521.
 Territories, the first ceded to the U.S., 227.
 the ordinance for the government of the
 Northwest Territory, 227.
 slavery abolished in the (1862), 473.
 See Slavery; Louisiana; Florida; Cali-
 fornia; Alaska.
 Test Act, 111.
 Texas, emigration to, 320.
 annexation of, 371-374.
 and the Mexican War, 381, 382.
 admitted, 396.
 Thomas, General G. H., 489, 501.
 Ticonderoga, Ethan Allen takes, 191.
 Tilden-Hayes, the presidential contest, 543.
 Tobacco in Virginia, 20.
 cultivation of, begun, 36.
 effects of, 37.
 Toleration, religious. See Religious Liberty.
 Toleration Act, 109.
 Tonnage Act, 241.
 Tories of the Revolution, 194.
 Town meeting, government by, 72, 78, 159.
 Townshend Revenue Act, 179.
 Trade with the Indies, 3.
 with the West Indies, 163, 180, 240, 304,
 333, 338.
 effect of the embargo on, 284.
 renewal of, with England (1809), 288.
 "free, and sailors' rights" (1812), 303.
 prosperous foreign, 249, 277, 282, 582,
 610.
 on the Ohio (1796), 249.
 Treasury, independent, proposed, 359.
 established, 389.
 Treaty of England and France (1763), 153.
 Fort Stanwix, with the Iroquois (1768),
 62.
 with France (1778), 211.
 of peace (1783), 226.
 the Jay (1795), 256.
 with Algiers (1795), 257.
 with Spain (1795), 258.
 of Ghent (1814), 303.
 commercial (1824-1829), 333.
 Webster-Ashburton (1842), 370.
 Oregon (1846), 381.
 with Mexico (1848), 388.
 with Japan (1854), 418.
 Burlingame, with China (1868), 418.
 Washington (1871), 535.
 Arbitration (Venezuela) (1896), 577.
 Arbitration, general pending (1897), 577.
 with Spain (1899), 593.
 "Trent" affair, the, 460.
 Tripoli, war with, 278.
 Trusts, 580, 581.
 Turner, Nat, insurrection, 341.
 Tyler, becomes President, 367.
 contest with Congress, 368.
 his numerous vetoes, 368.
 labors for the annexation of Texas, 373.
 Union, the, how formed, 201, 226-229, 232-
 236, 238.
 vs. "State Rights," 229, 240, 264, 265,
 338, 345.
 See Secession.
 what Daniel Webster did for the, 339.
 Jackson's determination to maintain,
 345.
 how threatened by slavery. See Slavery.
 the war for, inevitable, 439.
 what the Civil War decided respecting
 the, 511.
 United States, independence declared, 201.
 acknowledged by France, 212.
 acknowledged by Great Britain, 226.
 Confederation, the Articles of, 226, 227,
 228.
 Constitution of, framed and adopted,
 233-236.
 government of, organized (1789), 237,
 238.
 Revolutionary debt, provisions for pay-
 ing, 243.
 first census (1790), 248.
 first tariff, 241.
 bank of, the first, 245.
 the second, 305.
 mint established, first coinage, 246.
 the, in 1801, 268.
 material obstacles to union, 270.
 acquisition of territory, 272, 310, 374,
 380, 388.
 the first steamboat, 279.
 the Erie Canal, 328.
 the first railway, 346.
 the first telegraph, 375.
 the first system of National Banks
 established, 452.
 wars of. See Wars.
 treaties of. See Treaties.
 political parties in. See Parties.
 slavery in. See Slavery.
 War of Secession and results, 446, 510.
 Civil Service Reform in, 577.
 growth of (see Population), 580.
 progress of, generally (1789-1889), 562.
 no frontier line in 1890, 567.
 the, at the present time, 580, 581, 582,
 598.
 wealth of the, 562, 598, 612.
 Universities. See Colleges and Education.
 Utah, Mormons in (see Mormons), 362.
 admission of, 577.
 Van Buren, elected President, 356.
 administration of, 356-367.
 Van Rensselaer estates, 51.
 Venezuela question, the, 576.
 Vermont admitted (1791), 258.
 Vermont organized, 98.
 Vespuccius, Americus, voyages of (1499-
 1503), 10.
 America named from (1507), 10, 11.
 Veto, Jackson's use of the, 351, 354.
 Tyler's use of the, 368.
 Johnson's use of the, 519-522.
 Hayes' use of the, 547.
 Cleveland's use of the, 557, 558.
 Vicksburg, siege and capture of, 486, 488.
 Vigilance Committee in California, 393.

- Vinland, 2.
- Virginia, Raleigh sends expedition to, 19.
 named by Queen Elizabeth, 19.
 colony planned, 31.
 charter, first (1606), 32.
 second (1609), 35.
 third (1612), 36.
 settlement of, at Jamestown, 34.
 government of, 34, 38.
 Catholics not to enter, 35.
 tobacco, cultivation of, 36.
 House of Burgesses established, 38.
 slavery introduced into, 39.
 importation of women, 40.
 loses part of her territory, 41.
 loses all of her territory, 43.
 Cavaliers in, 42.
 Navigation Laws hurt trade of, 42.
 Bacon Rebellion in, 44.
 spirit of independence in, 46.
 R. H. Lee of, moves Declaration of Independence, 201.
 "Virginia," the (or "Merrimac"), and the "Monitor," 464.
- Vote, right to, restricted in colonial times, 159.
 See Suffrage and Ballot.
- War, the Pequot (1637), 101.
 King Philip's (1675), 86-88.
 with France for the possession of America (1689-1736), 144-146.
 results of, 153.
 King William's (1689), 144.
 Queen Anne's (1702), 145.
 King George's (1744), 146.
 French and Indian (1754), 146.
 Revolutionary, the (1775), 178.
 with the Ohio Indians (1794), 254.
 with France (1798), 261.
 with Tripoli (1801), 278.
 with Tecumseh (1811), 289.
 with England (1812), 291.
 American army and navy in, 292.
 New England's opposition to the, 299.
 results of the, 304, 305.
 with the Creeks (1814), 299.
 First Seminole (1818), 309.
 Black Hawk (1832), 349.
 Second Seminole (1837), 363.
 Mexican (1846), 382.
 the Civil (1861), 444.
 cost of the, 509.
 loss of life in, 509.
 results of, 510.
 Modoc (1872), 544.
 Sioux (1876), 544.
 with Spain (1898), 585-593.
- Warren, General Joseph, 198.
- Washington sent a messenger to the French, 147.
 his interest in the West, 248.
 accompanies Braddock, 149.
 helps take Fort Duquesne, 148.
 made commander in chief, 191.
 takes command of army, 198.
 enters Boston, 199.
 at New York, 203.
 saves Putnam and his army, 204.
- Washington retreats northward, 205.
 crosses the Delaware, 205.
 victory at Trenton, 205.
 Princeton, 206.
 worries Howe, 207.
 at Brandywine, 208.
 at Germantown, 208.
 at Valley Forge, 208.
 at Monmouth, 213.
 at Yorktown, 224.
 and the Constitutional Convention, 233.
 elected President, 238.
 inauguration of, 239.
 Cabinet organized, 240.
 the Supreme Court organized, 241.
 the first tariff, 241.
 second election of, 252.
 abuse of, 253.
 farewell address of, 258.
 death of, 265.
 centennial of inauguration, 561.
- Washington the national capital, 244, 266.
 taken by the British, 298.
- Washington admitted, 561.
- Wautauga, settlement on the, 123.
- Wayne, "Mad Anthony," in the Revolution, 216.
 victory over the Indians, 255.
- Wealth, growth of national, 598, 612.
- Weather Bureau established, 535.
- Webster on the Constitution and the Union, 338.
 our debt to, 339.
 and the Ashburton Treaty, 370.
 and the fugitive-slave law, 403.
 his horror of secession, 400, 401.
- Webster, Noah, dictionary of, 348.
- Wesley, John and Charles, 134.
- West, Benjamin, the artist, 172.
- West, colonial land claims in the, 25, 32, 75, 105, 118, 131, 156, 227.
 French exploration of the (1615-1673), 137, 138, 140, 141.
 the French build forts in the (1695-1720), 144.
 Governor Spotswood and the, 122, 146.
 England excludes the colonists from the, 186.
 emigration to the, 123, 151, 249, 268, 270, 280, 307, 329, 330, 392, 414, 531.
 first settlements made in the, 123, 151, 249.
 the Ohio Company and the, 147, 249.
 Marietta and Cincinnati founded, 249.
 Washington's interest in the, 147, 248.
 Braddock's expedition, 149.
 the, at the end of the war with France (1763), 153, 154.
 Conspiracy of Pontiac in the, 152.
- Indian Wars in the, 152, 254, 289, 349, 544. See Indians.
- growth of the, 123, 151, 249, 259, 268, 270, 280, 307, 330, 349, 393, 394, 409, 414, 415, 530, 531, 542, 567, 576, 595, 596, 609.
- Clark's conquest of the Northwest, 214, 215.
- the, and the Articles of Confederation, 226.

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lvi

THE STUDENT'S AMERICAN HISTORY

66.56

West, the, and the Treaty of Peace (1783), 226.
Ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory, 227.
states formed from the Northwest Territory, 228.
Spain and the Mississippi, 232, 258, 270, 274.
threats of secession in the Southwest (1787), 233.
opening up the (1788), 248-249.
the, in 1790, 248; in 1801, 268.
coal found in the, 249.
discovery of the Oregon Country, 250.
the Oregon question, 378.
what was thought of the Oregon Country, 379.
Whitman's journey, 380.
our claim to the Oregon Country, 250, 379.
the Oregon treaty, 381.
whisky insurrection in Pennsylvania, 254.
Indian land cessions in the (1795), 255.
Indian land cessions in the, in general. See Indians.
new states formed in the, 228, 258.
See names of western states.
suffrage in the new states of the, 259, 271, 561.
the Kentucky nullification resolutions, 264.
purchase of the province of Louisiana, 272-274.
Fort Dearborn (Chicago) erected, 270.
communication with the, 249, 268, 270, 279, 280, 320, 328, 347, 528-531, 549, 596.
could the Union hope to retain the, 270, 379, 529.
expedition of Lewis and Clark, 276.
Pike's explorations in the Northwest, 277.
the Burr conspiracy and the, 280.
Tecumseh in the, 289.
the, favors the War of 1812, 291.
the, and the War of 1812, 291, 293, 296, 297, 299, 307.
Monroe's tour in the, 308.
question of slavery in the, 227, 275, 313, 316, 362, 371, 381, 389, 390, 398-401, 409, 416, 421, 422, 429, 473.
the, and the Fugitive Slave Act, 402.
Russia and the Pacific coast, 322, 323.
the, and the tariff, 323, 333.
the first steamboat in the, 279.
the National Road and the, 278, 320, 327.
the Erie Canal and the, 329.
the Ohio and the, 329.
the "Great Western March," 329.
first railway in the, 347.
the Pacific Railway, 420, 528-530.
effects of the Pacific Railway, 530, 531.
advantages offered by the, 330.
growth of, in population, 330.
the, and President Jackson, 336.
speculation in the, 354, 359, 425, 540.
agricultural inventions and the, 355, 409, 610.

West, the Mormons in the, 360, 361, 427, 428, 552, 557, 569.
the annexation of Texas, 371.
the, and different treaties, 226, 258, 304, 370, 381, 388, 535.
the telegraph and telephone in the, 377, 378.
conquest of California, 387.
Mexican land cessions in the, 388.
discovery of gold in California, 391, 392.
Clay's compromise measures and the, 399-401.
the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 409-414.
the struggle for Kansas, 414-416.
John Brown in Kansas, 416.
the Dred Scott case and the, 424.
discovery of silver, petroleum, and natural gas in the, 426.
Lincoln-Douglas campaign in the, 429.
the, and the Civil War. See Battles.
the "Army of the West," in the grand review, 516.
admission of western states. See names of states.
purchase of Alaska, 526.
the "Farmers' Alliance" and the, 541.
the "Grangers" in the, 541.
the "Populists" in the, 541, 570.
railway strikes in the, 546, 573.
improvement of the Mississippi, 549.
land appropriated for schools, 330.
recovery of public lands in the, 556.
free schools in the, 227, 330.
cheap land in the, 330, 596.
religious freedom guaranteed in the Northwest, 227.
centennial celebrations in, 559.
opening of Oklahoma, 561.
the, and woman suffrage, 561.
the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, 571.
the St. Louis Exposition, 609.
flour mills of the, 141.
mines, grain and stock farms, 576, 597.
the "Commonweal" and other "industrial armies," 573.
the "New West," 531, 542, 576, 596, 597.
great farms of the, 576.
food products of the, 576, 597, 610.
railways and the, 596.
no frontier line in 1890, 567.
West Indies, commerce with, 180, 240, 304, 333, 338.
West Virginia organized, 448.
admitted, 448.
Whigs of the Revolution, 194.
rise of the modern, 246, 356.
victory of, in 1840, 366.
death of the, 407.
See Political Parties.
Whisky rebellion (1794), 254.
used as currency, 254.
ring, 540.
Whitefield in Georgia, 134.
Whitman, Dr., and Oregon, 380.
Whitney invents the cotton gin, 251.
"Wilderness," the, in 1801, 268.
Williams, Roger, driven from Massachusetts, 80, 81.

578 / 157

5.00

INDEX
16.56

lvii

- Williams, Roger, settles Providence, 112.
establishes entire religious liberty, 113.
secures a liberal charter for Rhode
Island, 114.
Wilmot Proviso, the, 390.
Winthrop, Governor, 76.
Wireless telegraphy, 607.
Wisconsin admitted, 396.
Witchcraft in Salem, 91, 92.
Witherspoon, John, 66.
Wolfe takes Quebec (1759), 151.
Woman suffrage, 391, 561, 599.
Women in the Revolution, 221.
in the Civil War, 454.
what fifty years have done for, 599.
World's Fair (1853), 408.
World's Fair (1876), 542.
(1893), 571.
(1904), 609.
Writs of Assistance, 179.
Wyoming admitted, 561.
"X.Y.Z." Papers, 260.
Yancey's "Scarlet Letter," 428.
York, the Duke of, seizes New Netherland,
55.
seizes Delaware, 116.
Yorktown, capture of, 224.
Zenger upholds the freedom of the press,
60.

268

338

345

436

511

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